THE SOUTHERN PAIUTE LANGUAGE

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

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Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

VOL. 65. NO. 1.—JUNE, 1930.

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PREFACE.

The following sketch of Southern Paiute, which was completed in December, 1917, is offered as a contribution to the scientific study of the Shoshonean languages. Whether or not it proves to be fairly typical of the whole group in phonologic and morphologic respects must be left to future research.

My first field acquaintance with Shoshonean linguistics was gained in a short trip during August and September of 1909 among the Northern Utes of Uintah Reserve, Utah. This trip was undertaken, with the collaboration of Dr. J. A. Mason, under the auspices of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. A number of Ute texts were secured, supplemented by considerable grammatical information. To extend and deepen the insight into Plateau Shoshonean linguistics then obtained it seemed advisable, indeed necessary, to undertake further researches. Hence arrangements were made by the late Dr. G. B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, with the authorities of the Indian school at Carlisle to have one of their Paiute students, Tony Tillohash, put at my disposal for the ethnologic and linguistic study of his tribe. I worked with Tony, who proved to be an excellent informant, in Philadelphia from February to May of 1910. A series of texts, much supplementary grammatical material, a large number of songs, and considerable ethnological information were obtained. The Paiute linguistic data proved so much superior to the Ute which I had previously secured that I have decided in this sketch to limit myself to the former. Moreover, there is enough phonetic, lexical, and morphologic difference between Ute and Southern Paiute to render the attempt to describe both at the same time confusing. I hope to publish a briefer sketch of the Ute language at some future date.

The present volume is to be followed by a series of Southern Paiute and Ute texts and by a Southern Paiute vocabulary. It is a great pleasure to recall the unflagging patience and helpfulness of Tony Tillohash and the kindness with which Dr. Gordon did all that lay in his power to make these studies possible. My thanks are due Miss Jane McHugh, the Secretary and at that time Acting Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and the authorities of the Museum for permission to have these Paiute studies published by the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. To Professor Franz Boas I owe a special debt of gratitude for arranging with the Bureau of American Ethnology that I prepare the present paper, later transferred to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and for his more recent efforts in enlisting the interest of the Academy in the publication of my Southern Paiute manuscripts.

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April 14, 1929.

SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *Distribution and Literature.*

The Shoshonean dialect that is more particularly treated in this paper is Kaibab Paiute, spoken in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona. The name Kaibab is an Anglicized form of the native *qa'iva·vɪtcï* "mountain-lying, plateau." The Kaibab Paiutes are only one of a large number of tribes or bands in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southeastern California that have been loosely grouped together as Paiute proper or Southern Paiute. The linguistic differences found in the speech of the various Paiute bands are slight. Paiute itself belongs, according to Kroeber's terminology, to the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean, a branch that includes, besides the Paiute dialects, the Ute dialects of western Colorado and most of Utah, Kawaiisu (spoken in south-central California), and Chemehuevi (spoken in southeastern California along the Colorado; the Chemehuevi are probably nothing but a Paiute band that have been subjected to strong Yuman influences). It is doubtful if even the geographically extreme Ute-Chemehuevi dialects, say Uncompahgre Ute and Chemehuevi, are not mutually intelligible with considerable ease. The two other branches of Plateau Shoshonean are Shoshone-Comanche (including Shoshone proper, Comanche, Gosiute, and Shikaviyam, spoken in California) and Mono-Paviotso (including Mono, Northern Paiute or Paviotso, "Snake" of eastern Oregon, and Bannock). Southern Paiute and Northern Paiute should be carefully distinguished; they are not dialects of the same language, but distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. Indeed, Ute-Chemehuevi differs from both Shoshone-Comanche and Mono-Paviotso in important morphological as well as phonetic respects. Thus, pronominal elements are suffixed (or enclitically affixed) in Ute-Chemehuevi, but prefixed (or proclitically affixed) in the other two branches of Plateau Shoshonean.

The Shoshonean languages, according to Kroeber, comprise four groups: the Plateau Shoshonean languages; Tübatulabal or Kern River, spoken in south-central California; Hopi; and a group of southern Californian languages comprising the Serrano dialects, the dialects of the San Luiseño-Cahuilla branch, and the Gabrielino dialects. The phonetic, lexical, and morphologic differences between these four groups of Shoshonean languages are evidently considerable. All the Shoshonean languages, taken as a unit, comprise the northernmost representative of the Uto-Aztekan stock. This stock includes, besides Shoshonean, Nahuatl or Aztec and the Sonoran or Piman languages spoken in the long stretch of country between the Mexican state of Jalisco and the Rio Gila (among these languages are Cora; Huichol; Yaqui-Opata-Cahita-Tarahumare; Pima-Papago-Tepehuane-Tepecano). So far as is at present known, the Uto-Aztekan languages are not genetically related to any other American languages.

The published material dealing with the Ute-Chemehuevi dialects is scanty. We have some sketchy material of Kroeber's;[1] a phonetic study of Southern Ute by J. P. Harrington;[2] and a brief abstract on Ute by Sapir.[3] Some linguistic material on Southern Paiute is also contained in Sapir's *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*.[4] A comparative treatment of Uto-Aztekan, primarily from the point of view of Southern Paiute, is given in Sapir's *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztekan*.[5]

PHONOLOGY (§ § 2–16).

VOWELS (§ § 2–8).

§ 2. *Fundamental Vowels.*

Southern Paiute recognizes five primary or organically distinct vowels. These are *a* (as in German *Mann*); *i* (as in French *fini*), which interchanges freely with *ι* (as in English *fin*); *u* (open as in English *put*, rarely close as in French *bout*), which interchanges freely with close *o* (as in French *beau*); *ɔ* (as in German *voll,* but much less clearly rounded, hence tending acoustically towards *a*); and *ï* (high back unrounded, probably like *ao* of Gaelic *aon*). Of these vowels, *ï* is characteristic of most Shoshonean languages. It is often heard as a dull or muddied *ü* or *ö*, but is really not at all related to these vowels, as it is totally unrounded, the lips being perfectly passive. It is most easily acquired by setting the back of the tongue in position for *u* and carefully unrounding the lips without at the same time disturbing the tongue position.

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[1] A. L. Kroeber, *Notes on the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1908, pp. 74–87); notes on Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu (pp. 256–262) in *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 5, 1909).

[2] J. P. Harrington, *The Phonetic System of the Ute Language* (University of Colorado Studies, vol. VIII, 1911, pp. 199–222).

[3] E. Sapir, *Some Fundamental Characteristics of the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1910, pp. 66–69).

[4] Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1910, pp. 455–72.

[5] Part I (Vowels): Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., X, 1913, pp. 379–425; Part II (Consonants): American Anthropologist, N. S., 1915, pp. 98–120, 306–328, also in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., XI, 1919, pp. 443–488. Part III, to be devoted to morphology, is still due.

Each of the vowels may be short or long. The long vowels are indicated as *a·*, *i·* (or *ι·*), *υ·* (or *o·*), *ɔ·*, and *ï·*. Diphthongs are common: *ai* (also modified forms *äi, εi*), *ui* (or *oi*), *ɔi, ïi*; and *au.* Long diphthongs, e. g. *a·i* (*aai*), *ɔ·i* (*ɔ·ɔi, ɔɔi*), are also frequent. Such diphthongs, however, are only secondary developments of short diphthongs; no three-moraed syllables are allowed (see § 9, 1). Triphthongs sometimes arise when diphthongs combine with simple vowels, e. g. *aɔi.*

Actually there are many more than five vocalic qualities to be recognized in Southern Paiute. According to their vocalic or consonantic surroundings, each of these is subject to a considerable gamut of modifications, running from comparatively slight changes of nuance to complete assimilation to other primary vowels. The following section gives examples of all the types of vocalic modification that have been noted.

§ 3. *Qualitative Vocalic Changes.*

Many of the modifications here listed are optional; that is, they tend to take place in fairly rapid and uncontrolled speech, where complete or partial assimilations in articulation are particularly apt to occur, but may be absent in more controlled speech. Thus, one hears *i*(*y*)*a*, *i*(*y*)*ä*, or *i*(*y*)*ε*, all equivalents of a psychologically fundamental *ia.* It will be most convenient to list the changes under the five fundamental vowels.

(1) MODIFICATIONS OF *a*:

(a) *Palatalization.* After a syllable containing *i*, *a* is frequently palatalized to *ä* (as in English *hat*) or, still further, to *ε* (as in English *met*). This takes place particularly when *a* directly follows *i* (with or without glide *y*, see § 14, 2), or when *v* intervenes. Examples are:

^{i}'*i-va·-*	this-at	^{i}'*i'vä'* here; ^{i}'*i'vä·ntïmαnaŋqᴡᴀ* from here

qanι-va·ntuγwa-	house-to	*qanι'vä·ntuγwa·mïφï*	to their own house
		ivä'tcïʿ, ivε'tcïʿ	way off, early
ᴜʿqwap·ι-mantï-	wood-from, some wood	*ᴜʿqwa'p·ιm·äntï, -m·εntï*	some wood
pi(y)a-	mother	*piyä'ruγwaφï*	to his own mother;
		piyε'nɪ	my mother

Much less frequently *a*, standing between a syllable with *i* and a following *y*, may be still further palatalized to close *e*:

aiva(i)ya-	companion	*a'ive(y)aŋwïaŋᴀ*	his companions

(b) *Dulling to ɑ.* Dulling to ɑ (like *u* of English *but*) is extremely common, particularly in unaccented syllables. It seems to take place chiefly before or after nasal consonants (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*):

-γa-ntï-	being	*ʿɔntcɔ'γιχɑntï*	with one eye lacking
-n·a-	verbal abstract suffix	*ɔra'va·n·ɑnɪ*	what I shall dig
m^{w}*a-ŋa-*	that (anim.)	*m*^{w}*ɑŋ'a·'q·ᴀ*	that is the one

(c) *Labialization.* Rather infrequently *a* is darkened to ω (acoustically midway between *a* and *ɔ*) in partial assimilation to an *ɔ* of the preceding or following syllable; this ω was not always carefully distinguished in recording from *ɔ*:

qaa'mpïts·	grouse	*aγɔ'ŋqωampïts·*	fir-grouse
tɔc·a-	white > *tɔʿca'-*, *tɔha'-* (§ 13, 1, b)	*tʿhω'p·a(i)yɑmpats·*	white-breasted, gull (also recorded as normal *tɔʿca'p·a(i)yampats·*)

Further labialization to *ɔ* takes place very frequently after labialized gutturals (*qw*, *γw*, *ŋqw*), *wɔ* being often simplified to *ɔ*:

-q·a-	plural subject; combines with preceding *-ru-* to *-ru'q·wa-* or *-ʀᴜqwa'-*	*nantï'navuʀᴜqwɔp·ïγaiyaŋᴀ*	several tracked him back and forth
-γw'ai-	to go in order to	*qwιtca'γw'ɔip·ïγaʿ*	went to defecate
piyɔ'χwa-	to drag	*piyɔ'χɔm'mιaχaʿ*	while dragging along
-vi·naŋqwa-p·a-	behind	*uv*^{w}*i·'naŋq(w)ɔp·ᴀ*	behind it
-q·wa'ai-	to go	*payι'k·wɔ'ɔip·ïγaʿ*	went home

(2) MODIFICATIONS OF *i* (alternating with *ι*, more rarely *e*):

(a) *Diphthongization to ai, ɔi.* This occurs pretty regularly after gutturals (*q, γ, ŋq*) immediately preceded by *a* and *ɔ* respectively. *ai* is quite frequently heard as *äi, εi* or as ^{a}*i*, $^{\varepsilon}$*i* with rather fleeting glide-like *a* or ε; $^{\varepsilon}$*i* is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ï* (see *b*). After *a* + labialized guttural *i* > *ai* may be labialized to *ɔi*, $^{\text{ɔ}}$*i* (cf. 1, c). These diphthongs are not treated as organically such, but regularly count in accentual phenomena as simple vowels (see § 9). Examples are:

paγi- to walk (e. g. in *pa'x·ɪqwa'ai-tca·ŋᴀ* he went away)	*paγa'iŋqw'aiʿ* walks off; *paγäi'-n*^{y}*'ɴᴜ*^{x}*qwιp·ïγaʿ* started to walk; *paγ*$^{\varepsilon}$*i'-q·wa'*^{a} go away; *paγï'n·a-ŋwïnι-p·aγï-ʏï* cloud stands up and walks (sixth and seventh syllables)
-γi- durative iterative suffix	*qᴜʿpa'ra·γεik̯·aiʿ* several pop one after another
tcaq·i- to stop (rolling)	*tcᴀ*^{x}*qa'ip·ïγaʿ* stopped rolling; *tcᴀ*^{x}*qï'yïaq·ᴀ* it stops
tsιŋwaχι- to stick in several (e. g. in *tsιŋwa'x·ɪk̯aiyïamʿ* they are stuck in)	*tsιtsι'ŋwaχaimɪpïγainιʿ* all kept on as though stuck; *tsιtsιŋwaχ*^{a}*i'-p·ïγain·ιʿ* all went in as though stuck; *tsιŋwa'xï*^{i}*ʿ* sticks several in
mam·a'^{a}*caγwi-* old woman	*mam·a''*^{a}*caγwɔits·*, *-caγw*$^{\text{ɔ}}$*its·* old woman
tɔγi-, *tɔγwi-* just, precisely	*tɔγɔ'iaruq·wa·x·ɪ* right under it; *tɔγɔ'it·uγwanᴜ* midnight

tɔγɔ'i- not infrequently even loses its *i* and appears as *tɔγɔ'-* (e. g. *tɔγɔ'mᴀʿcüŋwιʏᴜ* TEN), but such recorded forms as *tɔγ*^{w}*ι'aŋaruq·ᴡᴀ* RIGHT UNDER HIM and *tɔγ*$^{\text{ɔ}}$*i'm·ava'anᴀ* RIGHT ABOVE THAT prove clearly that the second *ɔ* is inorganic.

(b) *Dulling to i, ï.* After *ts*, *i* is regularly dulled to *i*, a high unrounded "mixed" vowel (to use Sweet's terminology) that sounds acoustically midway between *ι* and *ï*. It has been often recorded simply as *ι*, sometimes also, though exaggeratedly, as *ï*. Examples are:

-tsι- diminutive	*tιŋqa'nιvïatsïaφï* his own little cave (obj.)

-*tsι*- gerund	*pᴀ^{x}qa'ŋᴜtsi'ιŋᴡᴀ* having killed him; *pï̯n·ι'avιva·tsi'q·ᴡᴀ* being about to lie down and watch it
tsι- with the point of a stick-like object	*tsiyu'm'muχwιyïnɪ* is poking me; *tsï'nι'k·ɪpïγaʿ* stuck (one object)

More rarely *i* is gutturalized to *ï*, *ι* after guttural consonants (*q*, *γ*, *x*, *ŋq*), cf. (a) above:

-*xι*-	to come in order to	*tɔna'xïyïaŋᴀ* he comes to punch
-*q·ι*-	hither	*ya·'q·ïyaq·ᴀ* bring it
waq·ι-	hither + -*ŋki*- to come	*ᴡᴀ^{x}qi'ŋkiχ̬uαŋᴀ* as he came

(c) *Consonantizing before nasals.* When standing before *n* or *ŋ* and coming after *ts* (sometimes modified to *t·*, see §13, 7, a), less often after *q*, *i* not infrequently loses its vocalic character altogether and assimilates to the following nasal, becoming syllabic *n̥* or *ŋ* (cf. English *kα'zn̥* from *cousin*):

-*tsι*- gerundive + -*ni*- I	*qa·'va·tsn̥nɪ* being about to sing, I
-*tsι*- diminutive + -*ni*- my	*wɪʿtsι't·n̥nɪ* my great-grandchild

(d) *Consonantizing to y.* Rather infrequently the combination *i* + vowel, via *i* + glide *y* + vowel, simplifies to *y* + vowel, e. g.:

i(*y*)*ä'nu*-	present here	*yä'nu*-

compare *u*(*w*)*a'nu*- PRESENT THERE > *wa'nu*- (see 5, a).

(3) Modifications of *ï*:

(a) *Assimilation to i.* Not too frequently an *ï* is assimilated to the *i* of a following syllable or, as *ι*, to an immediately following *y*. Long *ï·* is then apt to dissolve to *ïi*, *ï^ι*. Examples are:

tï'ŋwï- to be in a hurry	*tï'ŋwιn·ιʿ* hurriedly
qwïï- to take	*qᴡïʿqwï''iʿ* takes several times (< *qwïq·wï''ï-yï*-)
-*mï·*- after	*ųnι'k̭·aŋumï^{i}ts·* after they had done so (< -*mï·tsi*-)
ïv^{w}ï- hortatory adverb	*ïv^{w}i'n·ιa'^{a}* hurry up thou! *ïv^{w}i'yanɪ* go ahead ye me! (contrast *ïv^{w}ï'nɪ* go ahead thou me!)

tïŋwι-n·ιa-, *ïv^{w}i-n·ιa*- and *ïv^{w}i-ya*- regularly so appear, never with second *ï*, *ï*.

(b) *Palatalization to* i, ι. After *c* and *tc*, *ï* often loses its extreme backward articulation, passing into *i* and even (at least so frequently recorded) *ι*. This secondary *ι*, however, must never be confused with primary *i*, *ι*; unlike it, e. g., it cannot palatalize guttural or dental consonants (see § 13, 4; § 13, 3). Examples are:

cïnaŋwavi-	coyote	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*, *cιna'ŋwaφɪ*	coyote
watcï-	to put	*watcι'm'mιap·ïγa'ʿ*	(he) put while going along
pitcï-	to arrive	*pɪ'pι'tcιʀï*	arriving

Note, e. g., that if the *-tcι-* of the last form were primary, not modified from *-tcï-*, it would have changed the participial *-ʀï* to *-tcï* (see § 13, 3).

Dental consonants (*t*, *r*, *nt*, *n*) also frequently modify an immediately following *ï* to *i*, *ι*. Indeed an *i* or *ι* following *t*, *r*, or *nt* is practically always modified from an original *ï*, as an old primary *i* has regularly assibilated these consonants (see § 13, 3). Examples are:

nïŋwï'a-	part of body	*nιŋwï''a(i)ya·ŋᴀ*	parts of his body (obj.)
tïq·a-	to eat	*tɪ'tι'q·a(i)yïnɪ*	I eat several times
marïn·a-	to chase	*mam·a'rιnap·ïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ*	several chased him

Less frequently *yï* becomes modified to *yi*, *yι*; e. g. *pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN > *pa(i)yi-*, *pa(i)yι-*. As might be expected from its position, *ï* is best preserved after guttural consonants, e. g. *paγï'ʿ* FISH.

(c) *Dulling to* ï. If *ï* is frequently recorded by students as an obscure *ü*, the nuance *ï* tends to be heard as an obscure *ö*. It is possible, indeed, that *ï* is pronounced with slight inner rounding, as it appears chiefly in labial surroundings. It is a "wide" vowel, *ï* being "narrow"; it is probably also slightly lower in articulation than *ï*. Though *ï* is a difficult vowel to define, it represents a nuance clearly distinct from that of *ï*. Acoustically it may be described as a duller form of *ï*, tending to be heard both as *u* and *α*.

After labial consonants (*p*, *v*, *mp*, *m*; less often *w*) the change of *ï* to *ï* is regular, less regularly before them:

pï-	relative pronoun	*pïv*^{w}*a'ʿ*	wherein
-vï-	one's own	*qanι'aφï*	one's own house (obj.)
-mpï-	plant suffix	*ɔγɔ'mpï*	fir

mïyï-	gopher	*mï̧yï'ŋqanιφï*	gopher house
ïmpιn'na-	to paint	*ïmpι'n'naiʻ*	paints

Rarely *qwï* simplifies to *qï*:

qwï·(i)'nι-k̯·ai-	to strut out one's breast	*qï·'(i)'ɴɪ*^{x}*k̯aaiʻ*	struts out (his) breast

This is analogous to the change of *qwa* to *qwɔ, qɔ* (see 1, c).

(d) *Labialization.* When coming before a nasal consonant followed by a labial consonant or vowel (e. g. *mp, ŋw, ŋu*), *ï*, in its frontal modification *ι*, is further developed to a corresponding slightly rounded vowel *ü*, acoustically midway between *ι* and the true high-front-rounded *ü*. Our *ü* is probably only inner-rounded and not articulated as far front as the standard *ü*; often it sounds like a rapid diphthongal *ιʋ* or *ιϋ*. Examples are:

tïmpa-	mouth	*tümpa'nɪ*	my mouth
patcï-	daughter	*patcü'ŋwïaŋᴀ*	his daughters
mïa·'γantï-	mountain divide	*mïa·'γantümpaʻ*	at mountain divide
pa(i)yï-	to return	*pa(i)yü'ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	returned
tï-	stone (e. g. in *tiŋqa'nɪ, tιŋqa'nɪ* cave)	*tümpi'ts·*	stone

A somewhat similar quality, yet slightly more rounded and retracted, probably equivalent to the standard *ʋ̇* (high-mixed-rounded-wide), sometimes develops from *ï* (see c above) before nasal + guttural or labial or before nasal + *i*:

pïŋqa-	habitually	*pʋ̇ŋqa-*	habitually
pï-	relative pronoun	*pʋ̇ŋwa'ntux·ᴡᴀ*	on whom
pïn·i-	to see	*pʋ̇n·i'p·ïγaʻ*	saw

This quality was generally recorded as simply *ü* (too far front) or *ï* (too far back). For practical purposes *ï* does well enough.

A still stronger degree of labialization is attained by *ï* when it stands before *ʋ*^{w} or *ŋw*. This quality has been generally recorded as *u*, i. e. *ʋ*, but it is rather flabbier in sound than the true rounded open *u* (varying with *o*). Examples are:

am·ï-	they	*am·u'ʋ*^{w}*'antux·ᴡᴀ*	upon them
ma·vï-	clothes	*ma·'ʋ'uŋᴡᴀ*	his clothes

The same modification occurs in *ŋwï*, which frequently loses its *w* (cf. 1, c; 3, c), before *ŋw* or *m*:

-ŋwï animate plural	*a'ivaiaŋuŋwa'aiφï* with his own companions; *naγï'm·aŋuŋuc·ᴜ* strangers-to-each-other you (pl.) (< *naγïm·a-ŋwï-ŋwï-c·u-*)
-ŋwï- you (pl.) subjective	*-ŋumi-* you (pl.) objective (< *-ŋwï-mi-*)

(e) *Assimilation to ɔ.* This and the following modification (f) differ from the labializations spoken of under (d) in that they represent complete and regularly occurring assimilations. Before a syllable containing *ɔ*, *ï* appears assimilated to *ɔ*:

wïγï- vulva + *ɔʻpaq·ï- nᴀ* hole	*wïγɔ'ɔʻpaq·ïnᴀ* vagina
qarï'n·ïmpï- saddle + *tɔʻtsi-* head	*qarï'n·ïmpɔʀɔtsiáʻ* saddle horn

Less regularly *ï* is assimilated to a preceding *ɔ*:

-nïmɪ our (exclusive)	*aγɔ'nɔmɪ* our tongue

(f) *Assimilation to u (o).* Before a syllable containing *u* (*o*), *ï* assimilates to *u* (*o*):

tïγɩavï- deer hide	*tïγɩ'avuru-* to make a deer hide
cuwa'p·ɩtcï- to wake up (intr.)	*cuwa'p·ɩtcut'·ui-* to wake up (tr.)
am·ï- they	*am·u''uraʻ* towards them; *am·v·'wɑ'mɪ* in front of them (< *am·ï-* + *-uwa'mi-*)
-yï- present tense + *-ru'a-* interrogative	*puwa'ru'a(i)yuru'ɑnɪ* am I becoming a medicine-man?

This assimilation takes place also after a syllable containing *u* (*o*):

-ru to make + *-yï-* present tense	*a(i)ya'ruyunɪ* I make a turtle
-γïm·aŋwɩt·uγwa- away from	*uγu'm·aŋwɩt·ux·ᴡᴀ* away from it
-yï- + *-n·oa-* modal enclitic	*uwa't·uγwat·u'a(i)yon·oᴀ* somebody is walking in that direction

Only infrequently does *ï* fail to assimilate to *u*. This seems to occur sometimes when a glottal stop separates the vowels, e. g.

nï'u'nantux·ᴡᴀ OPPOSITE TO ME; *yï'u-*, *yɩ'u-* LEG, more often *yu'u-*, *yo'o-*.

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals.* This takes place, though less frequently, under the same circumstances as the analogous consonantizing of *i* (see 2, c above), but after a *c*:

'ac·ïntu'i- to like	*'α'c·ŋ̣tu'i-* to like

(4) Modifications of *ɔ*:

(a) *Semi-unrounding.* Between two *a*-vowels an *ɔ* is sometimes semi-unrounded and dulled in quality to a sound approximating that of *a* itself. This quality appears to be identical with that of the *ω* referred to above (1, c). Examples are:

-ɔaγιt·uγwa- around	*aω'aγιt·ux·*WA around it
ɔa- back	*pɪ*^{z}*k̯a'ωaγaip·ïγa*ʿ had a sore back

(b) *Palatalization.* Rather infrequently we find *ɔ* palatalized or "umlauted" to a true *ö* (mid-front-rounded, probably "wide") after *y*:

(i)yɔvi- mourning dove	*(i)yö'vιtcu*Aʿ*tsιŋ*W*ï* little mourning doves

In Ute *ö* (both wide and narrow varieties) is found as the regular correspondent of Southern Paiute *ɔ* (e. g. Ute *öä'φ*I SALT: Southern Paiute *ɔa'φ*I).

(c) *Assimilation to u.* Sporadically *ɔ* is assimilated to an *u* of the following syllable:

pɔrɔ- several travel	*pɔru'q·*U*pïγa*ʿ several started out

The compound form *-puru-*, like certain other examples of *ɔ-u* alternation, belongs rather to vocalic "ablaut" than to the purely phonetic phenomena here discussed (see § 17, 7, a).

(5) Modifications of *u* (alternating with *o*):

(a) *Consonantizing to w.* Passage into the corresponding semivowel *w*, when standing before a vowel, sometimes takes place:

u- demonstrative stem	*w'a'xava·'q·*WA into it
ui-ŋwa-γantï-, oi-ŋwa-γantï- canyon	*wι'ŋwaγantïmpaŋ*WI in a canyon

(b) *Assimilation to ι.* An unaccented *u* is rarely assimilated to an *i, ι* of the following syllable:

-c·u- enclitic element "also"	*ŋ̣m*^{w}*u'*RU^{x}*qwa·γιt·uαc·ιn·ι*ʿ as though under them too (*-c·un·ι*ʿ was also recorded)

(c) *Unrounding to ï.* An unrounded *u*, i. e. *ï*, sometimes develops after *iy* or before *y*, also quite frequently immediately before *i*. This secondary *ï* may be further developed to *i*, *ι* (see 3, b). Examples are:

tsι- with the point of a stick + *yum'mu-* to poke	*tsi'(y)i'm·uχwιp·ïγaiyaŋᴀ* kept poking him
-c·uyaγwa-n·oa- would that	*-c·ïyaγwa-(-c·iyaγwa-, -c·ιyaγwa)n·oa-*
-t'·ui- causative suffix	*pïnι't'·uk̭·a'* caused to see
kwιt·u- anus + *yɔγɔ-* to copulate with	*kwɪ'tï'ιɔγɔt·ï'* anus-copulating place, passive pederast

(d) *Assimilation to ï.* Between two *ï*- vowels, *u* is rarely assimilated to *ï* (*ü*):

ta·'ï- shirt + *-ru-* to make	*ta·''ïrüŋqïpïγaiᴀ*^{x}*qaaŋᴀ* made it into a shirt for him

(e) *Opening to ɔ.* Before, less frequently after, an *a*, *u* is sometimes broadened out to an open *ɔ*:

ua- demonstrative + *-ya-* objective	*'ɔa'iᴀ* modal adverb
-ru'a- interrogative	*ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔanɪ* did I take a drink?
-'urai- toward	*aŋa''ɔraɪ'pïγa'* went towards him
moγoa- soul	*mɔγɔ'aφɪ* soul

As the last example shows, two successive *o*- vowels both tend to develop to *ɔ* when one of them is so modified (cf. f).

An original *u* (*o*) tends to become opened to *ɔ* before and after -*γ*-. This is particularly true of the group -*uγu*- (-*oγo*-), which seems to develop regularly to -*ɔγɔ*-; e. g. *yɔγɔ-* TO COPULATE WITH, *tɔγɔ'aφɪ* RATTLESNAKE. Sometimes comparison with Ute, in which primary *ɔ* appears as *ö* (Ute *ɔ* is an open form of *u*, *o*), is necessary in such cases to determine whether Paiute *ɔ* is primary or developed from *o*.

(f) *Assimilation to ɔ.* An *u* (*o*)- vowel assimilates to *ɔ* before a syllable containing *ɔ*:

to·- black	*tɔ·''ɔvan'naŋqᴀ* black goose; *tɔ·'p·ɔ'tɔn'ɪ*^{x}*k̭αntïn·ι'* like something black and spherical
kwιt·u- buttocks + *ɔp·aq·ïp·i-* hole	*kwɪ'tɔ'ɔ'paq·ïp·ɪ* anus

Infrequently *u* is assimilated to *ɔ* by the *ɔ* of a preceding syllable (contrast 4, c):

man·ɔ- all + *-q·u-* objective	*man·ɔ′q·(w)ɔ-* (also heard as *man·ɔ′q·u-*)

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals.* Infrequently *u* loses its vocalic nature when standing between *q* and *ŋ*, appearing as syllabic *ŋ* (cf. 2, c; 3, g):

-q·u- subordinating suffix + *-ŋumi-* you (pl. obj.)	*yö′vιtcuᴀtsιγa·q·ŋŋumɪ* being-a-little-mourning-dove you (pl. obj.)

§ 4. *Quantitative Vocalic Changes.*

(1) Vocalic contraction. Long, less often short, vowels sometimes result from the contraction of two short vowels or of a long and a short vowel. The vowels may be either of the same or of different qualities. We shall take up the examples according to the quality of the resulting product.

(a) *Vowels contracting to a·* (*a*). The most common source of a contracted *a·* is *a* + *a*:

-ntcu′a- interrogative + *aŋa-* he	*a′intcu′a·ŋᴀ* that-inter.- he
-ntcu′a- + *-aq·a-* it	*imi′ntcu′a·q·ᴀ* thou-inter.- it
-ya- objective + *-aŋa-* his	*tümpa′(i)ya·ŋᴀ* his mouth (obj.)
-xwa- preterit suffix + *-aŋa-*	*ya′a′ixwa·ŋᴀ* he died
-n·a- verbal noun suffix + *-aŋa-*	*ɔra′n·a·ŋᴀ* which he dug up
-mι(y)a- usitative + *-aq·a-* it	*ɴᴀʽcï′mʷïamιya·q·ᴀ* keeps forgetting it

Less commonly *a·* results from *a·* + *a*:

-mpa·- future + *aŋa-* he	*pᴀˣqa′ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ′am·ιnɪ* he will kill thee for me
qa·- to sing + *-aq·a-* imperative enclitic	*qa·′q·ᴀ* sing!

Often, but not necessarily, *aï* contracts to *a·*:

tümpa- mouth + *ïγap·ï-* what enters	*tümpa·′γap·ï* bit and bridle
paï- perfectly	*pa·′ŋqwι′ɔq·ɔitcï* perfectly round and hollow

Also *ïa* is not infrequently heard as *a·*, *a*:

-*ŋwï*- animate plural + -*a*- objective	-*ŋwa*-, -*ŋwa·*-
-*yï*- present tense + -*aŋa*- he	-*ya·ŋᴀ*
-*ŋqï*- indirective + -*a'p·a*- negative	*kιε'ŋqa·'p·ᴀ* don't laugh!

An *au*, itself usually contracted from *a* + *u* (see b), is sometimes further contracted to *a·* before *qw*, *ŋw*, or *p* the labial vowel *u* being absorbed, as it were, into the following labialized consonant but leaving its quantitative value behind in the lengthening of the preceding *a*. Examples are:

na-uŋwai- to hang oneself	*na·'ŋwaiγwa'ai'ⁱ* go hang thyself!
nïvʷa-uŋwa- to snow	*nïvʷa·'ŋwap·ïγaʻ* it snowed
nauq·wiŋqï- to fight (< *na-γuq·wi-ŋqï*-, see § 13, 5, b)	*na·'q·wιŋqï*-

(b) *Vowels contracting to ai, au.* This results when organically distinct *a* and *i*, or *u*, combine:

quna- fire + -*i'ni*- possessed	*quna'i'niaraŋwᴀ* our (inclus.) fire (obj.)
ma- that + -*up·a'*- in (such a) way	*ma'up̓·a'ᵃ* in that way

A long *a·* + *i* also contracts to *ai*. This is because organically long diphthongs are not allowed in Southern Paiute. E. g.:

cïʻpu'vʷa·- cold water + -*in'ni*- possessed	*cïʻpu'vʷ'ain·ιntsιγaim·ιʻ* is wont to have cold water

Apparently *a·* + *u* (o), however, remains as disyllabic *a·-u*, e. g.:

qava·- horse + -*up̓·anιa*- like	*qava·'op̓·anιanɪ* I (am) like a horse

Had *qavau*- resulted, the above form would have been *qava'ᴜp̓anιanɪ* (see § § 8, 2, a; 10, 1).

(c) *Vowels contracting to i, ι; i·.* The *ïi*, *iι*, *ιι* which sometimes results from an original *ui* (see § 3, 5, c) is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ι*:

-*t̓·ui*- causative suffix	*na'a'it̓·ιp·ïγaʻ* made a fire
-*r'ui*- to become	*tuγwa'r'ιŋᴜpïγaʻ* it got dark

Rarely *yï* advances beyond *yi*, *yι* (see § 3, 3, b) to contracted ***i***:

-ŋqï- indirective + *-yï-* present tense	*tᴜ^{x}qwι''aiŋqïir'ɔn'ι'^{i}* art thou ashamed of me?

A long *i·*, not infrequently heard simply as *i*, *ι*, appears as a contracted product of *i* + *i*:

qï·vi- locust + *-in'i-* possessed	*qï·'vιn'ιnɪ* my locust
qani- house + *-i'ni-* possessed	*qani''nιnɪ* my house

(d) *Vowels contracting to ï·, ï.* A contracted ï· sometimes results from ï + ï, itself sometimes reduced from ïγï (see § 13, 5, b):

tïγïv^{w}ï- friend	*tï·'v^{w}ïa·ŋᴀ* his friend (obj.)

Rarely does ï result from ï + *u*, which normally gives *υ·* < *u* + *u*:

nï- *I* + *-u(w)a'mi-* in front of	*nï'wα'mɪ* in front of me

(e) *Vowels contracting to ïi.* This diphthong sometimes results from ï + *i*, ï· + *i*, or ï*γi* (for loss of *γ*, see § 13, 5, b):

cυ·γï·- sugar + *-i'ni-* possessed	*cυ·'χïi'ninɪ* my sugar
tïγιa- deer	*tï'iaʀᴜquaφɪ* deer meat; *parï'ia-* elk (lit., water-deer)

(f) *Vowels contracting to ɔ·, ɔ.* The contracted product *ɔ·* results from either *ɔ* + *ɔ*, assimilated from *u* + *ɔ* (see § 3, 5, f):

u- demonstrative stem + *-ɔaγιt·uγwa-* around	*ɔ·'aγιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* around it

or from *ɔ·* + *u*:

pɔ·- trail + *-up·a'* through	*pɔ·'p·a'^{a}* through the trail

Ordinarily, however, the *u* in the latter case keeps its distinctiveness, e. g. *pɔ·'^{x}ᴜpa'^{a}* THROUGH THE TRAIL.

The *ɔa*, *ɔa·* which sometimes appears as a broadened form of original *ua* (*oa*), *ua·* (*oa·*) (see § 3, 5, e) appears also contracted to *ɔ*, *ɔ·*:

-r'ua- interrogative	*pua'r'uava·r'ɔn·ιχ̠ain·ι‘* it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man
-r'ua- + *-aŋa-* he	*ya'a'iva·n·ιar'ɔ·ŋaxain·ι‘* it looks as though he will die
u(w)anu- yonder + *-aŋa-*	*u(w)a'nɔŋᴀ* up there he

(g) *Vowels contracting to ɔi.* This diphthong sometimes results from ɔ + *i* or ɔ· + *i*, ɔ being itself sometimes a broadened form of *u* after *a* (see § 3, 5, e):

pɔ·- trail + *-in'ni-* possessed	*pɔ(·)ɔ'in'ninɪ* my trail (for ɔ·ɔ < ɔ· see 2, b below)
purau- flour + *-in'ni-*	*pura'ɔin'ninɪ* my flour

(h) *Vowels contracting to o·, υ·.* The *u* + *u* that is frequently found contracted to *o·* (*υ·*) is either primary or assimilated from *ï* + *u* (see § 3, 3, f). Examples are:

um^{w}*u-* they (invisible) + *-u(w)-a'mi-* in front of	*um*^{w}*υ̣·'*^{w}*α'mɪ* in front of them
amï- they (visible) + *-u(w)a'mi-*	*amo·'wa'mɪ* in front of them
nam·ï- first + *uv*^{w}*it·u-* to sing a song	*nam·o·'v*^{w}*it·ᴜ'pïγa'* sang the first song

(i) *Vowels contracting to ui.* This diphthong sometimes results from *u* + *i* or *υ·* (*o·*) + *i*:

tuγ(w)υ·- to cache + *-in'ni-* possessed	*tuγ(w)υ(·)'in'ninɪ* my cached things

(2) VOCALIC LENGTHENING. Several phonetic phenomena may be conveniently grouped under this head.

(a) *Secondary lengthening.* Very characteristic of Southern Paiute, as contrasted with Ute, is the secondary lengthening of organically short vowels. This seems to take place, strangely enough, more often in unaccented than in accented syllables; it occurs with particular frequency in initial syllables, though found also medially. The lengthening has neither morphological nor mora-determining (§ 9) significance. Where advisable to indicate its inorganic character, the mark of length is enclosed in parentheses, e. g. *a(·)*. Examples are:

ma- that	*ma(·)va'aiʏᴜ* from there
piŋwa- wife	*pi(·*^{i}*)ŋwa'nɪ* my wife
qura- neck	*qu(·)ra'(i)ya·ŋɪ* his neck (obj.)
tuγwa- night	*tυ(·)γwa'vaɪ'* through the night
ɔa·- back + *-va'na-* on	*ɔ(·)'a·va(·)'nαnɪ* on my back
ta- with the feet	*nïv*^{w}*a't·a(·)maγa·p·ïγa'* went out to test depth of snow with the feet

-vaŋwi- in	*qanι'va(·)ŋwιt·umanaŋqwᴀ* out from inside the house

That, to take the last two examples, we are really dealing with organic *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* respectively, is proved not only by the testimony of the overwhelming preponderance of *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* in other forms but also by the treatment, as regards unvoicing, of the vowels following the *a*(·). A primary two-moraed *a·* would have demanded the incorrect forms: **nïvʷa't·a·maγaᴀʽpïγaʽ* and **qanι'va·ŋwɪtumanaŋqwᴀ* (see § 10, 1).

(b) *Pseudo-diphthongal or -triphthongal treatment of long vowels* (*and diphthongs*). Any long vowel, less frequently secondarily lengthened vowel, may be pseudo-diphthongized, i. e. weakly rearticulated: *a·ᵃ*, *i·ⁱ*, *ï·ⁱ̈*, *υ·ᵘ* (*o·ᵘ*, *o·ᵒ*), *ɔ·ᵓ*. Examples will meet us frequently, so none need be listed here. All organically long vowels, whether resulting from contraction or not, may be broken up into two short vowels or even a short and a long vowel or a long and a short vowel; e. g. organic *a·*, *a·ᵃ* may be further heard diphthongized to *aa*, *aa·*, *a·a*. Throughout *aa* and *a·* are to be considered as phonetic equivalents, similarly for other vowels (e. g. *yï·ʽ* or *yïï'ʽ* DOORWAY). Examples of broken-up long vowels are:

-tca- preterit tense + *-aŋa-* he, him	*tɔna'ť·uαtcaaŋanoᴀ* some one struck him; *ovi'ntɪʽqaŋ'wιntcaa·ŋᴀ* he turned into wood
qυ·p·aŋa- to spill water out of the mouth	*quυ·'p·aŋap·ïγa'aik·wᴀ* (he) let it spill out of (his) mouth

Analogously, organic diphthongs may be pseudo-triphthongized; e. g. *ai* > *aai*, *ɔi* > *ɔɔi*, *au* > *aau*. Even secondary lengthening of the first vowel is sometimes found: *ɔ*(·)*ɔi* < *ɔi*. Examples of pseudo-triphthongs are:

-pïγai- remote past	*sɔtsι'ŋᴜpïγaaic·ᴜ* again peeped out
-'urai- towards	*aŋa''uraaic·ᴜ* towards him again
qɔi'na·- several fall down	*qɔɔ'i'na·p·ïγaʽ* (line) fell right down
pɔi- chest	*pɔɔ'iφɪ*, *pɔ·ɔ'iφɪ* chest
yauq·wi- (sun) sets	*yaa'uq·winᴀ* setting

(c) *Rhetorical lengthening of vowels.* Final vowels, instead of being elided (see § 7, 1) or unvoiced (see § 8, 1, a), are sometimes, for reasons of rhetorical emphasis, lengthened and generally followed by a glottal stop:

i′ŋᴀ	this one	*iŋa·′ʼ*^{a}	this one
u′mᴀ	with it	*u̧m*^{w}*a·′ʼ*^{a}	
kᴡɪʻtu′nɪ	my anus	*kᴡɪʻtun·i·′ʼ*^{i}	
-n·ι(y)a-	like	*cį̈na′ŋwa(·)vιn·ιya·′ʼ*^{a}	like coyote
iva′ŋᴡɪ	in here	*ivaŋwi̧·′ʼ*^{i}	
tυ·′p·(ᴡ)ï, *tυ·′p·(ᴡ)ɪ*	personal name	*tυ·p·*^{w}*ï·′*, *tυ·p·i·′*	(vocative)

A final *-a’*^{a} is also sometimes rhetorically lengthened to *-a’a·*:

^{u}*m*^{w}*a′ɪcampa’*^{a}	that only thou	^{u}*m*^{w}*a′ɪcampa’a·′*	enough for thee! shut up!

Medial vowels are also sometimes lengthened for rhetorical reasons:

qa′tcᴜ	not	*qa·′tcᴜ*	not so!
u(w)a′nᴜ	yonder	*uwε′* + *nᴜ*	way over there

§ 5. *Glide Vowels.*

Inorganic vowels frequently develop as glides before certain consonants. These glides are often heard as full vowels, sometimes as very weak vowels that may be appropriately written as superiors. It will be convenient sometimes, to avoid ambiguity, to indicate the glide by means of a parenthesis. The *a* and *ɔ* which appear as glides before *i* after a guttural consonant preceded by *a* or *ɔ* have been already spoken of (see § 3, 2, a).

(1) Glide *i*. This appears very frequently, one might almost say regularly, before *y* after all vowels but *i* itself. The resulting diphthong, however, always sounds briefer, less sustained, than the organic *i*- diphthong; it does not count as two morae (see § 9) nor can it be pseudo-triphthongized (see § 4, 2, b). Examples are:

na-yap̓·a·-	to appear, look like	*na(i)ya′ṗ·a·ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	appeared
put·cutcuγwa-	to know + *-yï-* present tense	*pᴜʻtcu′tcuγwa(i)’yιq·ᴡᴀ*	knows it
payï-	to return	*pa(i)yü′ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	returned
ap·ïi-ŋu-	to fall asleep	*ᴀʻpï′iŋï(i)yïaŋᴀ*	he is falling asleep

In the last example the *u* of *-ŋu-* is unrounded before the glide *i* (see § 3, 5, c).

Here belongs also the not too common appearance of an *i-* glide after *ï* (*ɪ*) or *ɔ* before a syllable with *i* (chiefly before *-ni-* or *-tsɪ-*); cf. the occasional assimilation of *ï* to a following *i* (§ 3, 3, a). Examples are:

pïnɪ- to see	*pï*^{i}*nɪ'k̯·aip·ïγa'* saw
mi(y)ɔ- at a distance + *-tsɪ-* diminutive	*miyɔ''*^{i}*tsɪ-* at a little distance

(2) Glide *u*. This glide sometimes appears after *a* before labialized spirants or nasals (*γw, xw, ŋw*); before *-γu-*, *-xu-*; and before *-vï*. It also appears after *ï* before *v*. The *u-* diphthong resulting is inorganic (cf. above under 1). Examples are:

qava- horse + *-γwac·ɪ-* tail	*qava'(u)xᴡᴀ'cɪväïx·ᴜ* horse-tail hair
uŋwa- he + *-ŋwantuγwa-* from	*uŋwą'(u)ŋwantux·ᴡᴀ* from him
-vaŋwi- in	*uv*^{w}*ą'(ų)ŋᴡɪtï'* being in it (obj.); *qanɪ'va(au)ŋᴡɪ* in the house (*aa* < *a·* < *a*, see § 4, 2, a)
ampaγa- to talk + *-γu-*, subordinating suffix	*ampa'γa(u)x·ᴜ* while talking
-ya-, *-ia-* objective + *-φï* one's own < *-vï-*	*pᴀ'tca'ia(u)φï* his own moccasins (obj.)
nï- I + *-va-* at > *-φᴀ*	*nɪ'(u)φᴀ* at me
tïva- pine-nut	*tï'(u)φᴀ* pine-nut

(3) Prothetic *u-*. Before an initial labialized *m* (*m*^{w}, see § 14, 3, b) a prothetic *u*, ^{u} is frequently found:

m^{w}*a-* that	*(u)m*^{w}*α'nɪ*, ^{u}*m*^{w}*α'nɪ* in that way; *(u)m*^{w}*a'ʀï*, ^{u}*m*^{w}*a'ʀï* that (inanimate)

§ 6. *Nasalization of Vowels.*

Nasalized vowels are fairly frequent in Southern Paiute, less so than in Ute. They arise from two entirely distinct sources. They are either reduced forms of vowels + *ŋ*; or they are due to the assimilating influence of an immediately preceding or following nasal consonant.

(1) Nasalization as reduced form of *ŋ*. Reduction of vowel + *ŋ* to nasalized vowel occurs fairly often in rapid speech in Southern Paiute; far more frequently in Uintah Ute, where it tends to become the norm (particularly when the vowel is followed by *ŋw*); and regularly in Uncompahgre Ute, where *ŋ* does not occur at all. Examples are:

aŋa- he + *-ŋwantuγwa-* at	*ą·'ŋwantux·*ᴡᴀ at him (*ą·* < *ą* + *a*)
cïnaŋwavi- coyote	*cιną'waφ*ɪ coyote
uŋwai- to hang	*ųwa'i*^{x}*k̯aiχ̯wa'*^{a} go and hang!
na- reflexive + *-uŋwai-*	*ną·*^{a}*wa'ip·ïγaʻ* hung himself (for loss of *u*, see § 4, 1, a)

(2) Inorganic nasalization. This occurs frequently before or after *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, or *ŋw*:

ų·'maiʻ	yes
mį̈mι'ŋwɑntï	one of you
mą'įmιŋ'wait·ï	never saying that
*cįna'ŋwaφ*ɪ	coyote
ᴜ^{x}*qwι'ųnιʻ*	like an arrow
*mį̈nï'c·*ɪ*pïγaʻ*	turned around
*ą(·)nɔ't·*ᴀ*ʻcïaŋq*ᴜ	early in the morning
*ų'ŋ*ᴡᴀ	he (invisible)
*pų̈ŋqa'*ɴᴜ^{x}*qwix̯aiʻ*	keeps calling on
*paą''aŋ*ᴡᴀ	his aunt (< *paa-* + *-'ŋwa-*)
ɴᴜ^{x}*qwι'm'mιąiʻ*	runs along

(3) Nasalized breath. A final or medial breath (including its development to *x*), generally representing the unvoicing of a vowel (see § 8), when following a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel, is itself sometimes heard as nasalized (represented as ʻ̨):

ʻ*ą*ʻ̨	interjection of surprise
cιm^{w}*ï'x̯·qai'ιmï*	left them (<*cïm*^{w}*į̈a-*)

Sometimes the nasalized breath has definite vocalic timbre, is a voiceless nasalized vowel, in other words:

na(·)vi'aŋw ɑmį̈ mother-and-daughter they

Somewhat infrequently a final nasalized breath has been observed unpreceded by a nasal element. It is barely possible that this is the remnant of a "nasalizing" force of the stem or grammatical element (see § 16, 3):

-va·-ⁿ at (e. g. *-va·ntï-* being at) *-vaʿ̦* at (more often heard as *-vaʿ*)

§ 7. *Elision of final vowels.*

Final vowels are never, except in poetry and in certain infrequent cases also in prose, preserved as such. They are either wholly or partly unvoiced (see § 8, 1), or else they are entirely elided or quantitatively reduced. The latter processes are operative before words beginning with a vowel (a glottal stop or breathing preceding an initial vowel does not take away from the vocalic beginning).

(1) Elision of final short vowels. A final short vowel of the ideally complete form of the word is lost, without qualitative or quantitative trace, before a word beginning with a vowel. A preceding consonant is syllabified directly with the beginning vowel of the next word; e. g. *aruγwa a'ip·ïγaʿ* TO-HIM SAID becomes *aruγw a'ip·ïγaʿ*, syllabified *a-ru-γwa'ip-pï-γaʿ*. Examples are:

-aq·a- it + *o'ᵘ* then	*ïvʷï'aq· o''ᵘ* go-ahead-it then!
qa'iva-ya- mountain (obj.)	*qa'ivay uru'q·ᴡᴀtux·ᴡᴀ* towards the mountain
ᴡï'cι'avιa- feathers (obj.)	*ᴡï'cι'avι u'mᴀ* on the feathers
paa'irami- our (dual inclus.) aunt + *uŋᴡᴀ* animate singular article-pronoun	*paa'iram uŋᴡᴀ* our aunt
cιna'ŋwavi- coyote	*cιna'ŋwav avι'p·ïγaʿ* coyote was lying
aγa'n·i- in what way	*aγa'n· ani'ntcï* how doing
muru''i- blanket + *ᴀʀï* inanimate article- pronoun	*muru'' ᴀʀï* the blanket
ⁱ'i'tcï- this	*ⁱ'i'tc aro''amιʿ* this is wont to be
saγwa'χarï- being blue	*saγwa'χar uru''ap·ïγaʿ* was blue
-yï- present tense + *a'ïφɪ* now	*puŋ'wi'ŋqïy a'ïφɪ* makes a peeping noise now
-c·u- again	*a'ip·ïγaaic· imi'ntcux·ᴡᴀ* said again to thee

A final glottal stop protects the preceding vowel from elision, but the murmured echo which so often follows the glottal stop is, of course, elided before a following initial vowel:

-uṗ·a'(^{a})	through	*ma'uṗ·a' u̥nɩ'ŋuts·*	through there then
ïv^{w}ï'(^{ï})	go ahead!	*ïv^{w}ï'' imɪ*	go ahead thou!

Very rarely do forms turn up with elided vowel + glottal stop, the latter being then absorbed in a preceding consonant, e. g. *ma'uṗ· u̥nɩ'ŋuts·* THROUGH THERE THEN.

(2) REDUCTION OF FINAL LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. A final long vowel or a diphthong loses its second mora before a word beginning with a vowel, i. e. the long vowel is shortened, while the second vowel of the diphthong is lost without trace:

-va·-	at	*mava' u̥nɩ'ŋuts·*	there then
uq·wɩ'yv·-	arrow	*ᴜ^{x}qwɩ'yu ᴀʀï*	the arrow
a'ip·ïγai-	said	*a'ip·ïγa u̥m^{w}u'rux·ᴡᴀ*	said to them
-q·ai-	perfective	*ts·pi'ŋᴜqwa aŋa'v'antux·ᴡᴀ*	has appeared on him (for *w* of *-qwa* see § 14, 3, c)

A final short vowel, reduced as above, may combine into a long with the vowel of like quality that begins the following word; e.g. *ts·pi'ŋᴜqwa·^{a}ŋ'a'v'antux·ᴡᴀ.*

(3) RETENTION OF FINAL VOWELS. The above rules do not apply to monosyllables, which retain their second mora:

pa·-	water	*pa·' ᴀʀï*	the water
o·-	arrow	*o·' ᴀʀï*	the arrow
qwau-	off, away	*qwau aγï'm·aŋwɩt·ux·ᴡᴀ*	off away from it

Before *ai-*, *'ai-* TO SAY subjective independent personal pronouns keep their final vowel. There is probably some morphological reason back of this usage. Examples are:

imi-	thou	*imi' 'aik̯·ᴀ*	thou sayest
nïm^{w}i-	we (exclus.)	*ta·'^{a}mpïniyaŋᴡ ni̯m^{w}i' 'a'ik̯·amɩ'*	we (excl.) are tired of what you (pl.) say

The same rule applies to subjective independent personal pronouns before *an·i'-k̯·a-* TO DO, except that third personal pronouns (at least animate singulars) lose their final vowel and insert a glottal stop before the verb (cf. enclitic *-aŋa'ŋa-* < *-aŋa-* + *-aŋa-*, § 41, 1, e):

nïm^{w}*i-*	we (exclus.)	*nį̈m*^{w}*ι 'anι'k̯·ᴀ*	we are doing

but:

m^{w}*aŋa-*	that one (animate)	*m*^{w}*α'ŋ 'ani'k̯·ᴀ*	that one does

Apparently other final vowels are sometimes preserved before *an·i-k̯·a-*:

qatcu-	not	*qatcu an·ι'k̯·ᴀ*	

Certain final vowels are protected from elision by taking on a glottal stop. This is true of nominal or independent pronominal subjects immediately followed by a substantive verb (see § 56), e. g.:

itcï-	this	*itcï'' 'aru''am·ι'*	this is wont to be
na'a'intsιt·sι-	little girl	*na'a'ints·tsι' aru''*^{a}	a little girl it is
imi-	thou	*imi'' ųwaru''*^{a}	thou art

With the last example contrast:

imia-	(of) thee	*imi 'uraru''*^{a}	it is thine

It is likely that here again we are not dealing with a purely phonetic phenomenon.

A protecting glottal stop is added also to the final *a* of the preterit enclitics *-γwa-* and *-(n)tca-* (see § 19), provided they are directly preceded by an independent personal pronoun and followed by a word beginning with a consonant, e.g.:

nï-	I + *-γwa-*	*nï'γwa' tɔ'nᴀ*	I punched
nïm^{w}*i-*	we (excl.) + *-γwa-*	*nį̈m*^{w}*ι'χ̯wa'*^{a} *qa'tcᴜ*	we did not (pluck some of his feathers)
itcï-	this + *-tca-*	*ιtcï'tca'*^{a} *pᴀ'tca'n· aʀï*	these my moccasins have (worn out)
nï-	I + *-ntca-*	*nï'ntca' pɪ'pi'tcï*	I have arrived

With these examples contrast:

an·ιa-	what + *-γwa-*	*an·ι'aχw a'ivï'*	what did (he) say?
cïna'ŋwavi-	coyote + *-tca-*	*cïna'ŋwavitc uŋw o·''*	coyote-did he break-wind
u(w)an·oyu-	from over there + *-ntca-*	*u(w)a'n·oyuntc paiyü'ŋᴜ*	returned from over there
nï-	I + *ntca-*	*nï'ntc ïγï'ʀ pɪ'pi'tcï*	I indeed arrived

(4) Irregularities. Very rarely do we find a final diphthong or long vowel completely elided:

-p·ïγai- remote past	*tï'ntɪˣqap·ïγ ụwα'ŋwantï‘* ate well from her; *a'ip·ïγ a'iφᴀputs·* said young man
uvʷa·- there	*v'+vʷ a'ip·ïγa‘* "yonder," (he) said

A final *ŋw*, after elision of the originally following vowel, unites with an initial ‘ of the next word into *ŋ‘w*:

anι'a-ŋwa- what he (inv.) + *‘ai-* to say	*anι''aŋ‘w a'imι‘* what he is wont to say

§ 8. *Vocalic unvoicing.*

Vowels are unvoiced (indicated in our orthography by corresponding small capitals) in two circumstances: when final in absolute position or before a word beginning with a consonant (not including ' or ‘); and initially or medially under certain conditions to be defined below.

(1) Unvoicing in final position. The final unvoicing may be either complete or partial, according to the nature of the final vowel and the element preceding it. We must distinguish between final short vowels and long vowels or diphthongs.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* A final completely unvoiced vowel always sounds distinctly breathy in quality and may, indeed, be appropriately defined as aspiration with the vocalic timbre of the originally voiced vowel. Very frequently the breath alone is heard, the timbre not being always distinctly perceptible; *i* and *u* are the clearest of the timbres, while unvoiced *a* and *ï* are not always easy to detect. Where the timbre of the voiceless vowel is obscure, a mere ‘ is used. A vowel or nasal (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) preceding the unvoiced vowel remain unaffected, though often the latter part of the nasal is also voiceless. More rarely the nasal too is heard completely unvoiced. A stopped consonant (including *tc*) becomes a strongly aspirated surd (e. g. *-pi* > *-p‘ɪ*, indicated more simply as *-pɪ*). After a *q·* or *ŋq*, the final breath is sometimes sharpened to a glide ˣ (e. g. *-aq·a-* > *-aq·ᴀ*, *-aq·‘* or *-aq·ˣᴀ*, *-aq·ˣ*); after an anterior palatal *k̯·* or *ŋk̯*, this glide is palatalized to a ˣ̣ (as in German *ich*; e. g. *a'ik̯·a-* several say > *a'ik̯·ᴀ*, *a'ik̯·‘* or *a'ik̯·ˣ̣ᴀ*, *a'ik̯·ˣ̣*). Examples are:

-rï-a-	participle (objective)	*qᴜ‘tca′q·arïᴀ, -rï‘*	being light-gray (obj.)
-n·ιa-	numeral suffix	*ma(·)n·u′n·ιᴀ, -n·ι‘*	all
mɔc·ɔa-	pubic hair	*ᴍɔ‘cɔ′ᴀ*	pubic hair
-ma-	with	*a′mᴀ*	with it
-ni-	my	*qani′nɪ, qani′n‘*	my house
-na-	verbal abstract noun suffix	*a′ik̯·ava·nᴀ, -va·n‘*	what (several) will say
-aŋa-	his	*qanι′aŋᴀ, -aŋ‘*	his house
-ŋu-	momentaneous suffix	*ivi′ŋᴜ*	to take a drink
-u(w)a’mi-	in front of	*qanι′u(w)α’ᴍɪ*	in front of the house
-p·i-	body-part suffix	*piyï′p·ɪ*	heart
-ntï-	participial	*uv^{w}a·′^{a}ntï*	being there
-q·a-	plural subject	*tï‘qa′q·ᴀ*	several eat
pitcï-	to arrive	*pi′tcï*	to arrive

After spirants and rolled consonants (*v*; *s·*, *c·*; *γ*; *r*) the unvoiced vowel in turn unvoices the consonant, if not already unvoiced. It is itself not typically isolable as a separate element but appears generally as a definite vocalic timbre of the unvoiced spirant; i. e. such an orthography as *-c·ᴜ* is to be interpreted as a long *c* with simultaneous lip-rounding as for *u*. However, the independent vocalic quality as subsequent to the consonant release is also frequently heard, e. g. in *-ϕɪ* < *-vi-*. Frequently the vocalic timbre is hardly perceptible. The unvoiced forms of *v*, *γ*, and *r* are respectively *ϕ*, *x*, and *ʀ*; final *-s*, *-c*, and *-x* are always long. A final *-tsι-* regularly becomes *-ts·*. Examples are:

-vi-	body-part suffix	*taŋa′ϕɪ*	knee
-va-	at	*aŋa′ϕ(ᴀ)*	at him
-vï-	one's own	*qanι′a(u)ϕ(ï)*	one's own house (obj.)
wara-	edible seeds	*wa′ʀ(ᴀ)*	
-ru-	to make	*wana′ʀᴜ*	to make a rabbit-snare
-c·u-	again	*a′ip·ïγaaic·ᴜ*	said again
-v’a·γi-	over	*qani′v’a·x·ɪ*	over the house
-γu-	subordinating suffix	*tᴀ‘ci′p·a(u)x·ᴜ*	when it was evening
-ntsι-	nominal suffix	*nïŋwï′nts·*	man, Indian

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a final vowel is only partly reduced in voice. It does not lose its voice altogether but becomes a "murmured" vowel (indicated by superior vowels):

aru'a-	to be	*nï' 'aru''*^{a}	I am
-t·u'i-		*tɔγɔ'qWɪtu'*^{i}	to cause to run
taq·wι·'o-	roasting tray	*tᴀ*^{x}*qwι·''*^{o}	

Sometimes the murmured vowel is heard assimilated in quality to the vowel preceding the glottal stop:

aru'a-	to be	*aru'*^{u}	(generally *aru'*^{a}, *aru'*^{a})
tïv^{w}*ιc·ι'a-*	to pay	*tïv*^{w}*ι'c·ι'*^{i}	

If the word ends in a consonant + glottal stop + vowel (or, what amounts to the same thing, consonant + vowel + glottal stop; see § 15, 2), the final vowel appears fully voiced and followed by the glottal stop + a murmured rearticulation or "echo" of the vowel (cf. § 7, 1, end). Such syllables are two-moraed (see § 9). The "echo" is not always clearly perceptible. Examples are:

-n'nι-	continuative suffix	*ŋnι'k̯·anι'*^{i}	several keep doing
paγa'ŋ'wι-nɪ	my bowstring	*paγa'ŋwι'*^{i}	bowstring
-uṗ·a-	through	*ma'up·a'*^{a}	through there

There is, however, a distinction in treatment between a glottal stop that belongs properly to the final syllable, as in the above examples, and one that, though it may actually appear in it, is not organically of it but belongs properly to some part of the word preceding the final syllable or is an accessory element (see § 15, 1). In the latter case, the final vowel is unvoiced (better, probably, whispered; cf. 2, a, end); indeed, a preceding nasal is in such cases apt to be more completely unvoiced (whispered) because of the presence of the glottal stop. Such syllables are one-moraed (see § 9). Examples are:

-n'na-	momentaneous	*ts·k̯a'p·ιn'ɴᴀ*	to cut something (cf. *ts·k̯a'vιnᴀ* to be cutting)
-'-mi-	thy	*qanι''mɪ, -'ᴍɪ*	(more frequently *qa-nι''ιmɪ,* see § 15, 2, a) thy house

(b) *Treatment of w + short vowel.* In words ending in a labialized consonant (*q·w, ŋqw, γw, ŋw*) + short vowel, both the *w* and the vowel are unvoiced (unvoiced *w* is indicated as *W*). The preceding *q* then becomes aspirated, *γ* a lengthened *x*. Examples are:

ivi′y′ïq·wa- drinks it (inv.)	*ivi′y′ïq·ᴡᴀ*
pa·n·a′ŋqwa- down	*pa·n·a′ŋqᴡᴀ*
-ruγwa- to	*ųmʷu′rux·ᴡᴀ* to them
-raŋwa- our (incl. plur.)	*pivi′araŋᴡᴀ* our mothers
-vaŋwi- in	*qani′vaŋᴡɪ* in the house
-ŋwï- animate plural	*nïŋwï′ntsiŋᴡï* men, Indians

(c) *Treatment of y + short vowel.* A final *y* + short vowel become unvoiced to ʏ + voiceless vowel (ʏ is much lighter than *ch* of German *ich*). Ordinarily, however, the ʏ becomes a mere breath merged in the following voiceless vowel. If the vowel preceding the *y* is *a*, *ɔ*, *ï*, or *u*, a clear *i* or ⁱ is generally heard as voiced glide. The timbre of the final vowel is least clear if reduced from *ï*; hence, final *-yï-* appears normally as *-iʻ*, *-ⁱʻ* after all vowels but *i*, after which merely *-ʻ* is ordinarily heard. Examples are:

-q·a- plural subject + *-ya-* plural imperative	*qa·′q·ai*(ʏ)ᴀ, *-q·aiʻ* sing ye!
mi(*y*)*ɔ-* far off	*mi′*(ʏ)*ɔ*
-′axava(*i*)*yu-* in among	*ᵃ′a′xavai*ʏᴜ in it
co·-yu- the other one	*co·′*ʏᴜ
-m′mɩa- moving along + *-yï-* present tense	*pɔ·′yam′mɩaⁱʻ* runs along
-ŋu- momentaneous + *-yï-*	*ivi′ŋuiʻ* takes a drink
-t·ï·- passive + *-yï-*	*ivi′t·uiŋ*ᴜ*tï·ⁱʻ* is caused to drink
pitcï-, *pitcɩ-* to arive + *-yï-*	*pitcɩ′ⁱʻ* arrives; *cu*(*w*)*a′- p·itciʻ* wakes up (lit., nearly arrives)
pa′an·i- to be high + *-yï-*	*pa′a′n·iʻ* is high

A long *a·* or an *ai* before final *y* + vowel (and, indeed, before *y* + vowel generally) are practically indistinguishable phonetically, owing to the *i*- glide after *a·* and the tendency of *a·* and *ai* to break up into *aa* and *aai* respectively (see § § 5, 1; 4, 2, b). Both appear as *aai*, *a·i*, or, very characteristically before final *y* + vowel, as *a.i*, a true diphthong in which the *a* and *i* melt lazily into each other. Hence a final *-aiʻ* < *-a*(*i*)*-yï-* is acoustically quite distinct from *-aiʻ*, *-a.iʻ* < *-a·-yï-* or *-ai-yï-*; the former *-aiʻ* is sharp, the latter somewhat languishing in character, though not necessarily so long as to deserve the orthography *-a·iʻ*. Examples are:

pa·- water + *-ya-* objective	*paa′i*ᴀ, *paa′iʻ*, *pa′.iʻ*
pai- three + *-yu-* numeral suffix	*paa′i*ʏᴜ, *pa′aiʻ*, *pa′.iʻ*
tavai- to set fire to brush + *-yï-*	*tava·′iʻ* sets fire to brush

-tcai-	plural medio-passive + *-yï-*	*pa(·)γa'itca.i*ʽ	(clothes) are worn out
na·vai-	to gather up + *-yï-*	*na·'vaai*ʽ	gathers up

Contrast the final *-k̭·ai*ʽ of *a'ik̭·ai*ʽ SEVERAL SAY (< *ai-k̭·a-yï-*) with the final *-k̭·ai*ʽ, *-k̭·a.i*ʽ of *pïnι'k̭·a.i*ʽ SEES (< *pïnι-k̭·ai-yï-*).

(d) *Treatment of long vowels.* All final long vowels, which includes doubled short vowels (see § 4, b), are shortened, a final breath taking the place of the lost mora:

$^{i'}$*i'va·-*	here	$^{i'}$*i'vä*ʽ	(see § 3, 1, a)
qaγa·-	to begin to sing	*qaγa'*ʽ	
qïŋwa·-	edge	*qïŋwa'*ʽ	
ᴀʽcι'a·-	outer surface	*ᴀʽcι'a*ʽ	
mori·-	bean	*morι'*ʽ	
-vï·-	irrealis	*aro''avï*ʽ	would be
qwïγwïï-	several take one object	*qwïγwï'*ʽ	
ᴜ^{x}qwι'yυ·-, *ᴜ^{x}qwι'yuu-*	arrow	*ᴜ^{x}qwι'yu*ʽ	

(e) *Treatment of diphthongs.* All final *i-* diphthongs lose the second mora, the *-i*, its place being taken by a breath. This breath has not *i-* timbre. Examples are:

-p·ïγai-	remote past	*a'ip·ïγa*ʽ	said
avi'χ̭ai-	while lying	*avi'χ̭a*ʽ	
-'urai-	toward	*u'u'ra*ʽ	toward it
tïv^{w}ai-	down, west	*tïv^{w}a'*ʽ	

Note that:

original *-ai-* becomes final *-a*ʽ
original *-a-yï-* becomes final *-ai*ʽ
original *-ai-yï-* becomes final *-a.i*ʽ

Final glottalized diphthongs (see § 15, 2, a), aside from *-a'(a)i-*, retain the *-i* as a "murmured" vowel (see a above), e. g. causative *-t·u'*^{i}; *ᴀ^{x}qɔ''*^{i} SEVERAL SLEEP < *ᴀ^{x}qɔ'(ɔ)i-*. Final *-a'(a)i-*, however, is treated analogously to *-ai-*, i. e. *-i* is lost without trace and the then final glottal stop is followed by a "murmured" ^{a}:

-γwa'ai-	to go in order to	*ųwa'i^{x}k̭aiγ̭wa'*^{a}	to go in order to hang
ya'ai-	to die	*ya''*^{a}	
naŋwa'ai-	both	*naŋwa''*^{a}	

Final *-au-* is treated like *-a-* + *-u-*, i. e. the *-u-* is unvoiced (see a above):

purau-	flour	*pura'ᴜ*

(f) *Treatment of monosyllables.* All monosyllables, except those ending in *-ai-*, sustain no loss of mora. They end in free breath or, if the stem ends in a glottal stop, take on a "murmured" echo vowel:

pa·-	water	*pa·ʻ*
pɔ·-	trail	*pɔ·ʻ*
qwau-	off	*qwa'uʻ*
nï', nï-	I	*nï''ⁱ*

A final *-ai-* in monosyllables becomes *-ą·ʻ*:

ma(a)i-	to find	*mą·ʻ*

(g) *Special developments.* A final breathing or voiceless vowel is lost as such before a word beginning with a voiceless vowel or voiceless *y* or *w* (see 2 below). In such cases the voiceless ending of the first merges, in a sort of crasis, with the voiceless beginning of the next. Particularly noteworthy is the formation of voiceless labialized consonants "across" words. Thus, *-p·ɪ* + *ᴀʻ-* > *-p·ᴀʻ-* (*p·* is here a strongly aspirated surd); *-ŋᴡɪ* + *ɪ̈ʻ-* > *-ŋᴡɪ̈ʻ-*; *-q·ᴀ* + *ᴡᴀʻ-* > *-q·ᴡᴀʻ-*; *-ŋᴡᴀ* + *ᴡᴀʻ-* > *-ŋᴡᴀʻ-*. Examples of such mergings are:

taŋᴡᴀ we + *ᴀʻpïi-* to sleep	*ta'ŋᴡᴀʻpï'iʻ* we sleep
-q·ᴜ objective + *ᴡɪ̈ʻtɔn'ɩ-* to shake out	*ma(·)nɔ'q·ᴡɪ̈tɔ'n'ⁱˣpïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ* shook them all out
taŋᴡᴀ we + *ᴡᴀʻtcü'ŋwi-* four	*taŋᴡᴀʻtcü'ŋwɩyum·un·ɩʻ* we four

Not infrequently a final breathing or voiceless vowel is completely lost before a word beginning with a consonant, particularly if that consonant is identical or homorganic with the consonant preceeding the unvoiced vowel. A germinated or nasalized consonant (see § 12, 2, a; § 16) results:

miyɔ'n·ɩᴀ far away + *paγ(a)i-* to go	*miyɔ'n·ɩ p·aγa'ik·w'aiʻ* goes off far away
aŋa'iac·ᴜ him + *cɩna'ŋwavɩʻ* coyote (obj.)	*aŋa'iac·ɩna'ŋwavɩʻ*
umʷυ·'ʷα'mɪ in front of them + *mi'ʏᴜ* far off	*umʷυ·'ʷα'miʏᴜ* in front of them far off
nï'aq·ᴀ I- it + *qᴡɪ̈ʻqwï''iʻ* takes several times	*nï'aq·ᴡɪ̈ʻqwï''iʻ* I take it several times

qa·''namɪ	thy singing	*qa·''nam pᴜʽtcu'tcuγwaiʽ*	understands thy singing

A final voiceless -*ɪ* is voiced again to -*i* as a glide to a following *y*-:

qï'aŋwɪ	yesterday	*qï'aŋwι ya''*^{a}	died yesterday

(2) Unvoicing in non-final position. Under certain accentual conditions to be defined below (see § 10, 1) a short vowel or the second mora of a long vowel or diphthong loses its voice in initial or medial position before a geminated unvoiced consonant (*p·*; *t·*; *q·*; *q·w*; *s·*, *c·*; *t·s*, *t·c*). Here we shall deal only with the manner of such unvoicing.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* Short vowels are unvoiced as in final position (see 1, a–c) with the same effect on preceding consonants. The breathy quality, however, of these non-final unvoicings is even greater than in final position. Hence a moment of free untimbred breath (indicated as -ʽ-) is generally audible after the unvoiced vowel proper and before the consonantal closure; before guttural stops (*q*, *qw*), less frequently before other stops, this -ʽ- develops to a weak guttural spirant (indicated -^{x}-), which has palatal timbre after *i* (indicated -$^{\underset{.}{x}}$-, a very brief but sharp *x̣* sound as in German *ich*). Such a breath-glide may also occur under appropriate conditions finally before a word closely linked with the preceding; e. g. *pa'.iᴀ*^{x} *qarï'rïᴀ* OF-WATER SITTING (obj.), OF THE LAKE. A nasal (*m*, *n*) preceding the voiceless vowel is completely unvoiced (*ᴍ*, *ɴ*) when initial and generally half-voiced (*mᴍ*, *nɴ*) when medial; an initial *y* becomes completely unvoiced (*ʏ*- is acoustically like -$^{\underset{.}{x}}$-, only inclined to be less spirantal in quality). -*ni*-, when unvoiced, often appears as *n*$^{y\underset{.}{x}}$, the -*i*- palatalizing the *n* (see § 13, 4) and unvoicing to a spirantal $^{\underset{.}{x}}$. As in final position, the vocalic timbre is not always very clear; e. g. -*c·ï*- often unvoices to -*c·*-, -*γa*- to -*x·*-, -*si*- to -*s·*-. Examples are:

ap·ï'i-	to sleep	*ᴀʽpï'iʽ*	sleeps
tac·ι'p·a-	evening	*tᴀʽcι'p·a(u)x·ᴜ*	when it was evening
aq·a-	it	*ᴀ*^{x}*qa'naŋqwɔp·ᴀ*	near it
maŋwa'va-	to creep	*maŋwa'φᴀqa(i)yïamï*	they are creeping
to·'q·wa-	to be black	*to·'q·wᴀʽqaŋᴜ*	several become black
aŋqa'γa-	to be red	*aŋqa'x·qaŋᴜ*	several become red

NP

kwip·a'-	to beat, hit	*kwɪʻpa'nɪ*	beat me!
pik̯·a'	sore	*pɪ^{x}k̯a'mɔ'^{ɔ}*	sore-handed
tsip·i'-	to appear	*ts·pɩ'ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	appeared
-ɔa'γɩt·uγwa-	around	*aŋa'ɔax·tux·ᴡᴀ*	around him
wïq·a'm'mi-	to cover	*ᴡïʻqa'm'mɩŋuntca·ŋanɪ*	I covered him
tïra'c·ïq·wa-	to come to a standstill	*tïrα'c·qwαts·*	having come to a standstill
pɔ·'t·ɔq·wa-	to be round	*pɔ·'t·ɔ^{x}qwaʀï*	being round
puc·a'γai-	to look for	*pᴜʻca'γaip·ïγaʻ*	looked for
-yu-c·ampa-	although	*a'iʏᴜcamṗaŋᴡᴀ*	although he said
yuq·u'-	fawn	*ʏᴜ^{x}qu'ts·*	fawn
muq·wi'χ̯a-	to call on	*pï̯ŋqa'ᴍᴜ^{x}qwiχ̯aiʻ*	keeps calling on
mït·ï'ŋwa-	point of hill	*ᴍïʻtï'ŋᴡᴀ*	
qa·'-n·a-	singing	*qa·'nɴᴀʻcuv a'ip·ïγaʻ*	still-his-own-singing said
nuq·wi'-	to stream	*ɴᴜ^{x}qwi'ntï*	stream
paγ(a)'i-	to go + *nuq·wi'-* to stream, run	*pa(·)γa'(i)n^{yx}qwɩp·ïγaʻ*	started off on way

Note, in the last example, the curious merging of original *-γ(a)i'nu-* to *-γa'(i)n^{yx}-* for normally expected *-γa'inɴᴜ^{x}-*.

Rarely *ɪ* develops a parasitic ^{s} or ^{ts} before a following *ts* or *tc*; e. g. *ta·'p·ɪ^{ts}tcaq·aip·ïγaʻ* (THEY) WERE TIRED.

Unvoiced vowels directly following other vowels quite frequently sharpen to a secondary *-x·-*. This happens most frequently with *-u-* (normally unvoiced to *-ᴜ-*, *-ᴜʻ*, *-ᴜ^{x}-*), which then appears as *-x(·)ᴜ-*, *-^{x}ᴜ-*, *-ux(·)ᴜ-* (with glide *-u-*).

Examples are:

cïm^{w}ï'a-	to leave	*cï̯m^{w}ï'x·qwa'^{ai}pïγaʻ*	left to start away (*-x·-* < *-ᴀ^{x}-*)
-up·a'-	through	*pina's·ɩχ̯ax·ᴜpa'aφï*	through his own legs; *pɔ·'^{x}ᴜpa'^{a}* through the trail; *^{u}m^{w}a'uxᴜpa'^{a}* through there

After *ŋ*, as well as after *q·* and *ŋq* (cf. 1, a), *u* frequently develops to ^{x}*ᴜ* or simply ^{x}:

-ŋu- momentaneous suffix	*tïvʷι'ŋˣUpïγa*ʿ asked; *na(i)ya'ṗ·a·ŋˣpïγa*ʿ appeared, seemed

An initial ˣ- attack is sometimes heard before a *W* + voiceless vowel; e. g. *ˣWÏ'cι'aφI* FEATHER.

After a consonant + glottal stop (or glottal stop + consonant) the reducible vowel is, as in the preceding cases, completely unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable, otherwise the vowel, counting for two moras, is preserved intact (cf. final treatment, 1, a, end). Owing to the immediately preceding glottal closure, the reduced vowel is whispered rather than fully breathed, which causes a following ˣ or ˣ̣ release to stand out all the more sharply. Examples are:

qwï·''nι-k̯·ai- to strut out one's breast	*qwï·''NIˣ̣k̯aai*ʿ struts out (his) breast
wavï''nι- to pull bowstring	*wa(·)vï'n'Iˣ̣pïγa'aimï* they 2 pulled their bowstrings
pïmpï'n'ni- several look (<*pïn·i-* with inserted -'-)	*pïmpï'n'Iˣ̣k̯aiyïaŋA* several look at him
-n'na- momentaneous transitive (< *-n·a-* durative transitive with inserted -'-)	*aŋqa'n'NAˣpïγa'aikWA* painted it

With these examples contrast:

-uṗ·a- through	*ᵒ'o'ṗ·at·ïA* being through it (obj.)
-n'ni- continuative	*pïni'n'nιp·ïγa*ʿ kept looking; *moi'n'nip·ïγa*ʿ led around

Here the *-a-* and *-i-* are protected from the reduction which their phonetic position would warrant by the glottal stop inhering in the syllable.

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a reducible vowel is "murmured," e. g.:

uru''a- to be	*uru''ᵃpïγa*ʿ was

Yet such vowels were quite often heard as fully voiced; e. g. *uru''ap·ïγa*ʿ, further:

-t·u'a- impersonal	*ya(a)'iŋqïtu'ap·ïγa*ʿ was hunting with people

(b) *Treatment of long vowels.* Under the appropriate phonetic conditions the second mora of a long vowel is unvoiced. It is treated precisely like a short vowel of the same quality (see a). Particularly frequent is the development of the voiceless part of a long vowel to *x·*. Examples are:

cïrï'ya·-t̓·ui- to frighten	*cɪ̈ʿcï'rï'yaʿt̓uiyïnɪ* frightens me several times
tuγwa·- fire goes out	*tuγwa'ʿpïγaʿ* fire went out
mantca·- to put one's hands + *-q·ai-* resultative	*mantca'ᴀ^{x}qaʿ* to hold out one's hands
-r'ɔ'- (< *-r'ua'-*) interrogative + *-aq·a-* it > *-r'ua·q·a-*	*ųwa'va·n·ιar'ɔx·ᴡqaxain·ιʿ* it looks as though it will rain (for -ᴡ- see § 14, 3, c)
tɔ·'aγa·-q·arï- to sit watching	*tɔɔ·'aγax·qaʀïpïγaʿ* sat watching
-mï·- after	*ųnι'ŋumïʿtsιaŋᴀ* having done so to him
ma- with the hand + *pɔ·t·ɔq·wa-* to be round	*wιa'm·avɔx·tɔq·ᴡᴀqainᴀ* what had been hand-rounded out of mud (*wιa-*)
ma- + *to·q·wa-* to stretch	*ma(·)ro'O^{x}qwa(i)y'ïq·ᴡᴀ* (I) stretch it
sɔri·'k·ι- Salt Lake	*sɔri'$^{\underline{x}}$kιŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* to Salt Lake

The rule for glottally affected syllables having a long vowel is parallel to that of short-voweled syllables (see a). A reducible second mora is unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable (see *-cïrï'ya·-* above), but retained intact if the glottal stop inheres in its own syllable, e. g.:

-'a·-, -a·'- not to be	*qaŋqa'mïa·'q·ut·u'ac·ampᴀ* though others are not jack-rabbits (not, as one might expect, **qaŋqa'-mï'aᴀ^{x}qu-*)

Examples occur, however, in which the glottalized long vowel is broken, the reducible second mora appearing as a murmured vowel (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

kwit·u- anus + *-up̓·a-* through	*kwɪʿtu'ʼ^{u}p·a·nɪ* through my anus

(c) *Treatment of diphthongs.* The *i* or *u* of a diphthong, if in a reducible mora, loses its voice and undergoes the developments already given (see a). Thus, *au* becomes *aᴜ*, *aᴜ*‘, *aᴜ*^{x}, *a*^{x}*ᴜ*; *ai* becomes *aɪ*, a(*ɪ*)^{x}, generally with *i*- glide as *aiɪ*, *ai*‘, *ai*(*ɪ*)^{x} (the -*ai*- here is extremely brief, better written *a*^{i}). Examples are:

uŋwa'i-k̭·ai-	to be hanging	*u̥wa'i*^{x}*k̭a*‘	
piya'i-	to be left over	*piyai*‘*pïγa*‘	was left over
mava'i-t·ïγan·ɩa-	to a distance	*ma*(·)*va'*^{x}*tɩγan·ɩ*‘	
ïmʷï'i-	several arrive	*ï̥mʷï'ɪpïγa*‘	several arrived

For treatment of -*au*-, see 2, a. Note that non-final *ai* is treated differently from final *ai*; e. g. from *pïni'k̭·ai-* TO SEE are formed *pïni'k̭·a*‘ TO SEE and *pa-vï'nɪk̭aɪpïγa*‘ SAW WATER.

The reduced -*i*- or -*u*- of a glottalized diphthong is "murmured," e. g.:

aq·ɔ''(*ɔ*)*i-*	several sleep	*ᴀ*^{x}*qɔ''*^{i}*pïγa*‘	several slept
-*q·wa'*(*a*)*i-*	off	*cimʷï'x·qwa'*^{ai}*pïγa*‘	left in going off

Nevertheless, full unreduced vowels were generally recorded in such cases (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

ya'(*a*)*i-*	to die	*pᴀ*‘*pa'q·a*(*i*)*ya'aip·ïγa*‘	kept groaning with pain (lit., dying of pain)

SYLLABIC STRUCTURE AND ACCENT (§ § 9–11).

§ 9. *Syllables and moras.*

Every Paiute syllable consists, properly speaking, of a vowel (long or short) or diphthong preceded, or unpreceded, by a consonant (e. g. *u-*, *o·-*, *ai-*, *pï-*, *to·-*, *pai-*); or of such a primary syllable stopped by a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) that is itself followed by a stopped consonant or *w* (e. g. *aŋ-qa-*, *ain-tcï-*, *tïŋ-qa-*, *va·n-tï-*, *nïŋ-wï-*). It is somewhat doubtful whether vowels followed by geminated consonants are to be considered as ending their syllable or not (e. g. *ap·ï'i-* as *a-p·ï'i-* or *ap-pï'i-*). Morphology and the unvoicing of vowels before geminated stopped consonants (see § 10) suggest the former; direct phonetic observation apparently the latter. It is quite possible, as suggested by etymology, that *ŋw* also is best considered as belonging to the following syllable (e. g. *nï-ŋwï-* < **nï-mï-*). A syllable may be either entirely voiceless or only so in its second mora (e. g. *Aʽ-*, a*Iʽ-*, *-q·A-*, *-q·aIʽ-*); see § 8. A glottal stop may be found at the beginning or end of a syllable, or in the middle of it (e. g. *-n'ni-*, *-n'i-*, *-ni'-*; *-p̓·a-*, *-p'a-*, *-pa'a-*, *-pá-*, *-pa'-*); see § 15, 2.

Of greater phonologic importance than the division of a word into syllables is that into units of length, moras. The vowels are to be taken as the measures of these moras. Every organic short vowel (voiced or unvoiced) counts for one mora; every long vowel or diphthong *(voiced or partly unvoiced) for two. Syllabically final nasals* do not affect the mora as quantitative unit. By way of illustration, *qanι'va·ntux·WA* has six moras (*qa-* + *-nι* + *-va-* + *-an-* + *-tu-* + *-x·WA* < *-γwa-*); *a'iYUcampa·ŋanI* has eight (*a-* + *-i-* + *-YU-* < *-yu-* + *-cam-* + *-pa-* + *-a-* + *-ŋa-* + *-nI* < *-ni-*). The first, third, fifth moras, and so on, will be styled uneven moras; the second, fourth, sixth, and so on, even moras.

It is very important to note that all inorganic increments and losses have no effect on the mora-construction of the word. Secondary lengthening of short vowels, pseudo-diphthongization, glide vowels, shortening of long vowels or diphthongs all have no effect. Thus, *qa(·)nι'va(au)ŋWI* < *qanι'vaŋWI* has four, not seven, moras; on the other hand, *mam·a·''(a)ŋιť·ιva·n·ιar'ɔnI* WILL (THEY) LOSE ME? < *mam·a·''ŋιť·uiva·n·ιar'uanI* has thirteen, not eleven, moras. Long vowels resulting from contraction of long + short vowels, however, count as ordinary long vowels (e. g. *-va·-* + *-aq·a-* gives *-va·q·a-*, counting for three, not four, moras). Similarly, vowel + diphthong results in a two-moraed diphthong (e. g. *ma-* + *-ai-* gives *mai*, *maai-*, counting for two, not three, moras). In other words, no three-moraed syllables are found.

A glottalized syllable with long vowel or diphthong counts for two moras; e. g. *ya'(a)i-* TO DIE is two-moraed like *ya(a)i-* TO HUNT, *-v(a)'a·-* of *qanι'v(a)'a·mI* AT THY HOUSE two-moraed like *-va·-* of *qanι'va·nI* AT MY HOUSE. A glottalized syllable with short vowel counts for two-moraed if the glottal stop is inherent (cf. § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 15, 1) (e. g. *sa'a-* TO BOIL; *-n'ni-*, *-ni'i-* continuative; *'a-* of *'a'-t·ï-* GOOD). Otherwise the glottal stop has no effect on the quantitative value of the syllable. Thus, *-pa'a-* of *nampa''amI* THY FOOT is one-moraed, like *-pa-* of *nampa'nI* MY FOOT; contrast two-moraed *-p̓·a-* of *a'up̓·aŋqIpïγaʽ* CAME ALONG THROUGH IT. The external syllabification does not matter. Both one-moraed and two-moraed glottalized syllables may appear broken or truly monosyllabic; e. g. *-up̓·a-* or *-up·a'a-* THROUGH (two-moraed *-p̓·a-*), *qanι'p̓·ïmï* or *qanι'p·ï'ïmï* THEIR OLD CAMP (one-moraed *-p̓·ï-*). A glottal stop coming between two distinct vowels, whether these form a true diphthong or not, does not add a mora to either; e. g. *-t·u'i-* and *-ru'a-* are both two-moraed, not three-moraed. An initial vowel preceded by a glottal stop, not belonging to the preceding word, or, what is equivalent, an initial broken vowel, is always two-moraed; e. g. (^{i})'*i'*- or *i'i'*- of *i'i'p·i-*, (^{i})'*i'p·i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY is two-moraed (contrast -' *i-* of *nï' ivi'ŋU* I DRINK, which is one-moraed). *m*^{w}*a'*- THAT also counts as a two-moraed syllable; it is apparently related to *ma-'* THAT as is (^{i})'*i'*- THIS to *i-'* THIS (see § 43).

§ 10. *Accent.*

In Southern Paiute accentuation is governed primarily by moras, not syllables. The fundamental law of accentuation is a *law of alternating stresses.* According to this all odd moras are "weak" or relatively unstressed, all even moras are "strong" or relatively stressed. The theoretically strongest stress of the word comes on the second mora. Hence, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic long vowel or diphthong or an inherent glottal stop are accented on the first syllable; e. g. *pa·'v'a·x·ɪ* OVER THE WATER, *ma(a)'ik̯·ainanɪ* WHAT I SAID, (^{a})'*a't·ïŋqanɪ* GOOD HOUSE. On the other hand, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic short vowel, inherently unglottalized, are accented on the second syllable, unless the second syllable is final and therefore unvoiced, in which case the main stress is thrown back on the first syllable; e. g. *mava''a·x·ɪ* OVER THAT, *qa(·)ni'ntcui'* BUILDS A HOUSE, *qa(·)'nɪ* HOUSE. Actually the main stress is sometimes, but not at all frequently, heard displaced to another than the theoretically justified syllable, but this displacement is as secondary and inorganic as the secondary lengthening of short vowels. Aside from the final mora, which is always unvoiced, only a weak mora may be unvoiced.

(1) UNVOICING UNDER THE LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. We may now state the full law of non-final unvoicing. Aside from the next to the last mora, which is always preserved intact (owing to the unvoicing of the following mora), every weak mora standing before a geminated stop (*p·*; *t·*; *t·c*, *t·s*; *q·*, *k·*; *q·w*, *k·w*) or sibilant (*c·*, *s·*; postvocalic sibilants are always to be understood as geminated) loses its voice. A diphthong or long vowel can be partly unvoiced only when its second mora is weak, as its first mora, if weak, is protected from unvoicing by the vocalic second mora; similarly, a short-

voweled syllable with inherent glottal stop is always preserved, as it can not lose both its moras. The weak second mora of an inherently glottalized long vowel or diphthong or a weak-moraed vowel separated from an immediately preceding vowel by a glottal stop is either preserved or, at most, "murmured" (see § 8, 2, a, end; b, end; c, end). The law of alternating stresses necessarily means that there is a constant alternation of voiced and unvoiced (or murmured) vowels in non-final syllables of related words. Examples are:

tcaq·(a)i-tsι- younger brother	*tcᴀˣq(a)′its·* younger brother: *nantca′q·(a)i-tsιŋᴡï* brothers to each other
paq·a- to kill	*pᴀˣqa′ïʽ* kills: *tïvʷa′q·aiʽ* kills game (*-vaq·a-* < *paq·a-*, see § 16, 1)
-yu-c·ampa- although -ing	*tïvʷa′q·aŋwai'yuc·ampᴀ* though not killing game: *qᴜʽqwι′ŋ'wai-ʏᴜcampᴀ* though not shooting
-ŋwit·uγwa- toward	*uγu′m·aŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* away from it: *nanι′n'naŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ* towards different directions (*-n'na-* counts for two moras)
puc·aγai- to look for + *-p·ïγai-* remote past	*pᴜʽca′γaip·ïγaʽ* looked for: *nampu′c·aγaɪpïγaʽ* looked for trail
tɔγɔq·wi- to run	*tɔγɔ′q·ᴡɪťuiŋᴡᴀ* cause him to run: *tɔʽtɔ′x·qwιyïnɪ* I run repeatedly (< *tɔt·ɔ′γɔqwi-*)

(2) Effect of law of alternating stresses on glottalized vowels. As we shall see later (§ 15, 2, a), a broken vowel (e. g. *a'a*) constantly alternates with the types ' + vowel and vowel + '. To a considerable extent, though not with absolute regularity, these variations tend to adjust themselves to the law of alternating stresses. The group v'v[1] tends to preserve that form, or its close variant v'ᵛ (or v'), if the (first) v is in a strong mora, but the form 'v (or ᵛ'v) if in a weak one. In the latter case the ' may appear immediately before, after, or welded with the preceding consonant. Initially after a consonant -v'v- is usual. The form v'v applies both to one-moraed groups broken from v and to primary two-moraed groups. Examples of alternation are:

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[1] In formulae of this sort v stands for vowel, c for consonant.

-ya- plural imperative + *-'. . . mï-* dual subject > *-ya'amï-*	*tɔγɔ'qwɩyaˋ'amï, -yaˋ'ᵃmï*[1] ye 2 run: *ivi'y'amï* ye 2 drink
-na- verbal noun + *-'. . .mi-* thy	*ampa'γanaˋ'amɪ, -naˋ'ᵃmɪ* thy talking: *qa·''namɪ* thy singing
tɔ'ɔ'p·i-, -t·ɔ'ɔmpi- hole (*tɔ'ɔ-* is two-moraed)	*movʷɩ't·ɔˋmpɪ* nose-hole
-'. . .ŋwa- him (invis.)	*pᴀˣqa'ŋumpaˋ'aŋᴡᴀ* will kill him: *pᴀˣqa'q̇·uŋᴡᴀ* give him a licking
wa'a'- cedar	*w(a)'a'p·ɪ* cedar tree
sa'a'- to boil	*s(a)'a'p·ɪ* boiled; mush
mɔ'ɔ'- hand	*m(ɔ)'ɔ'ϕɪ* hand

A parallel alternation is to be observed in the case of glottalized diphthongs. Thus, *a'(a)i* appears either, with strong first mora, as *a'ai* (or *a'i*), or, with weak first mora, as *'ai*. Examples are:

-ŋw(a)'ai- together with	*pavi'tsɩŋwaˋ'aiϕï* with his own elder brother: *imi'ŋw'aiˋmpaʽ* shall go with thee
-γw(a)'ai- to go (in order to)	*wara'xani·'χ̯wa''aiχ̯aʽ* going to collect grass seeds: *pɩtcï'γw'aiˋp·ïγaʽ* arrived
tïvʷɩ'c·ïr(a)'ai- to tell a lie	*tïvʷɩ'c·ïraˋ'a.iʽ* tells a lie: *tïʽtï'ϕᵂɪcïr'a·iˋʽ* tells lies several times (*-a·iʽ* < *-ai-yï-*)

Frequently, also, a weak-moraed vowel, particularly *a* or *ï*, is elided before a glottal stop followed by a different vowel, e. g.:

wï'a' penis	*w(ï)'a'p·ɪ* penis

An initial (v)'v'- is either a broken v- (e. g. *a'a't·ï-*, (ᵃ)*'a't·ï-* GOOD) or contracted from v- + -'v-. There is no phonetic or mora-quantitative difference between the two types. Examples of contracted initial (v) 'v'- are:

u- that + *-'urai-* toward	*u'u'raʽ*, (ᵘ)*'u'raʽ* toward it
a- that + *-'axavatcuγwa-* right into	*a'a'xavatcux·ᴡᴀ*, (ᵃ)*'a'xavatcux·ᴡᴀ* right into it.

(3) APPARENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. There are several purely delusive violations of the law of alternating

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[1] The ˋ indicates a secondary stress on a strong mora.

stresses that are due to such inorganic processes as pseudo-diphthongization or glides; e. g. in *tcᴀʻtca′p·aγaitcᴀˣqainᴀ* (ITS) HAVING BEEN TORN TO PIECES, *-γai-* is developed from *-γi-* (see § 3, 2, a) and thus counts for only one mora. On the other hand, in an example like *tï′ŋqᴀˣqaʀï* to run away hard, the short vowel of *tï′-* is only secondarily shortened from a two-moraed *tï·-* (cf. *tï·′ntɔγɔq·ᴡɪ* TO RUN HARD). A few errors are sure to have crept in also; e. g. *ᴀʻtï′x·ɪqarïp·ïγaʻ* SAT NURSING, no doubt either misheard or misdictated for *ᴀʻtï′x·ɪqaʀïpïγaʻ*.

Aside from such only apparent examples, there are, however, certain cases (apart from *mʷa′-* THAT, already specified) of initial short-voweled and non-glottalized syllables that seem to count for two moras and hence to bear the main stress. Of these, *tï′c·ampᴀ* ALWAYS is evidently to be explained by reference to its less frequently heard variant *ïʻtï′c·ampᴀ*. Less easy to explain are:

ï′-	in vain	*ï′p·ïn·in′niʻ*	looks around in vain
tï′ra-	desert, incomplete	*tï′ʀᴀʻcin′aʋιχaiva·ntï*	shall be desert-dog; *tï′rauq·wιvïaφï* his own unfeathered arrow

tï′ŋwï- HURRIEDLY is regularly so accented (except as adverb *tïŋwï′n ᴀ*), but counts for two, not three, moras; e. g. *tï′ŋwïʀɪqamιyanɪ* I ALWAYS EAT QUICKLY. Judging by *tï′-* < *tï·′-* (see above), *ï′-* may be really shortened from *ï·′-*. As for *tï′ra-*, there has evidently been some contraction, as we find *pa-rï′yara-vaʻ* OUT IN THE RAIN (lit. WATER-DESERT-AT), but *tï′ra-vaʻ* OUT IN THE OPEN.

An interesting group of violations, or apparent violations, of the law of alternating stresses is embraced by forms with secondarily lost reduplicating syllable with voiceless vowel (cf. *tï′c·ampᴀ* < *ïʻtï′c·ampᴀ* above). Such forms alternate with, though less frequent than, intact reduplicated forms. Examples are:

pitcï′-	to arrive	*(pɪʻ)pi′tcïpïγaʻ*	arrived
pï-ti′na-	to follow with one's eye	*(pïʻ)pï′t·inap·ïγaʻ*	followed with (their) eyes
pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaʻ	one killed (one person)	*(pᴀˣ)pa′q·aŋup·ïγaʻ*	several killed (one person)
tïvʷι′p·ï	country	*(tïʻ)tï′φʷɪpïaγaɪʻpïaφï*	their former countries

From *pᴜʻtcu′tcuγwa-* TO KNOW are sometimes formed *pʋ·′tcutcuγwa-* as substitute for reduplicated *pᴜʻpu′tcutcuγwa-* (e. g. *wï′ι′p·ʋ·tcu-*

tcuγwa- TO KNOW HOW TO DANCE); and, by haplology, *putcuγwa-* (e. g. *qa·'p·uˋtcuγwat̔·ui-* TO TEACH HOW TO SING < *qa·'p·Uʽtcuˋtcuγwat̔·ui-*).

An initial *i-* is sometimes lost before a following organic *y*. This also brings about an only apparent violation of the law of alternating stresses.

iyɔ'vi- (cf. Ute *aiö'vi-*)	mourning dove	*yö'vi-*

This is different from the consonantizing of prevocalic *i* and *u* to *y* and *w* respectively (see § 3, 2, d; 5, a), where there is no real loss involved. Initial *ï* of *ïγïʀ* INDEED is frequently elided (see § 60, 3), e. g.:

a'ia·ŋ ïγïʀ	that-he indeed (said)	*a'ia·ŋ gïʀ*	
-χain·ιa-	too + *ïγïʀ*	*nïnι'aχwα'χain·ι χïʀ*	of me too indeed

§ 11. *Loss of one or more moras.*

All the losses referred to in § 10, 2 and 3, are, in a sense, only apparent, as they do not influence the original rhythmic framework of the word. Fundamental alternations of mora-structure are, however, also found, which follow the law of alternating stresses. Certain words lose a mora in some, not necessarily all, compounds, generally when occurring as the first element of a compound. Certain suffixed elements, also, alternate between a longer and a shorter form.

Particularly common is alternation between a primary long and a reduced short vowel. Examples are:

pa·-	water	*pa-* in compounds: *pa-rï'ia-* elk (lit., water-deer); *pa-γï'u-* fish; *pʌʽ-sɔ'rɔrɔitcï* waterfall; *pa-ŋwι'aφï* mud at bottom of water
o·-	arrow	*u-* in compounds: *u-ru'q·u-* to fix an arrow; *u-γu'n·a-* quiver (lit., arrow-bag)
tï·-	up	*tï-*: *tïna'ŋqwʌ* upward, from the west
wïʽcι'a·-	feather	*wïʽcι'a-*: *wïʽcι'ʌʽsιvai-* to scrape a quill smooth

An element containing a diphthong or two vowels in immediate juxtaposition sometimes loses the second vowel, e. g. *-γai-* TO HAVE: participial *-γa-ntï-* HAVING (see § 25, 6, a); *-q·ai-* perfective: participial *-q·a-ntï-* HAVING -ED (see § 25, 6, d); *-mia-* usitative: *-mi-* (see § 30, 10).

A post-consonantal vowel may also drop out, in which case the preceding consonant also disappears or, if a nasal, may leave its trace in the "nasalizing" power of the stem. Examples are:

u-γu'n·a- quiver	*un·a'-*: *u̧n·a'vïγa-* to put away a quiver
tïγι'a-vï- deer-hide (γ probably inorganic in origin, see § 14, 1)	*tïa'vï-*: *tïa'vïra'*^{i} deer-hide shirt
in·i'- what (person, animal)?	*im-pï'-* what (thing)?
pa'a'n·i- to be high	*pa'a-*^{n}: *pa'a'ntï-* high
-v'ana- upon	*-v'an-tuγwa-* on to
naŋwa'- trail, track	*na-*^{n}: *nantï'na-* to follow one's track; *nampu'c·aγai-* to look for tracks
nïŋwï- person	*nï-*^{n}: *nïmpi'ŋwaφI* somebody else's wife; *nïŋqa'n·ιφI* somebody else's house; *nïntu'aŋqï-* to give birth to one; *NÏʿcï'-m*^{w}*ïa-* to let a person go

Even cases of the complete loss of two contiguous moras are found, e. g.:

tïγι'a- deer	*tï-*: *tïv*^{w}*a'q·a-* to kill game
uru''a·- carrying strap	*uru-*: *ɔʿtca'uRU* strap by which water-jar is carried

CONSONANTS (§ § 12–16).

§ 12. *Survey of consonants.*

A large number of consonants is found in Southern Paiute, but as with the vowels, they reduce to a comparatively small number of primary consonants. Before taking up consonantal processes in detail, we shall give a descriptive table of consonants actually found.

	Unaspirated Stops	Aspirated Stops	Voiced Spirants	Voiceless Spirants	Affricatives	Voiced Nasals	Voiceless Nasals	Voiced Rolled	Voiceless Rolled
Labial	*p*	*p*ʻ	*v*	φ		*m*	ᴍ		
Labial (rounded)	*p*ʷ	*p*ᵂ	*v*ʷ; *w*	φᵂ; ᴡ		*m*ʷ	*m*ᵂ		
Dental	*t*	*t*ʻ				*n*	ɴ		
Alveolar				*s*	*ts*; *ts*·			*r*	ʀ
c-Palatal				*c*	*tc*; *tc*ʻ	*n*ʸ			
Anterior Palatal	*k̯*	*k̯*ʻ, *k̯*ˣ	γ̯, χ̯; *y*	*x̯*; ˣ̯, ʏ		ŋ̯			
Anterior Palatal Labialized			γ̯ʷ, χ̯ʷ	(*x̯w*)					
Back Palatal	*k*, *q*	*k*ʻ, *q*ʻ	γ, χ	*x*; ˣ		ŋ			
Back Palatal Labialized	*kw*, *qw*	*k*ᴡ, *q*ᴡ	γ*w*, χ*w*	*x*ᴡ		ŋ*w*	ŋᴡ		
Glottal	ʼ			*h*; ʻ					

(1) Primary consonants. This rather elaborate scheme is based on only twelve, at most thirteen, primary consonants: *p*; *t*; *k* (*q*); *kw* (*qw*); *s*(*c*); *ts* (*tc*); *m*; *n*; *ŋ*; *w*; *y*; ʼ; possibly also initial *h*-(ʻ-).

(2) Survey of consonantal developments. We shall give here a rapid survey of consonantal developments, showing the relation of the consonantal forms actually found (including several not listed above) to the primary consonants.

(a) *Unvoicing.* The aspirated stops (*p*ʻ; *p*ᵂ; *t*ʻ; *k̯*ʻ, *k̯*ˣ —generally written *k*ˣ; *k*ʻ, *q*ʻ; *k*ᴡ, *q*ᴡ), written simply *p*, *t*, and so on, before voiceless vowels (e. g. *p*ɪ, *t*ᴀ); the aspirated affricatives (*tc*ʻ, *ts*·), written *tc*, *ts* before voiceless vowels (e. g. *tcï*); most of the voiceless spirants (φ; φᵂ; ᴡ; *x̯*; ˣ̯, ʏ; *x*; ˣ; *x*ᴡ; ʻ); the voiceless or partly voiceless nasals (ᴍ, *m*ᴍ; *m*ᵂ; ɴ, *n*ɴ; ŋᴡ); and the voiceless rolled ʀ are all developed from the corresponding unaspirated or voiced forms, or as glides, in connection with the unvoicing of moras (see § 8). It is unnecessary to detail these developments here.

The unaspirated stops and affricatives occur as such only initially before a voiced vowel and medially after an unvoiced vowel (e. g. *pitcï-*, ᴀʻ*pïi-*); otherwise they are either "nasalized" (e. g. *ampaγa-*, *aintcï-*; see § 16, 3) or "geminated" (e. g. *t̔ïvʷaq·a-, i'ip·i-*; see § 16, 2). Aspirated stops and affricatives may also be nasalized or geminated (e. g. *q·ᴀ, ntï*). The typical unaspirated stop or affricative is probably an "intermediate" when nasalized, geminated, or medial after a voiceless vowel (in which case it is always geminated in origin; see § 10, 1); and a true surd when initial before a vowel. However, it is difficult to be certain as to these two modes of articulation. The "intermediate" quality is most certain after nasals before voiced vowels and in the release of unaspirated geminated stops and affricatives. It is possible that the attack of the geminated stop and affricative is a true surd.

(b) *Spirantization.* All spirants (except *s, c; w,* ᴡ; *y,* ʏ; ˣ, ˣ̰, ʻ; *h-*, ʻ-) and rolled consonants (*r,* ʀ) are developed from stopped consonants (see § 16, 1); *ŋw* (*ŋ*) is either "spirantized" from *m* (see § 16, 1) or developed from intervocalic *w* (see § 13, 2). *v* (*φ*) is bilabial in articulation; for *vʷ* (*φʷ*) see § 14, 3, b. *r* (ʀ) is lightly trilled, apparently in typically alveolar position, probably modified slightly by its tendency to take on vocalic timbres; it was never heard as *d*. *γ* is either fully voiced (as in North German *Tage*) or intermediate (χ); for *γ̰* see below.

(c) *Geminated or long consonants.* For geminated stops and affricatives see (a) above. Intervocalic *m, n, ŋ,* and *s, c* are very frequently heard long. It is highly probable that this, particularly for *m·, n·,* and *s·, c·*,is their etymologically typical form and that original Shoshonean intervocalic short *m, n,* and *s,* possibly also *ŋ*, have disappeared as such. Long *x·, x·w* (*x·*ᴡ), *x̰·* generally occur as developments of *γ, γw, γ̰* in voiceless positions (see § 8), rarely intervocalically (see § 13, 5, c).

(d) *Glottalized consonants.* For glottalized stops and affricatives (e. g. *p̓, q̓·, t̓c*) and nasals (*m'm, n'n, ŋ'w*) see § 15, 2, b.

(e) *Anterior palatals.* Aside from *y* (and its voiceless development ʏ), anterior palatals (including labialized anterior palatals) develop from back palatals (and labialized back palatals); see § 13, 4.

(f) *Rounded labial consonants.* Aside from *w* (and its voiceless development ᴡ), these are all developed from ordinary labial consonants; see § 14, 3, b.

(g) *Alternation of k and q.* By *q* is meant a back palatal stop of moderately velar articulation. Its average position, as determined by such a group as *aq·a*, is distinctly further back than our English *k*- position in *cold*, yet not so decidedly velar in character as *q* of such a language as Kwakiutl. Its greatest degree of velarity is reached in such examples as *qɔ'ɔi*- and *tɔγɔq·wi*-, i. e. before and after *ɔ*. We shall use *q* and *qw* after all vowels but *i*, when followed by any vowel other than *i*. Before *i* the back palatal becomes distinctly more forward in articulation, about like the *k*- sound of English *cold* or perhaps even *can*; this position is here normally designated as *k*, *kw*. After an *i* the *k* becomes an anterior palatal (see e above). Positions analogous to *k* (*kw*) and *q* (*qw*) are doubtless to be found also in the spirants γ (χ, *x*), γ*w* (χ*w*, *xw*). Thus, γ of *tɔγɔ'q·wi*- is certainly more velar than γ of *tïγi'a*-. However, these phonetic distinctions have here been neglected.

(h) *Alternation of s and c*. These two sibilants are respectively pronounced as in English *sip* and *ship*, except that *c* tends to approach a quality intermediate between the true *s* and *c*. There is some sporadic interchange between *s* and *c*, as between *ts* and *tc*, but on the whole they are used with considerable distinctness according to vocalic position. For secondary assimilations see § 13, 8.

Initially, *s* is regularly used before *a*, *i*, and *ɔ*; *c* before *ï* (which often develops to *i*, *ι*; see § 3, 2, b) and *u*. Examples are: *sa·*- RAW, *san·a*- GUM, *sa'a*- TO BOIL, *saγwa*- BLUE, *saγw(ε)ia·*- BELLY, *saŋwa*- SAGEBRUSH; *siγu*- NAVEL, *sik·u*- SQUIRREL, *siva*- TO WHITTLE, *siu*- GRAVEL, *si'i*- TO URINATE; *sɔ·a*- TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER, *sɔɔ*- LUNG, *sɔγɔ*- MOIST GROUND, *sɔp·ik·i*- BRAINS, *sɔ·r'ɔa·*- ARM-PIT, *sɔtsι*- TO PEEP; *cïï*- SQUAW-BUSH, *cïm^wïa*- TO LET GO, *cïnïmpï*- VULVA, *cïrï'ya·*- TO BE SURPRISED, *cï'ï*- BLOSSOM; *cu(w)a*- TO EAT UP; NEARLY, *cυ·*- ONE, *cumai*- TO THINK OF, *cururuin'nɔa*- SMOKE-HOLE, *cu(w)ai*- TO BE GLAD. These rules are only infrequently violated, e. g. *caγwa*-, less frequent form of *saγwa*- BLUE; *cɔ·ya·*- TO BEND, *cɔn·ι*- TINDER.

Medially, both preceding and following vowel must be considered. Before *a*, *ï*, and *u*, *c* regularly appears, regardless of what vowel precedes the sibilant, e. g. *maa'-c·aγwa*- BRUSH-BLUE, GREEN (contrast *saγwa*- above), *qwιc·a*- TO SPARK, *qïc·avi*- HAWK, *tɔc·a*- *white*, *ɔc·a*- CARRYING-BASKET, *puc·aγ·ai*- TO LOOK FOR, *paru'c·a*- VIRGIN RIVER; *qwac·ï*- TO BE RIPE, *aïc·ï*- BUTTERFLY, *yïv^wι'c·ïap·ï* LONG-LEAVED PINE SAPLING, *tïv^wι'cïra'ai*- TO TELL A LIE, *tυ'c·ïaq·aʀï* BROWN; *aŋac·u*- HE, *'ï·c·u*- LONG AGO, *itcïc·u*- THIS ALSO, *mɔc·oi*- MUSTACHE, *qut·uc·u*- GIANT. Only rarely does *s* appear before medial *a*, e. g. *qamï'saγwaya·tsιχantï* HAVING A JACK-RABBIT STOMACH. The analogy of a simplex in *sa-* may explain many of these cases. Before *i*, *s* regularly appears if *i* or *a* precedes, but *c* if *ï*, *u*, or *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *tümp*^{w}*i′s·iγ̯a·χantï* ROCK HAVING A CRACK; *as·i-* ROAN-COLORED, *as·ia·-* SURFACE, *qwas·i-* TAIL, *tι′ra·s·ι-* POTATOES; *aïc·ι-* BASKET (*-c·ι-* not < *-c·ï-*, as shown by assibilation of *t* to *tc* in *aïc·ιtcu-* TO MAKE A BASKET, see § 13, 3), *aŋ′wïc·ι-* TO SNEEZE (*-c·ι-* < *-c·i-*, not *-c·ï-*, as shown by palatalized *k̯* in plural *aŋ′wï′c·k̯a-*, see § 13, 4); *nɔn·ɔc·ι-* TO DREAM, true *-i-*, cf. plural *nɔn·ɔ′c·k̯a-*); *Uʿqu′c·ιχ̯ι′aʿ* NOCK (true *-i-*, as shown by palatalized *χ*). Of these *-as·i-* tends to vary with less frequent *-ac·i-*, e. g. *ta-na′c·ιχ̯a-* CLEFT IN HOOF (cf. *pi-na′s·ιχ̯a-* BETWEEN ONE'S LEGS), *tAʿpa′c·k̯ai-* WAS SENSELESS (perhaps *-a′s·i-* tends to become *a′c·ι-*, but *-as·i′-* to remain). Before *ɔ*, *s* seems to be regular if *a* or *i* precedes, while both *s* and *c* have been found when *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *pAʿsɔ′rɔrɔitcï* WATERFALL; *pis·′ɔ-* CHILDREN; *ɔs·ɔrɔŋwi-* TO SNORE, *qɔc·ɔvï-* TINDER.

The rule is far simpler for the use of *tc* and *ts*. The former is regularly employed before *a*, *ï*, *ɔ*, and *u*; the latter only before *i* (which then often develops to *ι*, see § 3, 2, b). These rules apply both initially and medially. Examples are: *tca·-* WRINKLED, *MAʿtca′iaŋqï-* TO REACH FOR; *tcïγa-* DUCK, *itcï-* THIS; *tcɔi-* BEAD, *qïʿtcɔ′χwȧ.ïʿ* CHEWS; *tcuχwι-* TO APPROACH, *patcu′q·U* BEAVER; *tsip·i-* TO APPEAR, *tɔt·sι-* HEAD. There is a slight tendency for *ts* to appear before *a* medially and before *ɔ* both initially and medially, e. g. *mantsaŋwιna-* TO THROW DOWN SEVERAL OBJECTS; *qatsɔa·-* (also *qatcɔa·-*) TOP, *tsɔavï-* SHOULDER. As for quality, *tc* and *ts* are not as clearly distinct as are *ch* and *ts* of English *church* and *hats* respectively, *ts* in particular tending to an intermediate point of articulation; *tc* is probably purest before *ï* and *u*, also when developed from *t* (see § 13, 3).

§ 13. *Consonantal processes.*

(1) OCCURRENCE OF h, ʿ. Only such cases are here considered as are not due to unvoicing of moras (see § 8).

(a) *Initial Aspiration.* Certain words that begin with a vowel are frequently heard preceded by aspiration, e. g. *ai-*, *ʿai-* TO SAY; demonstrative *a-*, *ai-*, *ʿa-*, *ʿai-* (see § 43), whence *an·i-*, *ʿan·i-* TO DO; *atcï-*, *ʿatcï-* BOW. Comparison with other Shoshonean dialects suggests that in part, at least, these initial aspirations are the representatives of a Shoshonean *h-*; e. g. *aγa-*, less frequently *ʿaγa-* WHAT?: Agua Caliente *haxa* WHO? Initial ʿ is found also in certain interjections, e. g. *ʿą* SURPRISE; *ʿaa′ik·WI* OH! Initial ʿ does not function as a consonant, hence does not prevent elision (see § 7); e. g. *a'i ιγïr ʽa'imιʽ* THAT INDEED THOU SAYEST, not *ιγïʀ*.

(b) *Developed from -s·-, -c·-.* This sporadic development occurs only medially, never in a final syllable. The *-h-* is strongly aspirated and seems to be particularly common after a voiceless vowel, e. g.:

imi'ᴀcampᴀ	thee only	*imi'ʽhampᴀ*
mam·a''caγwɔits·	old woman	*mam·a''haγwɔits·*
qïʽca'p·ai-	to sup	*qïha'p·ai-*
tɔʽca'-	white	*tɔha'-, tʽha'-*
pi̧ni'ŋw'aq·ᴜcu'ŋᴡᴀ	while he not still sees (negative *-ŋw'a-* counts for two moras)	*pi̧ni'ŋw'aq·ho'ŋᴡᴀ*

(c) *Inorganic -ʽ-.* Rarely is an inorganic -ʽ- introduced before a voiced consonant or glottal stop. It may take on the timbre of the preceding vowel. Examples are:

cïna'ŋwaφɪ	coyote	*cιʽna'ŋwaφɪ*	
ᵘmʷa'ɪcampa'ᵃ	enough thou	*ᵘmʷa'ɪcampaᴀ'a·'*	(see § 4, 2, c)
mam·a'rïna-	several pursue	*maᴀma'rιnaq·ᴜpïγaic·'uŋᴡᴀ*	again (they) pursued him

(2) POSTVOCALIC W. An intervocalic *-w-* is ordinarily a glide (see § 14, 3, a). When an initial *w* comes, by derivation or compounding, to stand after a vowel, it regularly becomes nasalized to *-ŋw-*:

wa'aŋi-	to shout	*tï·'ŋwa'aŋi-*	to give a good shout
wi̧nι-	to stand	*yaŋwι'ŋwi̧nιχa'*	while standing and holding
waiχa-	to have a council	*nιa·'vιŋwaiχap·ɪ*	council (of chiefs)
ᴡᴀʽtcï'-	to catch up with	*cu(w)a'ŋᴡᴀʽtcïp·ïγaʽ*	nearly caught up with
w(')itsi'-	bird	*tï'raŋ'wιntsi'ιts·*	horned lark (lit., desert bird)

This rule does not operate, however, when *w* becomes intervocalic by reduplication:

wïγï-	vulva	*wïwï'xïᴀ*	vulvas (obj.)
waγi-	several enter	*wawa'x·ɪpïγaʽ*	all entered

wïn·ai-	to throw	*wïwï'n'nai-*	several throw down
wa'a'tcιγι-	to whoop	*wa'wa'ʼᵃtcιγι-*	to whoop several times

Exceptional is also *a·γa-wantcï-* TO HIDE, lit. TO PUT (*watcï-*) IN HIDING, perhaps dissimilated from *a·γa-ŋwantcï-*, itself nasalized from *a·γaŋwatcï-* (see § 16, 3). Its reduplicated forms are partly *a·γa-ŋwaŋwantcï-* (e. g. *a·'γaŋwaŋwantcïqaiva‘* SEVERAL SHALL KEEP HIDDEN), partly *a·γaŋwa'watcï-* (e. g. *a·'γaŋwa'watcιyïnɪ* HIDES ME SEVERAL TIMES); see § 58, 4, e.

(3) ASSIBILATION OF DENTALS. No dental consonant, aside from *n*, i. e. *t* and its derivatives *t‘*, *r*, *ʀ*, is, with very few exceptions, found before *i*. Comparison with other Shoshonean or Uto-Aztekan dialects shows that an original Shoshonean *ti* became assibilated to *tsi*, e. g. noun ending *-tsi-*: Tübatulabal and Southern Californian *-t*. Further, comparison shows that an original Shoshonean *ati* not only, in Southern Paiute, assibilates the *t* but also shifts the *i* to *ï*, whence *atcï*. Most Plateau dialects have *atï* in these cases, e. g.:

Shoshonean **ati* bow > Bankalachi *a·li-t*, Shikaviyam *ɛⁱdï*, Mono *ɛti*	S.P. *atcï-*
Shoshonean **pati* daughter >N. Paiute *padï*	S.P. *patcï-* (original Shoshonean **patï* would have become **parï-*)

Hence S. Paiute *atsi* represents an old Shoshonean *atsi* with primary *ts*; e. g. contrast primary *patsi-* OLDER SISTER (cf. Cora *hatsi* OLDER BROTHER; Cora *h* often < *p*) with *patcï-* < **pati* DAUGHTER.

There are a small number of cases of true *-ri-* (not *-ri-* < *-rï-*; § 3, 2, b), but these may well represent a group of loan-words taken in subsequently to the operation of the above law, e. g. *mori·-* BEAN; *sari·-* DOG; *qïri'n'naŋqa-* SPARROW-HAWK.

Belonging to a distinct and probably more recent stratum than the primary *ts*, *tc* and the *ts*, *tc* developed from *t* before original *i* are examples of *tc* that arise whenever a non-geminated *t*, that would ordinarily be spirantized to *r* (see § 16, 1), stands after an *i*. In this stratum, which constitutes a living process, *t-* and *-r-*, *-tc-* constantly interchange. Examples are:

-rï-	participle (§ 25, 6, a)	*ivi-tcï-*	drinking
-ru-	to make (§ 26, 1, d)	*na-γa·'tcι-tcu-*	to turn oneself into a rat

-ru'a-	interrogative (§ 19, 2, f)	*pavi'-tcu'a-nɪ*	my brother?
-ruγwa-	to (§ 50, 4, 30)	*sari·'tcɩ-tcux·WA*	to the dog
taŋwa-, -raŋwa-	we (inclusive; § 39; § 40)	*qa·'q·aχai-tcaŋWA*	we, while singing
tami-, -rami-	we 2 (inclusive; § 39; § 40)	*qa·'χai-tcαmɪ*	we 2, while singing
tua-, -rua-	child	*piχ̯ɩ'-tcu(w)a-ts·*	little pig

When *i* is preceded by a nasal consonant, the *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-* (see § 16, 3), e. g. *qani-ntcu'a-* HOUSE?

Geminated *-t·-*, it should be carefully noted, does not assibilate to *-t·c-* after *i*, but remains, e.g. *tümp*^{w}*i'-t·u-* TO MAKE A STONE; *na'a'i-t·ᴜ'p*^{w}*ik·ᴜqwa'* HAS BURNT UP.

Nasalized *-nt-* also is regularly unaffected by a preceding *i*; e. g. *ɔv*^{w}*i'ntɔ'tsɩx̯a'* WOODEN-HEADED, *ɔv*^{w}*i'ntuv*^{w}*a·n·ɩ'* WILL MAKE WOOD, *ɔvi'ntu'αŋuntca·ŋᴀ* HE BECAME A STICK. There is, however, a tendency for such cases of *-nt-* to become assibilated to *-ntc-*; e. g. *o(w)i'p·intcu-* to make a canyon (< *oi'p·i-*^{n}, see § 16, 3). In such cases the theoretical *-nt-* is sometimes even replaced by the "spirantal" form *-tc-*; e. g. *ɔvi'tcuq·WA* UNDER THE STICK (but also *ɔvi'ntuq·WA*).

After *ai-* TO SAY, *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-*, not *-tc-*, e. g. *ai-ntcï-* SAYING. On the other hand, usitative *-mi-* (§ 30, 10) changes a following *-t-*, *-r-* to *-nt-*, not *-ntc-*, e. g. *ai-mi-ntï-* BEING WONT TO SAY; cf. *-γa-ntï-* HAVING < *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 25, 6, a), *-q·a-ntï-* HAVING -ED < perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 25, 6, d). There are historical antecedents involved here which can be unraveled only by comparative evidence.

(4) PALATALIZATION. An *i* palatalizes a following *k-* sound, less frequently a dental or back-palatal nasal (*n*, *ŋ*). Acoustically this is manifested as a *y-* like affection of the consonant. It is indicated, in the case of back-palatals, by the symbol for anterior articulation (e. g. *k̯*, sounding approximately like *ky*); by a superior ^{y} in the case of *n*.

The *n*^{y} (approximately like Russian "soft" or mouillé *n*) appears most often between two *i-* vowels, particularly when the second is unvoiced, e. g. *maa'in·*^{y}*i-* TO TOUCH, *maa'in*^{y}*ɪ*^{x}*k̯antï* HAVING TOUCHED.

The palatalized *ŋ* (approximately like French *gn*, possibly more posterior in articulation) is not very common, as the combination *-iŋ-* occurs only infrequently, e. g. *iŋa-* HE HERE.

The palatalized *k-* sounds are *k̯* < *k*, *q*; *k̯*^{x} (written *k*^{x}) < *k'*, *q'*; γ̯, χ̯ < γ, χ; *x̯* < *x*; γ̯*w*, χ̯*w* < γ*w*, χ*w*. *x̯* is practically identical with *ch* of German *ich*. γ̯ is very close to *y*, but more spirantal in quality (less open or vocalic), possibly a shade less anterior in articulation; it was practically never misheard as *y*. *χ̯* is midway, in point of voicing, between *γ* (of which it is merely a variant) and *x̯*.

Examples of palatalized *k*- sounds are:

-*γai*-, -*χai*- subordinating suffix	*avi′χ̯a‘* lying; *a′iγ̯aic·ᴜ* as soon as (he) said
-*q·ai*- to have	*muv*^{w}*i′k̯·a‘* to have a nose
qarï- to sit	*pį̈ni′k̯·arï*- to sit and look
-*q·ai*- resultative suffix	*uŋwa′ɪk̯aɪpïγa‘* was hanging
-*γu*-, -*χu*- subordinating suffix	*ivi′χ̯u*(*w*)*αŋᴀ* when he drank
-*γw*(*a*)*’ai*- to go	*į̈mï′iγ̯w’aip·ïγa‘* several arrived

Rather infrequently is an initial *q*- palatalized to *k̯*- by the final -*i*, -ɪ of the preceding word; e. g. *uv*^{w}*a′ŋᴡɪ k̯anι′ntcᴜqwainaφï* THEREIN HIS-OWN-MADE-HOUSE.

(5) TREATMENT OF *γ*. The back-guttural *γ* is apt to undergo various modifications, aside from unvoicing (§ 8), palatalization (4 above), and labialization (§ 14, 3, c).

(a) *Stopping to ġ.* In poetry *γ* is not infrequently stopped to *ġ* (the sonant correspondent of *q*). In prose this occurs when a final -*ŋ* of the preceding word comes, by elision of an initial vowel (see § 10, 3, end), to stand immediately before the -*γ*-, e. g. *a′ia·ŋ ïγïʀ* THAT-HE INDEED > *a′ia·ŋ ġïʀ*.

(b) *Weakening or loss of γ.* An original *γ* is sometimes weakened to a glide $^{\gamma}$ or even entirely lost before or after an *u*- vowel, more often after an *ï*- vowel. Vocalic contractions may then result (see § 4). Examples are:

na-γu′q·wι-ŋqï- to fight (lit., to shoot at each other < *quq·wι*- to shoot)	*na*$^{\gamma}$*u′q·wιŋqï*-, *na′uq·wιŋqï*-
yauγwι- to enter	*ya·*$^{u\gamma}$*wι*-
ťïγia- deer (-*γ*- may be glide, however; see § 14, 1)	*ťï·′iαʀïquαφɪ* deer-meat
ťïγï′vï- friend	*ťï·′vïnɪ* my friend
-*ťïγa-n·ιa*- adverbial element	*mava′i*^{x}*tι*$^{\gamma}$*an·ι‘* way off; *u’u′raintïan·ι‘* close towards it
tuγu- up (e. g. *tuγu′ntux·ᴡᴀ* upward)	**ťïγï*-, **ťïγi*- > *ťï·*-, *ťïi*- up

(c) *Unvoicing to x in voiced position.* Even before a voiced vowel γ is sometimes heard not merely as an intermediate χ, with which it varies frequently, but as a fully unvoiced *x* (or lengthened *x·*); similarly γ̰ > *x̰*. This sharpening seems to be frequent after an accented *a*, particularly in the neighborhood of a glottal stop, e. g.:

-'aγava-yu- right among	*a'a'xavaiʏᴜ* right in there
-γi- to come in order to	*yu'(w)a'xɩyαmï* come to take them away
-γw(a)'ai- to go in order to	*ya·'*^{a}*xwa'*^{a} go to fetch; *yu'(w)-a'x·wɔ'aiväʿ* shall go to bring (them); *wara'x·ani·*^{i}*'χ̰wa'*^{a} go to (another) house for grass-seeds (*wara-*)
-γum·a- male	*na(·)γa'x·'ųm·aŋ'waq·ᴜ* together with mountain-sheep buck (obj.)
iya'vaγa- to fear	*iya'vaxan'namɪ* whom you feared

(6) Vocalization of semivowels. The semivowels *y* and *w* are sometimes opened up to the corresponding vowels *ɩ* and *ᴜ* (*ɔ*). Forms with glide *-i-* (§ 5, 1) are transitional; e. g. *-aya-* > *-a(i)ya-* > *-aia-*. Examples of *-y-* > *-i-* are:

nampa'-ya·ŋʌ his foot (obj.)	*nampa'ia·ŋʌ*
naŋa- anger + *y(a)'ai-* to die of > *naŋa'y'ai-* to be angry	*naŋa'ɩ'ai-*

After an *i*, the *i* < *y* apparently disappears as such, fusing with the preceding vowel, e. g.:

tuq·wɩ- shame + *y(a)'ai-*	*tᴜʿqwɩ''ai-* to be ashamed
tsɩ- with the point + *yauγwɩ-tca-* to cause several objects to enter	*tsia·'*$^{u\gamma}$*wɩtcʌpïγaʿ* caused (them) to go in by pushing with the point (§ § 4, 1, a; 13, 5, b)

A *w* immediately following a back-palatal stop or *ŋ* is sometimes opened to *u* or still further, before *a*, to *ɔ* (cf. development of *-wa-* to *-wɔ-*, *-ɔ-*; § 3, a, 3), e. g.:

-ntcuq·w(-ruq·w) avi'ʿ under lies	*imi'ntcuq·ᴜ avi'ʿ* lies under thee; *aruq·ɔ avi'ʿ* lies under it
ʿani''aŋw ʿaik·$^{\underline{x}}$*ʌ* what-he said? > *-ŋʿwai-* (§ 7, 4, end)	*ʿani''aŋʿɔ aik·*$^{\underline{x}}$*ʌ*

(7) SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANTS. Here are grouped together a number of consonantal simplifications or partial losses of characteristic quality, found chiefly in sentence phonetics.

(a) *Simplification of affricatives.* A final *-ts·* (< *-tsi-*) or, less often, *-tcï* is sometimes reduced to *-t·*, *-t·ʽ* before a word beginning with a dental (*t*, *n*), less frequently before a word beginning with a labial, e. g.:

ųnι'ŋuts· then	*ųnι'ŋut· nɔntsι'k·ᴜpïγaʽ* then flew off; *ųnι'ŋut·ʽ maŋa'iac·ᴜ* then him
tïvʷi'ts· very	*tïvʷi't· tuγwa'r'uιŋᴜpïγaʽ* it got very dark; *tïvʷιt· nïvʷa'uŋwap·ï-γaʽ* (it) snowed very much
-pantcï kinds of	*man·ɔ'q·ˣɔpant· pa'a'vιŋw amʽ* all the kinds of animals
i'tcï this	*i't·ïʽqa·'q·ᴀ* eat this! (< *i'tcï tïʽqa·'q·ᴀ*)

An internal *-tsι-* is sometimes reduced to *-t·n̥-*, *-tn̥-* before *n* (see § 3, 2, c):

ᴡɪʽtsι't·sιnɪ my great-grandchild	*ᴡɪʽtsι't·n̥(n)ɪ*
na'a'ints·tsιnιᴀ like a girl	*na'a'ints·tn̥nιᴀ*

(b) *Assimilation of -ʀ to n-.* This happens only rarely, e. g.:

yu'un aʀ(ï) my leg	*yu'un an nantsι'n'aŋqïx·ɪ* come and joint my leg

(c) *Loss of labialization.* Before an *u* or *ɔ* of the following word a final *-qw-*, *-γw-*, *-ŋw-* is apt to lose its *w* (cf. simplification of *wɔ* < *wa* after back-palatal stops to *ɔ*; § 3, 1, c). Examples are:

-raŋw(a-) we	*ïvʷï'raŋ ųnι'ŋuts·* let us then
-'q·w(a-) it	*aŋa''q· uvʷaiʽ* who is it then?
pina'ŋqw(a-) soon	*pina'ŋq ʽo'ᵘ* soon so

Final *-x·ᴡ* sometimes melts with following *qw-* to *-q·w-* (cf. § 8, 1, g), e. g.:

i(y)ε't·ux·ᴡᴀ qwauʽ hither off	*i(y)ε't·uq·wauʽ*

(8) ASSIMILATION OF SIBILANTS. When two successive syllables contain sibilants of different articulation (*s*, *ts*: *c*, *tc*; see § 12, 2, h),

assimilation generally results either to the *s- or c-* position. The following types of sibilant assimilation have been observed.

(a) *Assimilation of s—c to s—s.* This seems to be rare. An example is *ᴀsι'-s·aγwa-* LIGHT BLUE (contrast *-ιc·a-* of *qwιc·a-* TO SPARK).

(b) *Assimilation of s—tc to c—tc.* This also is not common. A good example is *cιtcu-* NAIL < *sitcu-* < **situ-* (cf. Kawaiisu *-cito-*).

(c) *Assimilation of ts—c to tc—c* or *ts—s.* Generally *ts—s* appears, e. g.:

-tsi-c·u-, *-ts·-cu-* (§ 35; § 19, 2, k)	*-tsιs·u-*, *-ts·su-*: *pɪ'k̬a'xu-navïtsιs·uaŋᴀ* only his little rawhide bag; *tu(w)a'ts·sunɪ* only my son
-tsi(-ts·)-campa- (§ 19, 2, j)	*tïv*^{w}*ι'ts·sampᴀ* truly

Yet *tc—c* also seems to occur, e. g. *sari·'tcιc·unɪ* ONLY MY DOG < *sari·'tsι-c·u-*.

(d) *Assimilation of tc—s to tc—c.* This uncommon type is illustrated, e. g., in *tca·'c·ιχanɪ* MENSTRUAL HUT (for more normal *-as·ι-* contrast *as·ιa·-* SURFACE).

(e) *Assimilation of ts—tc to tc—tc* (*ts—ts*). The normal *tc—tc* assimilation, which occurs very frequently, is illustrated in:

-tsi- noun suffix + *-tcu'a-* interrogative	*a'ip·atcιtcu'*^{a} a boy?
-tsi- + *-tcu-* to make	*naγa·'tcιtcᴜqwaŋumpa'* will turn (them)selves into rats
-tsi- + *-tca-* preterital enclitic	*mam·a''utcιtca·ŋᴀ* woman did—him
-tsi- diminutive + *-tcï-* participle	*avi'tcιtcιᴀ* little lying (obj.), little ridge

The less frequent assimilation to *ts—ts* is probably regular when the primary *ts* is initial, e. g. *ts·-tsa'ŋkι'a-* TO CARRY ON A POLE (*tsι-* WITH THE POINT, § 21, 9). Moreover, subordinating *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a), unlike diminutive *-tsi-* or nominal *-tsi-* (cf. above examples), seems regularly to maintain itself and to assimilate following *tc* to *ts*, e. g.:

ųnι'-tsι- having so done, then + *-tcaŋwa-* we	*ųnι'tsιtsaŋᴡᴀ* then we

-vä·-tsi- future gerund (§ 55, 1, a) + *-tca-* preterital enclitic	*aγa'nιvä‘tsιt̓saŋwa'* thou, intending to act how, didst—him?

(f) *Assimilation of c—ts to s—ts.* Evidence for this seems to be rather scanty. An example is *mï̦nï's·'its·* SEVERAL HAVING RETURNED < *mï̦nï'c·'ι-.*

(g) *Unassimilated forms.* The frequent sequence *tc—ts* seems normally to remain unaffected, e. g. *qa'iva·vιtcιtsιŋwï* Kaibab Paiutes (lit., MOUNTAIN-LYING PEOPLE, PLATEAU PEOPLE). When the *ts* is final, however, assimilated *tc—tc* seems to be not uncommon, e. g. *ᴜqu'v*^{w}*ιtcatc‘* BUG (sp.).

Sporadic unassimilated forms for the assimilated types enumerated above also occur.

§ 14. *Glide consonants.*

Consonantal glides are frequent after the high vowels (*i*, *ï*, *u*). The semivowels *y* and *w* act as glides after *i* and *u* respectively, *γ* after *ï*. A weakly articulated *γ*, such as the *γ*- glide always is, is really a high-back unrounded semivowel, corresponding to *ï* precisely as *w* does to *u*.

(1) GLIDE *γ*. This glide, often represented as $^{\gamma}$ when only weakly articulated, is rather common between a primary *ï* and a following vowel. Even *ï·*, when resolved to *ïï* (see § 4, 2, b), may develop to *ï*$^{\gamma}$*ï*, *ïγï*. Examples are:

ïa- to plant	*ï*$^{\gamma}$*a'p·ɪ* planted, corn
pïa- relative	*pï*$^{\gamma}$*a'nɪ* my relative
nïa'-rï- wind	*nιγa'ʀï*
-yï- present tense + *-amï-* them	*nιa'(i)yï*$^{\gamma}$*amïnɪ* I call them
yïï- doorway	*yï*$^{\gamma}$*ï'va‘* at the doorway
tïï'a- deer (e. g. *pa-rï'ia-* water-deer, elk)	*tï*$^{\gamma}$*i'a-* deer (generally so heard)

Curious is *nï'u(γw)a'mɪ* IN FRONT OF ME, in which *-γ-* is a glide consonant after *ï*, *-w-* after *u* (see 3 below).

(2) GLIDE *Y*. This occurs very frequently between *i* (*ι*) and a following vowel, e. g.:

qwac·ι- tail + *-aŋᴀ* his	*qᴡᴀ‘cι'yaŋᴀ* his tail
pu'ι- eye + *-'ai-* not to have	*pu'ι'y'ait·ï* having no eyes

tümp^{w}ι(a-)	rock (obj.) + *uru'-q·WA* under it	*tümp^{w}ι'y uruq·WA*	under the rock

Sporadically a weakly articulated *y* (indicated ^{y}) occurs initially before *i*; e. g. *^{y}i'mI* THOU < *i'mI*.

(3) GLIDE *W*. Labial glides are very frequent and are found in three distinct groups of cases.

(a) *Glide w between vowels.* After a primary *u* (*o*) a *w*, indicated as ^{w} if weak, often slips in before an immediately following vowel. If the second vowel is voiceless, the *w*- glide is unvoiced to *W*. Examples are:

tua-	son	*tuwa'tsιnI*	my son
-γu-	subordinating suffix + *-aŋa-* he	*ivi'χuwaŋA*	when he drank
pu'ι	eye	*pu'^{w}ι-*	
-u(w)ιt·uγwa-	before	*nïo'(W)Itux·WA*	before me

The use of *-w-* as glide seems incidentally to serve as criterion of the difference between a true *ui* diphthong and a dissyllabic *u* + *i*. Thus, with *-u(w)ι't·uγwa* above contrast causative *-t'·ui-* with diphthongal *ui* (rarely, if ever, *uwi*).

(b) *Rounded labials.* Bilabial consonants (*p*, *p‘*, *v*, *ϕ*, *m*) are normally pronounced with unrounded lips. Under certain conditions, however, they are pronounced with *w*- position of the lips. This position may bring about a slight ^{w}- glide between the labial and the following vowel. Several groups of cases are to be noted.

Initially *m^{w}-*, sometimes heard exaggerated into *^{u}m^{w}-* or even *um^{w}-*, is found in demonstrative two-moraed *m^{w}a'-*, *m·^{w}a'-*, THAT (see § 43); possibly this *m^{w}a'-* is developed from an older *uma'-* > *um^{w}a'-* (see below). An initial *m^{w}-* also sometimes develops before an immediately following *ï*; e. g. *m^{w}ïm^{w}i-* YE.

A medial *-m^{w}-* develops regularly after primary *ï*, *ï*. When the vowel following the *-m^{w}-* is unvoiced, the ^{w}- glide is also unvoiced (^{W}). Examples are *nïm^{w}i-* WE (exclu.); *cim^{w}ïa-* TO LET GO; *ti'm^{w}a-* TO ROAST; *ani'ntcïm^{w} i'mï* (ARE) DOING THESE (ANIM.); *co·'v^{w}antïm^{W}ï* OTHERS; *m^{w}ï'm^{W}I* YE.

A medial *-m^{w}-* also often develops after *u*(*o*), e. g.:

u- demonstrative + *-ma-ntï-* being at, from		*um^{w}α'ntï*	therefrom

u- + animate plural *-mï-*	*ųm*^{w}*u-* they
-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-mιA* usitative	*wa'a'ŋιŋum*^{w}*ιA* is wont to shout

Medial *-p·-*, *-mp-* are frequently rounded to *-p·*^{w}*-*, *-mp*^{w}*-* (unvoiced *-p·*^{W}*-*, *-mp-*^{W}) after *u* or *ï*. This seems to take place particularly before *i*, whose timbre contrasts most clearly with that of *p*^{w}. Examples are *tümp*^{w}*i-* ROCK (*tü'mp*^{W}*I*); *tU'p*^{w}*i'-* TO BE LEFT OVER; *tU'p*^{w}*a'q·ι-* TO EMERGE; *ump*^{w}*i'c·Acampa* JUST FOR FUN.

After *ï* or *u*, *v* is inner-rounded. The result, written *v*^{w}, is not *v* + ^{w}- glide but a bilabial *v* with inner rounding, a sound acoustically midway between *v* and *w*. It is phonetically related to *w* very much as *γ* is to *y*. Before voiceless vowels *v*^{w} is unvoiced to *φ*^{W}. Examples are *tïv*^{w}*a'ts·* WOLF, *nïv*^{w}*a'tcux·WA* TO ME, *tïv*^{w}*ι'ts·* VERY, *ïv*^{w}*ï''* GO AHEAD!, *nï'*^{u}*φ*^{W}*A* AT ME; *uv*^{w}*a''a·x·I* OVER IT, *qanι'ntcuv*^{w}*a·n·ι'* WILL MAKE A HOUSE, *oφ*^{W}*A* THEN.

(c) *Labialization of k-sounds.* Labialized *k-* sounds (*qw*, *qW*, *γw*, *xW*) are either primary or arise secondarily by the intrusion of a *w*-glide due to a preceding *u* (*o*) or *ɔ*. Examples of labialized *k-* sounds due to *u* (*o*) are:

-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-q·ai-* perfective	*ts·pi'ŋUqwa'* has appeared
tïv^{w}*i-ŋu-* to ask + *-ŋqai-* subordinating suffix	*tïv*^{w}*i'ŋuŋqwa'aiŋWA* as (he) asked him (for breaking of *-ŋqwai-* to *-ŋqwa'ai-* see § 15, 2, a)
tïv^{w}*i-ŋu-* + *-q·a-* plural subject	*tïv*^{w}*i'ŋUqwai'* several ask; absolute *tïv*^{w}*i'ŋuq·WA*
uŋwa'c·u- he + *-γain·ιa-* too	*uŋwa'c·uγwain·ιA* he too
o·- arrow + *-γai-* to have	*o·'γwaivätcï* wont to have an arrow
qo·- + *-γa-* to make a sound	*qo·'x·WApïγain·ι'* there was a whirring sound as of wings

Examples of *k-* sounds labialized by preceding *ɔ* are:

aγɔ- tongue + *-ŋqai-* to have	*aγɔ'ŋqwa'* to have a tongue
nɔ·- to carry on one's back + *-γι-* to come in order to	*nɔ·'γwιnI* come to carry me on (your) back!
nɔ·- + *-q·ι-* to come —ing	*nɔ·'q·WI* to come carrying on one's back

An initial ʽ is rarely labialized to ʽ*w*, *xw* by the final *ï*, *ï* of a preceding word; e. g. *tɔ'ɔ'ivï xwaiʽ* BULRUSHES (obj.) THEM < *tɔ'ɔi'vï ʽaiʽ*.

§ 15. *The Glottal Stop.*

(1) Types of Glottal Stop. Glottal stops occur very frequently in Southern Paiute. They are rarely exaggerated in articulation, however, and are often quite easily missed. The glottal stop may function as an integral element of a stem (e. g. *'ayu-* TO BE GOOD, *sa'a-* TO BOIL) or grammatical element (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO, *-n'ni-* continuative); as in itself a grammatical process occurring alone (e. g. dubitative -', § 19, 2, n; -'- to indicate momentaneous activity, § 53, 2, a, 3), with such grammatical processes as gemination and reduplication (§ 53, 2, b; § 58, 3 and 4) or in connection with certain enclitics, chiefly pronominal (e. g. -' . . . .*-mi-* THY, THEE); in certain circumstances to separate vowels brought together by composition (§ 16, 2); in final position after perfective -(*n*)*tca-* and *-γwa-* and after independent personal pronouns preceding verbs of doing and being (§ 5, 3). The last group of cases may be considered as inorganic or non-functional. The first group of cases may be defined as involving an "inherent" glottal stop, the second and third an "accessory" glottal stop. The distinction is important phonetically, inasmuch as a syllable containing an "inherent" glottal stop counts for two moras whether its vowel is short or long, while a short-voweled syllable with "accessory" glottal stop counts for only one mora (see § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 9, end). Outwardly these two types of glottal stop are identical, but they probably belong to quite distinct historical strata, the "accessory" group no doubt representing a later development or influencing of the word form. Rarely there is evidence to show that an "inherent" glottal stop may arise by way of compensation for the loss of a vowel. This seems to be true, at least, of *na'ŋ'ᴡᴀʽ-tsɩŋᴡï* FATHER ABD SON (< reciprocal *na-* + *-ŋwo'ᴀtsɩ-*, spirantized form (see § 16, 1, end) of *-mo'a-t·sɩ-* FATHER), *nana'ŋ'waʽt·sɩŋᴡï* FATHERS AND SONS (< plural reciprocal *nana'-* + *-ŋwoa'-t·sɩ-* < *moa'-t·sɩ-*).

(2) Movability of glottal stop. A puzzling and often disconcerting peculiarity of the glottal stop, apart from initial and final position, is its movability. The phonetic consciousness attaches it to a certain syllable, but within that syllable it may shift about with considerable freedom. In part this movability is conditioned

by accentual factors (§ 10, 2), but much of it is purely optional. The glottal stop may even spill over into the end of or body of the preceding syllable or into the beginning of the following syllable. Thus, the syllable *-y'ai-* TO DIE of such a word as *taγʋ·'-y'ai-k̯·a-* SEVERAL ARE THIRSTY may appear with its ' immediately preceding its own syllable (*-'yai-*); immediately following its initial consonant (*-y'ai-*; it may appear immersed in stops, affricatives, or nasals —see b below); breaking the first vowel of the diphthong (*-ya'ai-*; from this type of glottal affection may develop a glottalized vowel, see a below, e. g. *-yȧi-*); making a hiatus between the two vowels of the diphthong (*-ya'i-* or *-ya'^{i}-* with murmured *i*); closing its syllable (*-yai'-*); or glottally affecting the initial consonant of the following syllable (*-yaik̯̓·a-*). Hence it might be more appropriate to speak of the glottal affection of a syllable than of a glottal stop. The type *y'ai'-* or *ya''ai-* may be considered the norm.

(a) *Broken vowels and diphthongs.* Broken vowels are extremely frequent. They are due to either an inherent glottal stop (e. g. *si'i-* TO URINATE) or to the secondary operation of an accessory one (e. g. *qani''imɪ* THY HOUSE < *qani-* HOUSE). Either the first or second part of the broken vowel may be stressed or relatively stressed; the unstressed part, particularly if second, tends to be murmured (*a''a* > *a''^{a}*, *a'a'* > *^{a}'a'*). The type *^{a}'a'* is particularly frequent in initial position, the type *a'^{a}* in final position. A broken diphthong is one whose first vowel is broken (e. g. *a'a'ura'*, *^{a}'a'ura'* TOWARDS IT < *a-* IT + *-'u'ra'* TOWARDS).

Examples of vowels and diphthongs broken by an accessory glottal stop are:

paa'- aunt + -' . . .*mi-* thy	*paa''amɪ* thy aunt
-p·ïγai- remote past	*qarï'p·ïγa'aimï* they two sat
-na- verbal noun suffix + -' . . . *ŋwa-* his	*ampa'γana'aŋᴡᴀ* his talking
-q·ai- resultative suffix + -' . . . *q·wa-* it	*pį̈ni'k̯·a'aik·ᴡᴀ* see it

(b) *Glottalization of consonants and vowels.* A glottalized consonant may be defined as a welding of the consonant or, more rarely, vowel with a glottal stop into a composite sound of unified acoustic effect. Only the stopped consonants, *m*, *n*, and *ŋw* form such glottalized units; in the case of the other consonants, the ' immediately follows or precedes (e. g. *-'yï-* or *-y'ï-* < *-yï-* present tense + accessory ').

A glottalized *m* or *n* is simply a long nasal interrupted for a moment by glottal closure: *m’m*, *n’n*; in glottalized *ŋw* the ’ slips in between the *ŋ* and *w*: *ŋ’w*. The glottalized stops and affricatives (*p̓*, *t̓*, *q̓*, *q̓w*, *t̓c*, *t̓s*) are pronounced with simultaneous oral and glottal closure. The release of the two closures is simultaneous also. This makes them far more difficult to perceive than the snappy glottalized consonants (“fortes”) of so many other American languages, in which the glottal release is subsequent to that of the oral closure. Glottalized consonants result from either an inherent or accessory glottal stop; the glottal stop of the glottalized consonant generally belongs to its own syllable, sometimes to a following syllable, less often preceding one. Examples are:

tca’aik̭·ai- to hold + *-yï-* present tense + -’ . . . *q·wa-* it	*tca’a’ik̭·ai’yïq·WA* holds it
-q·ai- perfective + *-n·a-* verbal noun + -’ . . *.ŋwa-* his	*tïnι’aŋqïq̓·ain’naŋWA* his having told to (him)
uv^{w}*it·u-* to sing a song + *-m’mιa-*, *-m·ι’a-* along	*uv*^{w}*i’t̓·u’mιai‘* sings along
-v’antuγwa- on	*‘am·u’v*^{w}*’ant̓ux·WA* on them

The movability of the glottal stop is well illustrated in the forms *nï-cï’tcaŋwa’i-χa‘* TEASING A PERSON, *cït̓ca’ŋ’waiyïaŋA* TEASES HIM, *cït̓ca’ŋwaip·ïγa’aimï* FOOLED THEM.

By a glottalized vowel, e. g. *ȧ*, is meant one that is articulated while continuously interrupted by a rapid series of weak glottal stops or, probably more correctly, cordal tightenings that approximate glottal closure. Sometimes the glottalized vowel sounds like a fairly definitely articulated “glottal *r*,” at other times it seems to correspond to what German writers on phonetics term “Pressstimme.” The glottalized vowel may occur as an abbreviated substitute for the broken vowel or as an anticipatory glottal affection immediately preceding a more sharply articulated glottal stop, e. g. *pïni’k̭·aip·ïȧ’*^{a} DID NOT SEE.

(c) *Over-glottalization.* What is morphologically a single glottal stop often manifests itself twice or even three times in the course of a word. Several examples have already illustrated this. Further examples are:

cu(w)a- nearly + *-y’ai-* to die	*cu(w)a’(i)’y’aip·ïγa‘* nearly died
uv^{w}*a·-* there + *-yu-* post-position + -’ . . *.mï-* they	*uv*^{w}*ȧ·’’(i)y’umï* there they

qanintcu-	to build a house +	*nam·ï'χa'nintcuxwa'*^{a}	first go to build a house
-χwa'ai-	to go in order to		

The over-glottalization, though rarely, may even manifest itself in the immediately preceding word; e. g. *qa'nι u'a'xarux·WA* RIGHT THROUGH THE HOUSE (properly *qanιa-*, obj.); similarly *qa'nι' aura‘* HOUSE TOWARDS IT < *qanι' a'u'ra‘*, the glottal stop separating *a* and *u* being here so faint that it escaped perception, while the intrusive ' of *qa'nι* was distinctly audible.

In such an example as *-r'ɔaŋ'a'amɪ* HE—THEE? the ' after *ŋ* is intrusive, caught, as it were, between the ' of interrogative *-r'ɔ-* and the ' of *-aŋa'a-*, broken, by *-' . . .mi-* THEE, from *-aŋa-* HE.

(d) *Contraction.* On the other hand, two organically distinct glottal stops may, though far less frequently, merge into a single one; e. g.:

-p·a'na-	on + *-' . . .mï-* they	*tümp*^{w}*i'p·a'namï*	on a stone they
-ru'a-	interrogative + *-'* thou	*-ru'*^{a}	thou? (see § 40, 2).

§ 16. *Treatment of Consonants in Composition.*

A word must begin with either a vowel (which may be preceded by ') or one of the following nine consonants: *p*, *t*, *q* (*k*), *qw* (*kw*), *tc* (*ts*), *c* (*s*), *m*, *n*, ' . When these consonants, by the processes of derivation and composition, take up a medial position and are immediately preceded by a vowel, voiced or unvoiced, they assume, in part, one of three distinct forms. These are summarized in tabular form:

Initial	*Spirantized*	*Geminated*	*Nasalized*
p-	*-v-*	*-p·-*	*-mp-*
t-	*-r-*(*-tc-*,*-ntc-*)	*-t·-*	*-nt-* (rarely *-ntc-*)
q- (*k-*)	*-γ-*	*-q·-* (*-k·-*)	*-ŋq-* (*-ŋk-*)
qw- (*kw-*)	*-γw-*	*-q·w-* (*-k·w-*)	*-ŋqw-* (*-ŋkw-*)
tc- (*ts-*)	*-tc-*, *-ntc-* (*-ts-*, *-nts-*)	*-t·c-* (*-t·s-*)	*-ntc-* (*-nts-*)
c- (*s-*)		*-c·-* (*-s·-*)	
m-	*-ŋw-*	*-m·-*	(*-m·-*)
n-		*-n·-*	(*-n·-*)

The glottal stop undergoes no change; *c* (*s*) has neither spirantal nor nasalized development; *n*, at least as far as can be inferred from

Paiute itself, has no spirantal development; for *m* and *n* there is no distinction between nasalization and gemination.

Two factors are operative in the determination of the form that a consonant takes in medial position. In the first place, certain elements (suffixes and enclitics) always appear with consistently spirantized, geminated, or nasalized consonant, regardless of the stem or morphological element that precedes; e. g. *-γa-* durative suffix, *-q·u-* numeral objective suffix, *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix TO, FOR. On the other hand, all stems and many suffixes appear in either two or, more often, three forms according to the nature of the preceding stem or suffix. The initial consonants of suffixes that appear in two distinct forms are either spirantized or, less frequently, nasalized; e. g. future *-va·n·ιa-* (as in *ivi'va·n·ιa-* WILL DRINK, *-q·ava·n·ιa-* SEVERAL WILL —) and *-mpa·n·ιa-* (as in *ivi'ŋumpa·n·ιa-* WILL TAKE A DRINK, *ivi'm·ιmpa·n·ιa-* WILL BE WONT TO DRINK). As a rule, the nasalization in this class of elements is due to the presence of a nasal in the preceding syllable. Much more typical is threefold alternation, which affects all stems and many suffixes. Here the deciding factor is the nature of the preceding stem or suffix, which, as far as a descriptive analysis of Paiute is concerned, must be credited, as part of its inner form, with an inherent spirantizing, geminating, or nasalizing power (respectively indicated, where necessary, as -^{s}, -^{g}, and -^{n}). Thus, the same adjectival verb suffix appears in spirantal form in *aŋqa'-γa-* TO BE RED, geminated in *qᴜ'tca'-q·a-* TO BE GRAY, and nasalized in *paï'-ŋqa-* TO BE SMOOTH; the stems may be respectively indicated as *aŋqa-*^{s}, *qut·ca-*^{g}, *paï-*^{n}. On the other hand, the element *-γa-*, *-q·a-*, *-ŋqa-* is consistently spirantizing (schematic form *-qa-*^{s}), e. g. in participial *aŋqaγa-rï-*, *qᴜ'tca'q·a-rï-*, *paï'ŋqa-rï-*. The participial *-rï-* is itself capable of appearing in geminated (*-t·ï-*) and nasalized (*-ntï-*) form as well under the appropriate circumstances (e. g. *-'ai-t·ï-* NOT HAVING, *ɴᴜ*^{x}*qwi'-ntï-* STREAMING). Thus, for purposes of derivation and composition one needs to know always whether a given stem or suffix is one that spirantizes, geminates, or nasalizes. As to the historical background of these processes, Paiute itself reveals comparatively little. A thorough study of comparative Shoshonean linguistics would probably make them historically intelligible.

(1) SPIRANTIZATION. It is plausible, from what comparative evidence is available, that spirantization arose typically when an element or stem whose initial consonant represents no process of contraction was affixed to an element or stem whose final vowel

represents its original ending. Original ungeminated stops and *-m-* regularly became spirantized between vowels. There is some comparative evidence to show that *c* (*s*) and *n* originally alternated with *-'-* and zero respectively as their spirantal developments, but this is not deducible from Paiute itself and so does not concern us. "Spirantized" *-tc-*, *-ts-* can be most convincingly differentiated from geminated *-t·c-*, *-t·s-* by the failure of weak moras to lose their voice before it. The secondary *-tc- -ntc-* arising from a theoretical *-r-* (ungeminated *-t-*) have already been discussed (see § 13, 3). Examples of *-v-*, *-r-* (*-tc-*; after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-tc-* (after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-ts-* (after syllable with nasal, *-nts-*), *-γ-*, and *-γw-*, as results of spirantization are:

*na-*ˢ reciprocal + *pavi-* elder brother	*nava'vɪŋᴡï* brothers
*ma-*ˢ with the hand + *-patcï'a-* to fasten	*mava'tcï'ai‘* fastens
Shoshonean *(*h*)*ipi-* to drink (cf. Mono *hibi-*)	*ivi-* to drink
*aï-*ˢ new + *taï'*ⁱ shirt	*aï'raï'*ⁱ new shirt
cu(*w*)*a-*ˢ nearly + *tᴜpʷi'k·u-* to be used up	*cu*(*w*)*a'ʀᴜpʷik·ᴜpïγa‘* was nearly used up
Shoshonean **katï-* to sit (cf. Hopi *gatö*)	*qarï-* to sit
*iyɔvi-*ˢ mourning dove + *tua-* child	*iyɔvɪtcuatc‘* little mourning dove
*qan·ɪ-*ˢ house + *tua-*	*qan·ɪ'ntcuats·* little house
*a·-*ˢ quietly + *tca'aik̯·ai-* to hold	*a·'tca'aik̯·a‘* to hold quietly
*na-*ˢ reciprocal + *tcaq·aitsɪ-* younger brother	*nantca'q·aitsɪŋᴡï* brothers
*-p·ï-*ˢ past + *-tsɪ-*ˢ diminutive	*qa·'p·ïtsɪχ̯a‘* a little fellow sang
*tïŋqanɪ-*ˢ cave + *-tsɪ-* diminutive	*tïŋqa'nɪntsɪᴀ* little cave (obj.)
*qanɪ-*ˢ house + *-kai-* to have	*qanɪ'χ̯ai-* to have a house
*cï·-*ˢ squaw-bush + *qaitcɔx·ᴜ* hat	*cï·'γaitcɔx·ᴜ* woman's basket cap
Shoshonean **maka-* to give (cf. Mono *maki*)	*maγa-* to give
*nam·ï-*ˢ first + *qwaviŋu-* to camp over night	*nam·ï'χwaviŋu-* to camp over night first
*qaiva-*ˢ mountain + *qwitcu vʷaʀï* peak	*qa'ivaγwitcuvʷaʀï* mountain peak

Shoshonean **tuka-* night (cf. Luiseño *duku-mit*)	*tuγwa'nU* night

While the spirantizations illustrated above are live processes, that of *m* to *-ŋw-*, though abundantly enough illustrated in the material, seems to have spent its force, as in the more evident compounds and derivatives *-m-* is used even after spirantizing stems and elements; e. g. *na-m·a'ŋWιcava'amï* TWO SHALL PUSH EACH OTHER (cf. *na-*^{s} above), *pïŋqa'muntun'ι'ķaip·ïγa'* KEPT LYING COVERED UP (< *pïŋqa-*^{s} CONTINUOUSLY). Sometimes *-m-* and *-ŋw-* forms are distributed in other than a purely phonetic manner. Examples of *-ŋw-* < *-m-* are:

moa- father	*na'ŋ'WA'tsιŋWï* father and son
maγa- to give	*naŋwa'γa-* to pay (lit., to give each other)
ma-^{s} with the hand + *-mïn'ïc·ι-* to turn, roll over	*ma-ŋwï'n'ïcι-ŋqï-* to roll one over
ta-m·ï''ųna·-ŋqï- to dig out by poking with one's foot	*ma-ŋwï''ųna·-ŋqï-* to dig out with one's hands
m^w*ïmι-* you (plur.)	*-ŋwïmι-*, *-ŋumι-* your, you (obj.) (as enclitic element, see § 40)
-ma- on	*-ŋwa-* on (with pronouns, see § 50, 4, 8)
-mι-t·uγwa- to	*-ŋwι-t·uγwa-* to (chiefly with pronominal stems, see § 50, 4, 14)
-mï- animate plural (see § 48, 1, a)	*-ŋwï-* animate plural (see § 48, 1, b)
Shoshonean **tama-* tooth (cf. Fernandino *-tama*)	*taŋwa-* tooth
Shoshonean **sama-* (cf. Gitanemuk *hama-t* grass, Cahuilla *samu-t*)	*saŋwa'-φI* sagebrush
Shoshonean **tamï* we (cf. Hopi *i·-tamö*)	*taŋWA*, *-raŋWA* we

(2) GEMINATION. As we have already seen, intervocalic *n* and *c* (*s*) are always geminated or long, regardless of etymological considerations; e. g. *MA'ci'q·ιaiyïnI* MY HANDS ARE COLD (cf. *ma-*^{s} HAND above). Geminated *-m·-* also has largely supplanted spirantized *-ŋw-* (see 1 above). How geminated intervocalic consonants arose is not clear. In part gemination is a grammatical process (e. g. *ivi-* TO DRINK < Shoshonean *ipi-*: *^{i}'i'p·i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY); see § 58, 4, a, c-f. In general, however, we can not yet tell what brought

about the geminating power of certain stems and elements and the presence of geminated consonants in the body of stems. The contrast between intervocalic geminated and ungeminated consonants is doubtless an original Shoshonean feature, as indicated by comparative evidence. Examples of *-p·-*, *-t·-*, *-t·c-*, *-t·s-*, *-q·-* (*-k·-*), and *-q·w-* (*-k·w-*), as results of gemination are:

ta-^{g} with the foot + *pantu-* to shake	*tᴀʽpa'ntuiʽ* shakes with the foot
nɔ·-^{g} to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'p·aγai-* to carry from place to place; *nɔ·'q·avaʽ* pack-horse
i·-^{g} beforehand + *tïq·a-* to eat	*i·'t·ɪ̈ʽqaiʽ* eats beforehand
tïna·-^{g} to hunt + *tïγa·-* to tell what to do	*tïna'ᴀtïγa·ʀɪ̈* hunting-leader
qï-^{g} with the teeth	*qɪ̈ʽtcɔ'χw'a.iʽ* chews
wat·cι'- to catch up with	*ᴡᴀʽtcι'ŋᴜpïγaʽ* caught up with (contrast *watcï'-* to put)
wιt·ca'- to tie; *wιt·ca'-* bee	*ᴡɪʽtca'iʽ* ties; *ᴡɪʽtca'-φɪ* bee (contrast *witca'-φɪ* calf of leg)
qu-^{g} with fire	*qᴜʽtsι'k·ivaʽ* will burn
qï-^{g} with the teeth + *qoi'na-* to take off one object	*qɪ̈ʽqo'i'naiʽ* takes off with the teeth
pa(i)yι-^{g} to return + *-ki-* hither	*pa(i)yι'k·iʽ* comes back
Shoshonean _*tuk·u-_ panther (cf. Luiseño *dukwu-t*)	*tu'q·ᴜ* panther
tsιt·sι'-^{g} (reduplicated) with a point iteratively	*ts·tsι'k·wιyuiʽ* scrapes wavy lines
ta-^{g} with the foot	*tᴀ*^{x}*qwa·*$^{'a}$*q·ai-* to hold down with one's foot

There is some reason to believe, though the evidence is not conclusive, that geminating stems or elements followed by a stem beginning with a vowel insert a glottal stop; e. g. *i·''ᴀʽpïi-* TO SLEEP BEFOREHAND (see *i·-*^{g} above). However, it is evident that elements differ about the treatment of their final vowel before vowels, some contracting, others inserting a ' . Thus, both *ma-*^{s} and *ta-*^{g} combine directly with a following vowel; e. g. *maa'in·i-* TO TOUCH and *taa'in·i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT, *tauŋwai-* TO HANG BY THE FEET (cf. *uŋwai-* TO HANG). On the other hand, *tï(·)'-*^{n} WELL takes a ' after it; e. g. *tï''ᴀʽpïi-* TO SLEEP WELL,

(3) NASALIZATION. Nasalized consonants occur intervocalically as a result of the nasalizing power of a stem or element; as the result of reduplicating stems with interior nasal (e. g. *qaŋqa'n·ι-* HOUSES < *qan·ι-* HOUSE; see § 58, 2, d); and internally in stems and elements from obscure causes (in part these internal nasalizations may be due to the assimilatory influence of a preceding nasal: e. g. *naŋqava-* EAR from Shoshonean **naka-*, cf. Hopi *nak*^{u}*ve*, though elision of *-a-* in parallel Shoshonean **nanaka-*, cf. Gabrielino *-nanax*, may be a preferable explanation; yet internal nasalization sometimes appears where comparative evidence gives no apparent reason for it, e. g. *tuγu'mpa-* sky, cf. Möhineyam *duguba-t*, Gabrielino *tukupa-r*, yet also Tübatulabal *dogumba-l*).

Nasalized consonants that result from the nasalizing power of a preceding element may be grouped into three classes: 1. *-ntc-* (*-nts-*) that results from a *-tc-* (*-ts-*), original or itself developed from *-t-* (see § 13, 3), that is either inherently "spirantal" or rather ungeminated (e. g. *-tca-* preterital) or "spirantized" by a preceding stem or element, provided there is a nasal consonant in the syllable preceding the *-tc-* (*-ts-*) (this type is not properly "nasalized" at all, but is merely a secondarily nasalized development of the spirantized group; see 1 above); 2. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized, but not geminated, consonants and that seem to occur primarily, but not altogether, when the preceding syllable contains a *-ŋ-* or *-ŋw-* (e. g. agentive *-vi-*, *-mpi*, alternating in *nɔ·-vi-* CARRIER, *taŋa-mpi-* KICKER); 3. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized and geminated consonants. The primary cause for the nasalization in the last group is generally obscure. The presence of an interior nasal in the stem may be the cause in some cases (e. g. *taŋwa-*^{n} TOOTH). Elision of a syllable containing a nasal is demonstrable in a small number of cases (e. g. *pa'a-*^{n} TO BE HIGH, participle *pa'antï-*; cf. parallel *pa'an·i-*). In cases like usitative *-mia-*, *-mi-*^{n}; *-kai-* TO HAVE, participle *-kantï-*; perfective *-q·ai-*, participle *-q·antï-* one suspects Shoshonean **-mina-*, **-kani-*, **-q·ani-* with ungeminated *-n-*, which would disappear between vowels but assert itself as nasalization of the following consonant when the final vowel of the element is elided. Examples of nasalizing power are:

aγɔ-^{n} tongue	*aγɔ'mpι* tongue; *aγɔntu-* to make a tongue; *aγɔ'ŋqwai-* to have a tongue

nï-^{n} person (< *nïŋwï-*^{s}, e. g. *nïŋwuru-* to make a man)	*nïmpiŋwa-* another's wife; *nïntu-aŋqï-* to give birth to one; *nïŋqa'n·ιφɪ* somebody else's house
ɔvi-^{n} stick, wood	*ɔvι'mpaγïʽ* wooden fish; *ɔvιntu-* to make wood; *ɔvi'ŋk̯anɪ* wooden house
-vi-^{n} agentive + *-kai-* to be	*tɔna'viŋk̯ai-* to be a puncher
paγ(a)i-^{n} to walk	*paγ(a')impa·n·ιa-* will go; *paγ(a')iŋki-* to come walking; *paγ(a')iŋqw'ai-* to walk off; *paγ(a')impuru-* to walk from place to place

(4) VACILLATION IN USE OF CONSONANTAL FORMS. There is a certain amount of sporadic variation between spirantized and nasalized consonants, in part depending on nasal assimilation, but not altogether. Examples are:

witsi''ιts· bird	*-ŋwιntsi'ιts·* in compounds (*-nts-* because of preceding *-ŋw-* < *-w-*; e. g. *ɔa'ŋwιntsi'ιts·* yellow bird)
watcï- to put	*a·'γawantcï-* to hide, put in hiding (probably secondarily dissimilated from *a·γaŋwantcï-*)
MAʽci'tcompɪ finger-nail	*MAʽci'ntcompɪ* (alternative form)
pïrï'rï- to hang on	*pïntï·-ŋu-* to hang on, *pïmpï'-ntïkι-* to hang on several times
qanι'ntcu-v^{w}*a·n·ιʽ* will build a house	*o(w)i'p·ιntcu-mpa·n·ιʽ* will make a canyon (both with *-ntcu-* < *-tu-* to make; but note *qanι-*^{s}: *oip·ι-*^{n})
-mpïtsι- noun ending (see § 24, 1, g)	*-mpïntsι-* (rare form of *-mpïtsι-*, e. g. *ïna'mpïntsιŋWï* badgers)
nara'q·wιtcumpa- to be assembled together	*nara'q·wιntcumpa-* (alternative form)

Less frequently an original nasalized consonant takes a spirantal form, e. g.:

NU^{x}*qwι'ntï* stream (< *NU*^{x}*qwι'-*^{n} to flow)	*aŋqa'p·a·NU*^{x}*qwιtcitcιŋWï* red-stream-people (*-ntï-tsι-* doubly assimilated to *-tcïtsι-*, for *-tïtsι-*, then *-tcïtcι-*)

Not infrequently also nasalized and geminated consonants interchange, e. g.:

tɔ'ɔ'p·I hole	*mov*^{w}*ι't·ɔmp·I* nose-hole, nostril
tuŋqu't·υ·ŋu- to become clumsy, powerless	*tuntu'q·untυ·ŋu-* to become clumsy, heavy all over one's body (reduplicated; < *tun-tuŋqut·υ·ŋu-* by interchange of nasalized and geminated positions)
NU^{x}*qwι'mpaγ(a)i-* to run and walk by turns (< *NU*^{x}*qwi'-*^{n} to stream, run)	*NU*^{x}*qwι'p·aγ(a)ik̯·a-* several run and walk by turns
tümp^{w}*ι'n·arɔ'ŋqwantïA* having stone-clothes (obj.)	*tümp*^{w}*ι'n·arɔ'ŋqwat·ïA* (alternative form)

In the last three examples an original nasalized consonant has become geminated, partly for assimilative, partly for dissimilative reasons. In the first example the geminated consonant probably represents the original form.

Finally, there is some vacillation also between spirantized and geminated consonants. A number of elements that are primarily spirantizing are geminating in certain isolated forms, e. g.:

ma-^{s} hand, *ma-*^{g}:	*MA'pa'iya·vuφI* palm; *MA'tca'i'-aŋqï-* to reach for; *MA'pi'k·ι-* to touch with the hand
mu-^{s} nose (e. g. *mu-rɔna-* to strike with one's nose), *mu-*^{g}:	*MU'p*^{w}*i'k·ιφI* mucus

Quite distinct from this group, which evidently constitutes an archaic stratum (thus, there is no verb *-pik·i-* without prefix), are examples of stems which are inherently spirantizing but are treated as geminating when compounded with stems that occur independently. It is particularly verb (including adjective) stems, followed by noun or verb stems, that are so treated. Thus, *aŋqa-*^{s} RED (cf. *aŋqa-γa-* TO BE RED, *aŋqa-r'ua-* TO TURN RED) acts like a geminating *aŋqa-*^{g} in such forms as *aŋqa'-p·aγï'* RED FISH, TROUT, *aŋqa'-q·anI* RED HOUSE.

Similarly, *ivi-*^{s} TO DRINK (cf. *ivi-γu-* WHEN DRINKING) forms *ivi'-p·a-γ(a)i-* TO DRINK WHILE WALKING. However, these tendencies are not consistently carried out. Thus, both *aŋqa'-q·ᴡɪca-nï* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING and *aŋqa'-χwɪc·a-* TO FLASH RED are found. Such details are of merely lexicographic interest. The tendency to use geminated consonants in composition is probably due to the greater phonetic similarity thus brought about between a simplex and its compound. It is the first step towards the dulling of a consciousness of consonantal alternations and towards their development into mere historical survivals.

MORPHOLOGY (§ § 17–63).

§ 17. *Grammatical Processes.*

A number of distinct processes are in use in Southern Paiute for the expression of grammatical relations or for the formation of derivatives. Some of these are affixational processes, others internal changes of phonetic character. Seven processes may be recognized in all:

(1) COMPOUNDING OF STEMS (see § 18).

(2) ENCLISIS. By enclisis is meant the suffixing of certain elements to any word in the sentence, the resulting complex constituting a firm phonetic, but not a strictly formal, unit. Enclitic elements, except for some of the pronouns, never occur in other than enclitic form. In a "word" like *ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔanɪ* DID I TAKE A DRINK? The preterital *-ntca-*, the interrogative *-r'ɔa-*, and the pronominal ***-nɪ*** I are enclitic elements, not true suffixes, the true "word," formally speaking, consisting only of *ivi'ŋu-* TO TAKE A DRINK (*ivi-* TO DRINK + momentaneous suffix *-ŋu-*). This is shown by the fact that the enclitic cluster *-(n)tcar'ɔanɪ* can be appended, without bringing about any strictly formal modifications, to a preceding word in the sentence; e. g. *qan·ɪ'va·tcar'ɔan ivi'ŋᴜ* HOUSE-AT-PRETERIT-INTERROGATIVE-I DRINK- MOMENTANEOUS, DID I DRINK AT THE HOUSE? Phonetically the form DID-I-AT-THE-HOUSE? is a perfect unit, morphologically it is a word (*qan·ɪ'-va·-* HOUSE-AT) plus a number of exteriorly segmented elements that have no independent existence. Enclisis is thus neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter. It is one of the most characteristic processes of Paiute, doubtless of

Plateau Shoshonean generally. Enclitics include pronominal elements (see § 40) and elements of temporal and adverbial force (see § 19).

(3) PREFIXATION (see § 20). A considerable number of elements is prefixed to stems; they consist chiefly of adverbial elements and instrumental prefixes. They have purely derivational, not formal, significance. In origin they are doubtless, at least in large part, independent stems that have lost their individuality and now appear only as first elements of compounds (with *qu-*^{g} BY MEANS OF FIRE, e. g., cf. independent *qun·a-* FIRE).

(4) SUFFIXATION (see § § 23–37). This is the most important grammatical process of all. Under suffixes are included both derivational elements (e. g. agentive *-vi-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n}) and elements of strictly formal significance (e. g. objective *-a-*, *-ya-*; verb subordinating *-γai-*, *-q·ai-*, *-ŋqai-*).

(5) REDUPLICATION (see § 58). As a formal process reduplication is always initial. Final reduplication occurs only in isolated words and has no formal or derivational function. There are several distinct types of reduplication. The ideas expressed by the process are chiefly those of distribution, iteration and momentaneous activity.

(6) CONSONANTAL CHANGES. These are quite apart from the mechanical changes undergone by consonants in composition (§ 16). Consonantal changes include:

(a) *Gemination* of stem consonants (see § 53, 2, b). The geminating of the consonant or consonants indicates generally momentaneous or semelfactive as contrasted with durative activity. It is also frequently found in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Less commonly it is employed alone to give iterative force to the stem (see § 53, 2, b). Sporadic examples in noun derivationalso occur, e. g. *aip·a-tsι-* BOY: *aiva-(p·ïtsι-)* YOUTH.

(b) *Glottalization*, the insertion of a more or less movable glottal stop in the body of a stem or suffix. This occurs most frequently in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Like gemination, it is also used to express momentaneous activity and iteration (see § 53, 2, a). Gemination and glottalization tend to be associated or equivalent processes. This may eventually help to clear up the origin of the geminating power of certain stems (§ 16, 2).

(7) VOCALIC CHANGES. Certain vocalic interchanges are sporadic and of no functional significance; these may be survivals in part of older processes, in part they have sound-imitative value. Other vocalic interchanges are associated with definite alternations of function.

(a) *Sporadic interchanges.* An alternation of *a·* (*a*) and *ɔ* (*ɔ·*) is found in:

pa·ra-xa-	rain patters	*pɔrɔ-xwa-*	sound of hail, horse's hoofs
pa·nta-γa-	to make a peeking noise	*pɔ·ntɔ-γwa-*	to sound like a thud

An *a* of the durative alternates with an *ï* of the iterative form of the stem in:

ya·-vaγai-	to be afraid	*yï'ï-p·aq·ai-*	to be afraid several times

ï and *ɔ* alternate in:

-tïγan·ιa-	adverbial affix (§ 60, 2, b)	*-tɔγɔn·ιa-*	(rarer form of same)
tcɔ-q·ɔq·ɔi-	to sound like a punching noise	*tcï-q·ïq·ïi-*	ditto

In the latter example the primary form *tcɔ-*^{g} WITH THE FIST (§ 20, 2) is assimilated to the *ï-* vowels of the stem; conversely, *-q·ɔq·ɔi-* may represent an assimilation of *-q·ïq·ïi-* to the *ɔ* of the prefix (see § 3, 3, e). Cf. also *pi-k·ik·i-* TO SOUND LIKE A SLAP ON THE BUTTOCKS (*pi-*^{g} WITH THE BUTTOCKS, § 20, 2), in which the same stem with *ï-* vowel seems to have become assimilated by the *i* of the prefix. Perhaps more frequent than any of these interchanges is that of *ɔ* and *u*(*o*); this is apart from the purely phonetic interchanges already spoken of (§ 3, 5, e). Examples are:

pʌʻ-sɔ'rɔrɔi-tcï	waterfall	*curur'u-*	to make a noise of whirling down
tɔŋqwa·-	one (bow) snaps	*to·q·wa·-*	to stretch
pɔrɔ- (*pɔru-*)	several travel	*-puru-*	(in compound verbs) to go back and forth
tɔc·a-	white	*pa-ruc·a-*	Virgin River (lit., water-white)

tɔp·a-q·ι- (tree) comes loose, *tɔvι-tcai-* (feathers) come out

tup·^{w}a-q·ι- one object emerges, pulls out, *tuv^{w}a-γ(a)i-tcai-* several objects emerge, come through

(b) *Functional interchanges.* Two types of interchange occur, a qualitative and a quantitative one. To the former belong the change of an *a*, *a·*, *ɔ*, or *u* of the singular verb stem to an *i* in the plural (§ 53, 1, b); the alternation of semelfactive *-i-* with durative or iterative *-a-* (§ 53, 1, c); and the alternation of active *-a·-* with static or medio-passive *-i-* (§ 53, 1, d). The latter process, vocalic lengthening, is employed partly to indicate futility, partly in certain continuative forms.

§ 18. *Compounding of Stems.*

Both compound nouns and verbs (including adjectives) may be freely formed in Paiute. A large number are in constant and idiomatic use, while new compounds can be constructed without difficulty. The process of compounding is evidently very much alive in Paiute. Triple compounds, i. e. compounds involving three independent stems, are by no means infrequent (e. g. *qava′(u)-xwᴀ‘cι-väïx·ɪ* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR; *qïtca′-rï’ma-t·ïv^{w}ιtcu-* BLOOD-ROAST-ASK FOR). Even quadruple compounds are not unknown. Nouns frequently lose an absolutive or classificatory suffix when compounded (e. g. *-tsι-*, § 24, 1, f; *-vi-*, *-p·i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, a and b; *-vï-* *-p·ï-*, *-mpï-*, § 24, 1, d and e); e. g. *sɔγɔ′-ϕï* MOIST GROUND, *Nᴀ‘-cɔ′γɔ-’ma·vι-* TO LIE COVERED OVER WITH EARTH.

(1) COMPOUND NOUNS. Compound nouns are most easily classified with reference to the nature of the first and second compounded terms. Triple and quadruple compounds are always morphologically binary, one or both of the terms being in turn compound. Thus, the examples given above are to be analyzed as HORSE-TAIL + HAIR and BLOOD-ROAST + ASK FOR. Nouns stems, particularly in initial position, sometimes appear in abbreviated form; e. g. *nï-^{n}* PERSON < *nïŋwï-^{s}*, *na-^{n}* TRAIL < *naŋwa-^{s}*, *pa-^{s}* WATER < *pa·-^{s}*. For *mɔ’ɔ-^{s}* HAND is sometimes used *ma-^{g}* (cf. verb prefix *ma-^{s}*, § 20, 2). The qualifying element regularly precedes. Noun compounds whose second element is a participle or adjective, though logically substantival, are morphologically best interpreted as either verbs (adjectives) with incorporated noun subject or object (see 2, f below) or, more frequently, participial derivatives of such verbs (adjectives).

(a) *Noun + noun compounds.* These are extremely common. In many cases the primary force is given by the second noun, the first element of the compound merely modifying its range of significance. Examples are:

tïv^{w}*a'tsι-* wolf + *na-va'vι-ŋwï-* brothers	*tïv*^{w}*a'tsιnavavιŋᴡï* wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote)
qwιya'-(tsι-) grizzly bear + *ma(u)ma''uts·* young woman	*qwιya'ma(u)ma'uts·* grizzly-bear woman
qava·-^{s} horse + *pa·n·a-*^{g} metal + *pat·ca-* moccasin	*qava·'va·n·ap·at·c·ᴀ* horseshoe
ïna-^{n} badger (absolute *ïna'mpïts·*)	*ïna'n·ï̹ŋwïŋwï* badger people; *ïn·α'n·ιa·φɪ* badger chief; *ïna'ŋqwac·ɪ* badger tail (absolute *qᴡᴀ‘sι'φɪ* tail)
pi·p·uŋ'wa-^{s} woodpecker + *tïγïvï-* friend	*pi·'p·uŋ'warïxïvïaŋᴀ* his woodpecker-friend
san·a-^{g} gum (absolute *san·a'p·ɪ*) + *atcï-* bow	*san·a''atcï* gum bow
ma-^{g} hand (absolute *mɔ'ɔ'φɪ*) + *quna'φï* sack	*ᴍᴀ*^{x}*qu'naφï* glove
nï-^{n} person (absolute *nï'ŋᴡï*, *nïŋwï'nts·*)	*nï̹ŋqa'n·ιφɪ* somebody else's horse
pa-^{s} water (absolute *pa·‘*)	*paγwι'aφï* water-oak; *paŋwι'aφï* mud at bottom of water (< *wιa'φï* mud)

Frequent also are "bahuvrīhi" compounds, i. e. such as indicate that the noun referred to by the second element of the compound is possessed by an understood or specified person, animal, or object (cf. such English compounds as *hunchback*, i. e. HAVING A HUMPED BACK). Examples are:

cïnaŋwavi-^{n} coyote + *tɔt·sι-*^{s} head (absolute *tɔ‘tsι'φɪ*	*cï̹na'ŋwavintɔts·* coyote-headed, crazy-headed person
qut·cu-^{n} buffalo + *tan·as·ιγa-* hoof cleft + *wïγï-*^{n} vulva (absolute *wïγï'mpɪ*)	*qᴜ‘tcu'ntan·as·ιγ̹aŋwïx·ï* (girl with a) vulva that is cleft like a buffalo hoof
naγa- mountain sheep + *nampa-*^{s} foot (absolute *nampa'φɪ*)	*naχa'nampᴀ* mountain-sheep-foot (personal name)

None too frequently juxtaposition of phonetically independent nouns occurs in lieu of composition, e. g. *qava'(u)xᴡᴀʻcιvaïγ αmï nava'vιŋwï* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR THEY BROTHERS, THE HORSE-TAIL-HAIR BROTHERS; *qava·'ruwats· piya'p·ïts·* HORSE-CHILD FEMALE, FILLY.

(b) *Noun + participle compounds.* As already remarked, such compound nouns are morphologically active or passive participles of verbs with incorporated nominal subjects or objects respectively. They function as true nouns nevertheless. Indeed, to only a slight extent can the verbs be freely used with the incorporated noun subjects, while participial derivatives of such verbs are very frequent. Moreover, in some cases the participle of these compounds has taken on a considerably specialized meaning, notably *qarï'-ʀï* SITTING (plural *yuγwι'-tcï*), used in compounds to mean KNOLL, PEAK, ISLAND. Examples of compounds in which the noun is morphologically a subject of the verb implied by the participle are:

qaiva- mountain + *avi'-tcï* lying	*qa'iva·vitcï* mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau
ɔvi- wood + *sa'ma'q·a-ntï-* lying spread out	*ɔvι's·a'maq·antï* timber laid low on the ground
aɔŋqɔvï- dried-up tree + *wïnï-rï-* standing	*a'ɔŋqɔvïŋwïnïrïᴀ* dried up tree that was standing (obj.)
pa·-, *pa-* water + *qarï'-ʀï* sitting (plur. *yuγwι'-tcï*	*pa·'q·arïʀï*, *paγa'rïʀï* water-sitting, lake (plur. *paiyυ·'χwιtcï*) lakes)
-qarï'-ʀï sitting, knoll, peak, clump, island	*maa·'xarïʀï* brush-sitting, timbered knoll, clump of woods; *qa'ivaχarïʀï* mountain-sitting, mountain peak; *yïv^{w}ι'ŋk̦arïʀï* pine peak, Mount Trumbull; *nïv^{w}a'xarïʀï* snow-sitting, snow covered peak; *ɔγɔ'ŋqwarïʀï* fir-sitting, fir island
-narïγwι·n·α-p·ï being powerful, power-endowed	*nïŋwï'narïγwι·n·αp·ï* person-power endowed, person endowed with unusual strength; *qᴜʻtu'c·unarïχwι·n·ap·ï* giant-power-endowed, person endowed with gigantic power
tava'c·u-p·ï dried up (< *tavac·u-* it dries up)	*ɔγɔ'ntavac·up·ï* fir-dried up, dried up fir

qᴡᴀ‘cï′-p·ï ripe (< *qwac·ï-* to ripen, be done)	*a·′p·ɔrïc·ιxᴡᴀ‘cïp·ï* apple-ripened, ripe apples

Rarely the noun is found detached from its participle, e. g. beside objective *pa-γa′rïrïᴀ, pa·′-q·arïrïᴀ* LAKE we have also *paa′iᴀ qarï′rïᴀ* WATER (obj.) SITTING (obj.).

Rather different from these examples in inner, if not outer, form are compounds in which the participle is freely used in a substantival sense. They are really ordinary noun + noun compounds, in which the logical emphasis is on the second element. Examples are:

ɴᴜˣqwι′-ntï stream (lit., flowing)	*ᴀ‘ta′n·ᴜˣqwιntï* sand stream (i. e. "stream with sandy bed," not "streaming, flowing sand")
tᴀˣqa·′γa-ntï being flat, a "flat"	*ᴀ‘ta′ʀᴀˣqa·γantï* sand-flat (not "flat sand")

Very common are noun + participle compounds in which the noun is to be thought of as the object of the verb back of the participle. Here again the compound is functionally a noun, the logical emphasis being generally placed on the first element. Examples are:

tɔ’ɔ′ivï- bulrush + *ɔra-n·anɪ* my digging, my dug-up ones	*tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔran·an uʀ* my-bulrush-dug it, the bulrushes that I dug up
paï-ᵍ blood + *mantcaq·ai-n·a-* stretching out (one's) hands, hands stretched out	*pa·′m·antcaq·ain·aϕï* his own blood-hand-stretched out, his own bloody hands
tɔt·sι- head + *tï’mʷa′-p·ɪ* roasted	*tɔ‘tsι′t·i’mʷαp·ɪ* head-roasted, roasted head
qanι- house + *mama′x·ᴀqaɪ‘-pi-* having been given (by many)	*qanι′mamax·qaɪ‘pιaŋᴀ* his house-given (by many), his house given (him) by many
piŋwa- wife + *tυ·ŋwa′i-p·ï* picked up	*piŋwa′rυ·ŋwaip·ïnɪ* my wife-picked up, my wife who has been picked up (by me)
qut·cu- buffalo, beef + *iya′-p·ï* cut up and dried	*qᴜ‘tcu′’ιyap·ï* dried beef

Such examples differ in inner form from compounds in which the noun is an ordinary incorporated noun object of an active participle, e. g. *tümpʷι′-n·arɔ’ŋqwa-ntï* STONE-WEARING, STONE-CLOTHES.

(c) *Noun + adjective compounds.* Most adjectives are really verbs (predicative) or participles of verbs (attributive). There are, however, a few cases of true adjectives with nominal suffixes (e. g. *-mpï-*, *-tsɩ-*) which, in compounds, follow the noun they qualify, e. g.:

qanɩ- house + *ɩ·t·ü-mpï-* old	*qanɩ'ɩ·t·ümpï* house-old, old house
wï'a-^{g} penis + *pɪ'tɔ'p̓·i- ts·* short	*wï'a'p·ɪ'tɔp̓·its·* penis-short, short penised ("bahuvrīhi")

(d) *Noun + verb compounds.* Nouns which are compounded of a noun stem and a bare verb (or adjective-verb) stem are extremely uncommon. They seem to belong to the "bahuvrīhi" type. Examples are:

wï'a-^{g} penis + *NƆ*^{x}*qɔ''mi* to bend (intr.)	*wï'a'n'NƆ*^{x}*q*^{w}*ɔ'MI* penis-bend, bent-penised (personal name)
pa-^{s} water + *tuc·a-* to be white (ordinarily *tɔc·a-*)	*paru'c·A* water-white, Virgin River

(e) *Verb + noun compounds.* These are fairly frequent, e. g.:

nɔ·- to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'q·ava'* pack-horse; *nɔ·'s·ari·ts·* pack-dog
yai- to hunt + *qava'* horse	*yaa'ik̯·ava'* hunting horse
naγu'q·wi- to fight + *nɩn·i'a·vɩŋwï* chiefs	*naγu'q·wɩn·ɩn·ia·vɩŋwï* fight chiefs, battle chiefs
yaγa- to cry + *uv*^{w}*ɩ'aφï* song	*yaγa'uv*^{w}*ɩaφï* cry-song, song used in mourning ceremony
NA'sa''a- to boil oneself, sweat + *qa'nɪ* house	*NA'sa''aq·anɪ* sweat-house

Here must be included compounds of adjective-verb stems and noun stems, which also are quite common, particularly in a "bahuvrīhi" sense (sometimes nominalized by *-tsɩ-*, § 24, 1, f) and in verbal derivatives in *-kai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Examples are:

pik̯·a-^{s} to be sore	*pɪ'k̯a'χwɩt·ï* sore-buttocks (personal name); *pɪ'k̯a'mɔ'*^{ɔ} sore-handed); *pɪ'k̯a'rɔts·* sore-head-(ed); *pɪ'k̯a'nampats·* sore-footed (one)
pik̯·a-^{s} to be hard	*pɪ'k̯a''aiA* hard-turtle, land turtle; *pɪ'k̯a'χunaφï* hard-bag, rawhide bag

aŋqa- to be red	*aŋqa'p·aγïʽ* red-fish, trout; *aŋqa'ɔra·φï* red-pole; *aŋqa'q·anɪ* red-house
tɔc·a- to be white	*tɔʽca'p·aiyampa-ts·* white-breasted (one), gull; *tɔʽca'p·aiya·tsιγantï* white-breast-having, gull
tca·- to be wrinkled	*tca·'χuv*^{w}*a-χai-* to have a wrinkled face; *tca·'m*^{ɔ}*'ɔ-χwai-* to have wrinkled hands

Under this heading may also be included nominalized participles based on verbs compounded of verb (or adjective) + verb, e. g. *aŋqa'q·WIʽcaRï* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING; and nouns compounded of verb (or adjective) stems and participles that have substantival force to begin with, e. g. *aŋqa'p·a·NU*^{x}*qwιntï* RED-STREAM (*pa·'NU*^{x}*qwι-ntï* WATER-FLOWING, STREAM).

(f) *Participle + noun compounds.* This type of noun compound is not uncommon. Examples are:

man·u- all + *-va·-ntï-* future participle	*man·u'va·ntïp·a'atsιvιŋWï* all-kinds-of-animals that are destined to be
nana'x·-qa-ntï- being of different kinds	*nana'x·qantïŋqanɪ* different kinds of houses
s·ιŋqwa'naŋqwa-t·ï- being on the other side, the other	*s·ιŋqwa'naŋqwat·ïaŋavïnɪ* my other arm
^{a}*'a'-t·ï-* being good	*tïv*^{w}*i'ts at·ιuv*^{w}*iaia(u)φï* very his-own-good-song (obj.), his own very good song

The noun of the compound may, of course, itself be participial in form, e. g. *to·'q·warï-nUʽqwιntï* BEING BLACK-STREAMING, BLACK STREAM.

(g) *Adjective + noun compounds.* Aside from adjective-verb stems and adjective-verb participles, true adjectives may also be used as the first, qualifying, elements of noun compounds, some of them (e. g. *aï-*^{s} NEW and *i·-*^{g} OLD) being apparently found only in such compounds. Examples are:

mιa''-p·ï-^{s} little (absolute *mιa''p·ï-ts·*)	*mιa''p·ïm·'ɔnts·* little hand; *mιa''p·ïχanints·* little house

pa·-vï-^{n} clear + *pa·-* water	*pa·vu'mpa'* clear water
aï-^{s} new	*a'ïn·aŋwa·ŋʌ* his fresh tracks; *'a'ïv*^{w}*ɩŋwa-vïts·* newly-married one (< *pɩŋwa-* wife)
i·-^{g} old	*i·'p·uŋquni* my old horse; *i·'p·ïani* my old relative

Some adjectives may precede the nouns they qualify as independent terms, e. g. also *mɩa''p·ï-ts· qa'nɪ* LITTLE HOUSE.

(h) *Numeral + noun compounds.* These are very common and comprise one of the typical methods of expressing numeral relations. For examples see § 59, 2, b.

(i) *Pronoun + noun compounds.* These are quite rare, including terms compounded with interrogative *in·i-*^{s} WHAT KIND OF, WHICH and *qïma-*^{s} OTHER, which has certain pronominal peculiarities (see § 39, 2). Examples are:

in·i-^{s} what + *tïγïvï-* friend	*'ini'ntcïγïvïnɪ* what friend of mine?
qïma-^{s} other + *qani-* house	*qïma'χaninɪ* my other house

qïma- may also qualify as an independent pronoun, e. g. *qïma'rïc·ᴜ qani'nɪ* MY OTHER HOUSE.

(j) *Adverb + noun compounds.* These also are rare. An example is:

tantï'v^{w}*ai-* far west	*tantï'v*^{w}*aiuv*^{w}*ɩaφï* far-west songs, songs borrowed from western tribes

(2) Compound Verbs. Verbs compounded with other independent stems, particularly verbs and nouns, are extremely common in Paiute. Under compound verbs are, of course, to be included adjective-verbs and participles.

(a) *Verb + verb compounds.* A great many verb stems may be used as the second elements of compound verbs. As to their morphological force, they seem to fall into two groups, those whose action is to be thought of as contemporaneous or coordinate with that of the first verb stem (here belong particularly verbs of position and movement) and those upon which the first verb stem logically depends as a kind of object (e. g. TO WRITE-PRACTICE, TO PRACTICE WRITING).

It is not easy to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Not a few verb stems are used chiefly, if not entirely, as second elements of compounds. Some have become specialized in a quasi-formal significance (e. g. *-paiyï-* TO RETURN, also TO HAVE JUST DONE SO AND SO).

Among the former group are: *-avi-* TO LIE (sing.); *-m·ia-* SEVERAL GO, TRAVEL, GO IN ORDER TO; *-nuq·wi-* TO RUN, START OFF; *-nu'ι-k̯·ai-* SEVERAL STAND; *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, in compounds generally WHILE ON ONE'S WAY; *-pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN, BACK;- *pan·aγa-* SEVERAL RETURN; *-pitcï-* TO ARRIVE; *-pïn·i-* TO SEE, LOOK; *-puru-* TO GO ABOUT, FROM PLACE TO PLACE (cf. independent *pɔrɔ-* SEVERAL JOURNEY); *-qa·-* TO SING; *-qarï-* TO SIT (sing.); *-qwavi-* SEVERAL LIE; *-kwip·a-* TO HIT; *-waŋwi* SEVERAL STAND; *-wïn·ï-* TO STAND (sing.); *-yuγwi-* SEVERAL SIT. Examples are:

-avi-	to lie	*ųnι'avιχ̯aʻ* while thus-do-lying, while lying as described; *tᴀʻpa'-c·k̯aiaviʻ* lies senseless; *tïʻqa'-avιk̯·aiʻ* several eat in lying position
-m·ia-	several travel (not frequent as independent verb)	*tu(w)a'm·ιap·ïγaʻ* each gave birth while on their way; *qa·'m·ιap·ï-γaʻ* (they) sang while on their way, went in order to sing; *nɔntsι'k̯·aɱιaγaʻ* as (they) flew along
-paγ(a)i-	to walk	*qa·'p·aγ(a)ip·ïγaʻ* (he) sang while on (his) way; *qwavι'ŋᴜpax·ɪ-pïγaʻ* (they) stopped to camp while traveling
-pa(i)yï-	to return	*ya·'va(i)'yïq·ᴡᴀ* bring it back; *nɔ·'p·a(i)yιk·ɪpïγaʻ* came back home carrying on (his) back
-pitcï-	to arrive	*ivi'vitciʻ* comes to drink; *tca-'a'ivιtcιχw'aip·ïγaʻ* went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived
-puru-	to go about	*a'ivurup·ïγaʻ* said as (he) went here and there; *paχ(a)'impuru-χwaʻ* while walking from one to another

-qa·- to sing	*ᴜʿcu'q·wιχ̯a·p·ïγaʿ* whistled and sang, whistled a tune
-qarï- to sit	*pïn·i'k̭·arïχaʿ* while sitting and looking; *qwitca'χarïp·ïγaʿ* sat down and defecated
-waŋwi- several stand	*qa·'ŋwaŋwiʿ* several stand and sing
-wïn·ï- to stand (sing.)	*naŋqa't·caŋwųnιp·ïγaʿ* stood and listened; *ampa'χaŋwï̹nïiʿ* stands and talks

Some of the latter group of verb stems are: *-ampaγa-* TO TALK; *-maup̓·a-*, *-mauq̓·u-* TO FINISH, STOP (*-mauq̓·u-* only in compounds); *-maq·ïŋ'wa-* TO TRY; *-muc·ui-* TO TRY; *-pai-* TO CALL UPON; *-pïn·i-* (*n'ni-*) TO LOOK AROUND FOR; *-put·cutcuγwa-* TO LEARN HOW; *-qɔra-* TO PUT OUT; *-tïγa·-* TO PRACTICE, TRY; DIRECT, TALK ABOUT; *-tïŋwavaγa-* TO MAKE A NOISE OF; *-tïv*^{w}*itcu-* TO ASK FOR; *-tïv*^{w}*itcu'a-* TO LEARN HOW; *-tuc·uŋ'wi-* TO EXERCISE POWER. Examples are:

-maup̓·a-, *-mauq̓·u-* to finish	*tïʿqa'm·au'p·ᴀ* be through eating; *tïγa'n·ιmauq̓·utsιaŋᴀ* having finished butchering him
-muc·ui- to try	*pɪʿpι't·a'nι'mᴜʿcuiʿ* tries to vomit
-tïγa·- to measure (as absolute verb)	*wï'ι't·ïγa·iʿ* practices dancing; *kiya't·ïχa·m·ip·ïγaʿ* he always commanded a round-dance to take place; *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'χw'ɔitcιχa·χaʿ* talking of going to kill
-tïŋwavaγa- to make a noise of	*ampa'rιŋwavaxaiʿ* sounds like talking; *mumpa't·ιŋwavaxaiʿ* sounds like something rolling
-tïv^{w}*itcu-* to ask for	*tïχwι·'n·at·ïv*^{w}*ιtcuχwai'iŋwᴀ* go and ask him to tell a story; *cïï'x·ᴀtïv*^{w}*ιtcup·ïγaiyaŋᴀ* asked him to go for squaw-bush
-tuc·uŋ'wi- to exercise power	*ya'a'it·ᴜʿcuŋ'wιyïaŋanɪ* he exercises power upon me (so as) to (make me) die

The most noteworthy examples of compounded verb stems that have developed a non-concrete formal significance are illustrated below:

-paiyï- to return > to have been doing so and so (sing.)	*ivi'vaiyιʿ* drink-returns, has been drinking; *qa·'vaiyιḵ·aiyïaŋᴀ* he has sing-returned, he must have been singing
-pan·aγa- dit. (plur.)	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'vanaγaγaʿ* (they) kill-returning, (they) having been killing
-pïn·i-m·ia- to look- be on one's way, to be on the lookout for > to be just about to	*tïʿqa'p·ïnιmιaiʿ* is on the lookout to eat, is about to eat; *ya'uq·ᴡɪ-pïnιmi(y)aγoαq·ᴀ* when it was on the lookout to set, when the sun was about to set
-qarï- to sit > to keep on doing so and so, to be engaged in so and so	*tïʿqa'q·arïiʿ* eat-sits, keeps on eating; *wïnï'χarïʀɪ̈* stand-sitting, one engaged in standing, one stationed (to keep watch in hunting)
-yuγwi- dit. (plur.)	*wïnï'yuχwιtcïmï* stand-sitting (plur.), those stationed
-c·ua-ŋu- to finish eating > completion	*ivi'c·uaŋᴜ* to drink-finish, to drain
-tup·^{w}*i-k·u-* to be used up > completion	*na'a'it·ᴜʿp*^{w}*ik·ᴜqwaʿ* has burn-been used up, has burnt up

Such a second verb-stem needs only to drop out of independent usage to take on the appearance of a suffix. This step has undoubtedly been taken more than once (see § 28).

Under the rubric of verb + verb compounds are to be included also compounds of adjective-verb stem and verb stem and of adjective-verb stem and adjective-verb stem. Examples of the former are:

paï-^{n} to be smooth	*pa·'ntᴀʿcιu'kwiŋqï* to slip on something smooth
aŋqa- to be red	*aŋqa'χwιc·ᴀ* to flash red; *aŋqa'-q·ɔrɔiʿ* paints the face (generally but not necessarily, red)
pa·-saγwa-^{s} to be water-gray + *pïnιḵ·ai-* to see, look	*pa·'saχwavïnιḵ·aip·ïγain·ιʿ* looked water-gray in (his) eyes
saγwa-^{s} to be gray + *pïrïr'ï-* to hang down	*saχwɔ'vïrïr'*^{i}*-pa·ts·* blue-hanging-down spring
saru- to be hoarse + *ampaγa-* to talk	*saru'ampaγaiʿ* talks hoarse

Examples of adjective-verb compounds consisting of adjective-verb + adjective-verb (or adjective-verb participle) are:

to·-^{g} to be black + *-m'unuq·wa·-* to become round	*to·'m'unuq·wa·p·ïγain·ι'* became like black and round
paï-^{n} to be smooth + *yua·-γai-* to be level	*paï'yua·xa'* to be smooth and level
to·-^{g} to be black + *pa·'n'nɔa-γantï-* being hollow	*to·'p̣·a·n·ɔaγantï* being black and hollow
-saγwa-γa-rï- being blue	*A'sι's·aγwaγaRï* roan-blue, very light blue; *qU'tca'c·aγwaγaRï* ashen-blue, light blue; *tυ·'c·a-γwaγaRï* black-blue, dark blue

(b) *Adjective + verb compounds.* Compounds of true adjectives (not merely adjective-verb stems), including participles, and verbs (or participles) are quite uncommon, except for compounds whose first element is *'a't·ï-*^{n} GOOD, e. g. ^{a}*'a't·ïmpU'tcu'tcuγwap·ïγa'aik·WA* WELL (HE) UNDERSTOOD IT; ^{a}*'a't·ümpA*^{x}*qaŋUpïγaiyaŋA* KILLED HIM GOOD AND HARD; ^{a}*'a't·ïnaŋqap·ïγa'aik·WA* or ^{a}*'a't·ïnaŋqApïγa'aik·WA* HEARD IT CORRECTLY, CLEARLY; ^{a}*'a't·ïwa'aŋintcï* GOOD-SHOUTING, GOOD SHOUTER. It is remarkable that in most of these examples ^{a}*'a't·ï-*^{n} and the following verb are treated as accentually distinct, i. e. the law of alternating stresses is broken. The doublets *-naŋqa'p·ïγa'aik·WA* and *-na'ŋqApïγa'aik·WA* shows the struggle between the force of analogy of the simplex and the regular operation of the phonetic law.

(c) *Pronoun + verb compounds.* Independent personal pronouns are not compounded with verbs. Under this heading, however, are included verbs compounded with quasi-pronominal *qïma-* OTHER (see § 39, 2) and verbs compounded of independent personal pronoun + *-rïc·u'ai-n·a·'ai-* TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO. Examples are:

qïma- other	*qïm·a'ntcïkιva·ŋwa'*^{a} shall not be mixed up with others
-rïc·u'ai-n·a·'ai- to pay no attention to	*nïru'c·u'ain·a·'*^{a} pay no attention to me; *aŋa'Rïcu'ain·a·'*^{a} pay no attention to him

The latter examples are just as readily explainable as verbalized pronoun + postposition (see § 50, 4, 29).

(d) *Numeral + verb compounds.* These are very uncommon. An example of a verb compounded with *naŋwa′′*^{a}*q·u-*^{n} BOTH (objective in form) is *naŋwa′′*^{a}*q·umpA*^{x}*qaŋU* TO KILL BOTH (i. e. to guess correctly both bone-positions in hand game).

(e) *Adverb + verb compounds.* The adverbs here referred to may occur also independently. There is no real line of demarcation between them and specialized adverbial prefixes (§ 20). Examples are:

nava′c·u- in vain	*nava′c·up·A*^{x}*qaŋU* to kill in vain (note accentual irregularity, cf. b above).
qatcu- not + *-tïγai-* to become	*qatcu′t·ïγaiyïnI* I not-become, I am becoming exhausted
tï′ŋwï-^{s} (. . .*n·ia-*) quickly	*tï′ŋwïRïqamιyαnI* I am wont to eat quickly; *tï′ŋwïna·vaip·ïγai-n·ι′aq·WA* was gathering them up quickly

(f) *Noun + verb compounds.* These comprise examples of what is ordinarily known as noun incorporation. The absolutive or classificatory suffix of the noun is frequently lost in noun-verb compounds. The syntactic relation implied between the verb and its incorporated noun may be of various sorts. The incorporated noun may be an instrument; it may indicate similarity; it may function as a direct object; it may have local significance; it may function as the subject of the verb; it may be a predicate of the subject; or it may be a predicate of the object. Any of these relations may be, and more often is, expressed by properly syntactic or morphological processes. It is not possible to give a simple rule as to when noun incorporation is possible or required, whether, e. g., to say I TRAIL-SEEK or I SEEK A TRAIL. There is a good deal of option in this matter, but many cases of incorporation are fixed by idiomatic usage. There is some tendency to express what might be called characteristic or generalized relations by syntactic means. Any general and valid rule, however, is hardly to be formulated.

(α) An *instrumental* function is illustrated in:

taγu-^{g} thirst + *paq·a-* to be sore, to have pain	*taγu′p·A*^{x}*qa-* to be sore with thirst, to be thirsty
aγɔ- tongue	*axɔ′rɔv*^{w}*i*ʽ licks

pua-^{s} "medicine" + *qwïï-* to take	*pua′(u)χwïïʻ* takes out (disease object) by means of "medicine"
qwas·ι-^{s} tail + *kwιp·a-* to hit	*qwᴀʻsι′xwɪʻpap·ïχaiyaq·ᴀ* hit it with (his) tail
a·-^{g} horn + *tɔn·a-* to punch, strike	*a·′t·ɔn·ap·ïγaʻ* struck at with (his) horns
wii-^{g} knife	*wii′t·ɔn·ap·ïγaʻ* stabbed with a knife; *wii′ŋwɪʻpaq·ιn′ɴᴀ* to rip open with a knife

The verb *ya'ai-* TO DIE is idiomatically used with incorporated nouns of instrumental function to express various unpleasant psychic states, e. g. *tᴜʻqwι′-y'ai-* TO BE ASHAMED; *naŋa′-i'ai-* TO ANGER-DIE, TO BE ANGRY; *tïγï′(i)-ya'ai-* TO HUNGER-DIE, TO BE HUNGRY.

(β) A few examples have been found in which the incorporated noun has *similative* significance. It is quite doubtful if such can be considered as representing a distinct type. Examples are:

tᴀʻcι′ŋwα-mpï coarse gravel	*tᴀʻcι′ŋwιyuntaq·aγ*^{ε}*iʻ* keeps changing color like gravel
nampa′-ϕɪ foot	*nampa′rïŋwαyaxaiʻ* sounds like footsteps

(γ) The use of the incorporated noun as *direct object* is very common. Examples are:

paγïu-^{s} fish	*paγï′urïq·aiʻ* eats fish
qwɔ'a′-p·ï tobacco	*qwɔ'a′t·ïʻqaiʻ* tobacco-eats, smokes
atcï- bow	*atcï′p·ïγavaʻ* shall put away bow (for future use)
muv^{w}*i′-p·ɪ* nose	*muv*^{w}*ι′t·cau′naiʻ* scratches (his) nose
nïŋwï-^{s} person	*nïŋwï′ϕᴜcaγai'iχwa'*^{a} go look for a person!
ɔvι-^{n} stick	*ɔvι′ya·vaiyιp·ïγaʻ* stick-bring-returned, brought back a stick
pa·-^{s} water	*pa·ru′'umᴀ* to take water
wantsι- antelope	*wantsι′t·ïnavuruχunɪ* while I was chasing antelopes around

Some incorporated nouns appear in abbreviated form, e. g. *nï-*^{n} as well as *nïŋwï-*^{s} PERSON, *pa-*^{s} as well as *pa·-*^{s} WATER. Examples are:

na-^{n} track, trail (absolute *naŋwa'φɪ*)	*nantï'naiʽ* follows trail, tracks; *nampï'n'in·i'iʽ* looks for track; *nampu'c·aγaɪʽkup·ïγaʽ* started to look for a track
nï-^{n} person (absolute *nï'ŋᴡï*, *nïŋwï'nts·*)	*nïntu'aŋqï-* to give birth to (a person); *ɴïʽcι'm·*^{w}*įᴀ* to let a person go
pa-^{s} water (absolute *pa·ʽ*)	*pa(i)yu''ᴀ*^{x}*qιʽ* brings water

(δ) Less common is the use of the incorporated noun in a *local* sense. Examples are:

tavι- sun (poetic)	*tavι'aviχ̯aʽ* while lying in the sun
pa-^{s} water	*pamį'nɪcιk·w'aivaʽ* will turn upside down in the water; *para'n'ιγι-tsιŋᴡï* people who stick their feet in the water (tribal name)
-pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋqï-* to have a pain	*tɔʽtsι'φᴀ*^{x}*qaŋqïyïnɪ* I have a headache; *mov*^{w}*ι'p·ᴀ*^{x}*qaŋqïyïnɪ* I have a toothache
qanι-^{s} house + *paγι-* to walk	*qanι'vaγιn'nιʽ* visits around in the houses

(ε) Examples of the *subjective* use of the incorporated noun are:

pa-^{s} water	*paγu'nuyɔχwaiʽ* water is boiling
paγï'n·a-^{s} fog, cloud + *qᴀ*^{x}*qa'rï-* to settle, begin to sit	*paγι'n·ax·qarïχuʽ* would become foggy (lit., fog would begin to sit); *paγï'n·aŋwïnιp·aγεiʏï* cloud stands up and walks (poetic)
tava- sun	*tava'(i)yauq·wιʽ* sun sets; *tava''maŋwïc·iʽ* sun rises
m^{w}*ï'a't·ɔγɔ-* moon	*m*^{w}*'a't·ɔγɔi'aiʽ* moon dies
nïv^{w}*a-* snow + *uŋwa-* to rain	*nïv*^{w}*a''uŋwava·n·ι'aq·ᴀ* it will snow-rain, it will snow

More common than verbs with incorporated noun subjects are noun-functioning participles of such verbs (see 1, b).

(ζ) Examples of the use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate of the subject* are:

nιa·vι-^{n} chief	*nιa·'vιampaγai*ʿ talks as chief, talks in council; *nιa·'vιntïʿ-qaŋ'*ᴡɪ to become a chief
tïγïv^{w}*ï-* friend + *tca'ai-* to catch, grasp	*tïγï'v*^{w}*ïtca'ai-* to grasp (each other's hands) as friends

tïγai-, tïʿqaŋ'wi- TO BECOME is very frequently compounded with predicative nouns, e. g. *nïŋwï'*ʀ*ïqaŋ'*ᴡɪ TO BECOME A MAN; *sɔn·ι'aŋwï-rïχaiŋ*ᴜ TO BECOME THE DIPPER; *ɔvι'ntïʿqaŋ'wιntca·ŋ*ᴀ HE BECAME A STICK. The distinction between types (ε) and (ζ) is perhaps somewhat arbitrary.

(η) The use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate of the object* is not very common. Examples are:

quma-^{s} husband	*quma'χwïï'ŋ*ᴡᴀ to take him for a husband
piŋwa-^{s} wife	*pιŋwa'χw'ïp·ïγaiyaŋ*ᴀ took her for a wife

§ 19. *Enclitics.*

Enclitics, as already pointed out (§ 17, 2), may be attached to any word in the sentence. The pronominal enclitic elements will be treated later in connection with the independent personal pronouns (§ 40). Here we shall discuss only enclitics of adverbial significance. Except in certain specified cases, they regularly precede pronominal enclitics.

(1) ENCLITICS OF TEMPORAL SIGNIFICANCE. Two enclitic elements are used to refer to past time.

(a) *-tca-, -ntca-*. This element refers to the recent past and is often best translated by the English perfect. For the forms *-tca'*, *-ntca'* see § 7. Examples are:

tɔna't·ï·tcanɪ I have been hit
*tavι'tsιtca·ŋanɪ p*ᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋunɪ* having-hit-past-he-me kill-me; having hit me, he killed me (note that *-tca-* here refers not to *tavι'tsι-* HAVING HIT, but to following *p*ᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋu-* KILL)
*witsï''tsiαtca·ŋ qo'q·*ᴡɪ bird- obj.-past- he shoot, he shot the bird
*wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·*ᴀ two-obj.-past- I horse receive, I received two horses
tɔna'ntcanɪ I struck (not long ago)

imi'ntca' pɪʿpi'tcï thou-past arrive, you arrived
u(w)a'n·oyuntcᴀ paiyü'ŋᴜ over there-past return, has been there and returned from there

If a pronominal enclitic is used possessively with the preceding noun, the enclitic -(*n*)*tca*- follows (aside from -*φï* ONE'S OWN), e. g.:

mǫa'n·intc aŋᴀ mompa'q·ᴜ father-my-past he roll-off, my father rolled off

but:

o·'αtsa·ŋaφï qwïï'ʿ arrow-obj.-past- he-own take, he took his own arrow

With interrogative *ai*- (§ 44, 2, c) -*tca*- apparently refers to present time, e. g. *a'ïtcaŋᴡᴀ* WHERE IS HE? but there is probably an implied reference to the past, e. g. WHERE HAS HE (GONE TO)? It is sometimes used with exhortative *ïvʷï*- (§ 60, 2, d), e. g. *ïvʷï'tcan·ιχ̯a'ᵃ* LET-PAST-ME-THEN, LET ME THEN!

(b) -*γwa*-, a general preterital element referring to more remote time than -(*n*)*tca*-. For the form -*γwa'* see § 7. Examples are:

pᴀʿqa'ŋuγwa·ŋanɪ I killed him (narrative form; contrast *pᴀʿqa'ŋuntca·ŋanɪ* I have killed him [just now])
nï'χwa'aŋᴡᴀ pᴀʿqa'ŋᴜ I-past-him kill, I killed him
an·ι'aχw aivïʿ qa·'γaʿ what-past would-say while-singing? what did he sing?
aŋa'x uru''ᵃ who-past he? who was he? (-*x* < -*xw*; § 13, 7, c)
nï'γwa' tɔ'nᴀ I-past punch, I punched (long ago)

That -*γwa*- is no true tense suffix is shown by the fact that it may be used with the verbal -*yï*- suffix of present time (see § 32, 1), e. g.:

imi'χ̯war'ua·q·ᴀ marï'ŋqaiyïaq·ᴀ thou-past-interrogative-it create-present-it? didst thou create it?
ivi'yïxwa·q̇·aŋᴀ drink-present-past-it-he, he drank it (long ago)

A broken form -*γwa'a*- (perhaps -*γwa*- + -*'a*-, 3) also occurs. Its morphology is not clear. Examples are:

ɥnι'tsιγwa'an uvʷa·'nɪ then-past-I there-I, then I was there
nï̧'nιaχwa'axain·ι qarï'iʿ me-past-too sit-present, I too was seated
imi'aχwa'axain·ι qarï'iʿ thee-past-too-sit-present, you too (it was said) were seated

For the objective form of the personal pronoun in the last two examples see § 39, 4.

(2) Enclitics of modal and sentence-connective significance. Several of these are used in idiomatic connections that do not readily yield insight into their primary significance. It is believed, however, that the chief elements and uses are given below.

(a) *-γain·ιa-*, *-aγain·ιa-* too, also. These elements always follow pronominal enclitics, when present. The form *-aγain·ιa-* is probably compounded of *-a-* (see 3, a below) and *-γain·ιa-*; it is not at all clear how it differs in use or meaning from *-γain·ιa-*.*-γain·ιa-* itself is perhaps compounded of *-n·ιa-* (see d below). Examples of *-γain·ιa-* also, too are:

nï'χain·ιʽ I too
uŋwa'c·uγwain·ιʽ that one too
cυ·'yuχwain·ιʽ still another one
nïmʷι'χ̯ain·ιʽ we (exclusive) too
tïʽqa'xw'aiva·n·ιx̯ain·ιʽ I also will go to eat

Examples of *-aγain·ιa-* too are:

nïŋwï'axain·ι ya'a'ik̯·aʽ person-too died
maŋa'iᴀcuaxain·ι uŋwaru" aru"αnᴀ his-too he-is being, he belongs to him too

Sometimes -(*a*)*γain·ιa-* is elided to -(*a*)*γain·*, e. g.:

nï'axain· u̧nι'va·n·ιʽ I-too will-do

A frequent modal use of *-γain·ιa-* is to indicate a somewhat unexpected inference or an emphasis on an idea that might be questioned. It may then be rendered it turned out, it seems, indeed, just. Examples are:

marï'ac·uχwain·ιʽ qan·ι'p·ïn·ιʽ naya'ϕᴀˣqaιʽpïγaʽ that (house) -it-turned-out old-abandoned- house-like seemed
qan·ι'am·ïχain·ι aʀï house-their-it-seems it; their house, as it seems
tïʽqa'xw'aiva·n·ιar'uαn·ιχ̯ain·ιʽ it looks, indeed, as if I shall go to eat
ṗu'ι'tcatsιχ̯ain·ιʽ mice, as it turned out
iva·'n·'ιan·ιχ̯ain·ιʽ right here I was
tɔγɔ'avιŋwaxain·ι uŋwᴀ tïrα'xuava·'m avι'p·ïγaʽ rattlesnakes-it-was-that them in-their-midst lay, indeed he lay right among the rattlesnakes

An example of doubly elided *-γain·* is:

a'in'nιa·ŋaxain· ‘a'ik·ˣᴀ that-he-indeed said, that is what he *did* say

(b) *-γa'a-* THEN ! INDEED. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, has emphasizing force. It is particularly common in optative and hortatory sentences. Examples are:

ya'a'iχ̱v·n·iχ̱a' ‘ɔai‘ die-would-I-indeed (for *‘ɔai‘* see § 60, 3), would that I might die!
paiyι'k·ιŋuŋq̇v·ŋwaχa' ‘ɔai‘ return-hither-momentaneous-would-he-indeed, would that he might come back!
ïvʷï'raŋwaxa'ᵃ quna'i ‘ɔai‘ ya·'m·ιava·'aq·ᴡᴀ let-us-then fire it shall-go-get-it
nɔ·'q·aniχ̱a'ᵃ do ye, then, carry me!
ïvʷï''χa' uvʷa'nᴜ nam·ï'χa'nintcuxwa'ᵃ go-ahead-thou-then over-there first- house-make-go; go ahead, then, over there and first make a house
mʷα'ŋaya·'ᵃxa'ᵃ that one, indeed

(c) *-γwa-* SHOULD, OUGHT. This enclitic is doubtless identical with preterital *-γwa-* (1, b above). When used as modal enclitic of obligation or in mild imperatives, it is followed by enclitic *-n·oa-* (see e below). Examples are:

(u)mʷα'nɪˣk̯aim·ιaγwar'uan·ᴏᴀ thus- resultative-usitative-should- interrogative-probably; that is not how one should act, be
mʷα'n·ιavim·ιaγwar'uan·ᴏᴀ dit. except that *-avi-* TO LIE is substituted for resultative *-k̯·ai-*; one should not be thus lying
qarï''mιaχwa'n·ᴏᴀ sit-usitative-should-thou-probably, you shall stay
ïvʷï'χwa·ŋan·ᴏᴀ go-ahead-should-him-probably, go ahead and—him!

(d) *-n·ia-* LIKE. This is one of the most constantly recurring enclitics. Though its primary significance is that of resemblance, it is employed in several fairly distinct nuances of meaning and enters into many idiomatic turns of expression. Its primary meaning is clearly illustrated in:

u̧nι'c·unι‘ naya'p̓·a·ŋᴜpïγa‘ thus-again-like appeared, (it) looked just like before
aχa'ninianɪ naya'φᴀˣqa‘ how-like-I appear? what do I look like?
sɔ·''ιtsιnι‘ like a soldier
mų'an·in·ι‘ like my father (note that *-n·ιa-* follows possessive *-n·i-* my, but precedes subjective or objective pronominal enclitic; cf. second example above)

A dubitative tinge is often present, in which case *-n·ia-* may be rendered IT SEEMS, AS IT WERE, AS THOUGH, e. g.:

pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜtï‘qantïmɪa·'q̇·aŋᴀ naya'vai‘* kill-passive-having-been-like-it-he seems, it seems that he has been killed, it looks as though he has been killed

qᴜ‘qwɪ'va·p·ïγain'nɪ'aŋwᴀ shoot-future-past-like-him, acted as though about to shoot him

cina'ŋwavin·ɪ‘ coyote, it seems

This dubitative tinge may become so deepened as to justify the rendering of *-n·ia-* as PERHAPS, e. g.:

tï'ma'q·ᴀqain·an·ɪaraŋ 'uŋwᴀ roast-plural subject-perfective-verbal noun-like-our he, perhaps the one whom we have roasted

u'u'ŋwani'amɪ tïnɪ'aŋqïq·a'aimɪ he-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee, maybe he has been telling you

The idea of resemblance may also shade off into that of limit or emphasis, e. g.:

tïna·'^{a}*va·ntïm·anaŋqwan·ɪa·q·ᴀ* bottom-at-being-from-like-its, from its very bottom

A number of verbs, chiefly such as indicate states of mind, are regularly used with enclitic *-n·ia-*, e. g. *tïŋwï-. . .n·ia-* TO HURRY; *ï'ït·a·mpaq·a-. . .n·ia-* TO BE TIRED OF; *ai-. . .n·ia-* TO THINK (lit., TO SAY, AS IT WERE; cf. *ai-* TO SAY); *a·ŋwaiyα-. . .n·ia-* TO BE DIZZY; *an·ɪa-q·a-. . .n·ia-* WHAT DOES ONE CARE? (cf. *an·ɪa-* WHAT? § 44, 1, d); *nantcui-. . .n·ia-* TO BE FIERCE; *i·-ŋwaru'a-q·ai- . . .n·ia-* TO BE WILLING, READY. Here belong also many verbs of sound or sound-imitation, e. g. *ampaiya-. . .n·ia-* TO MAKE A NOISE; *sɔ·a-. . .n·ia-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER; *mʋ·a-. . .n·ia-* TO BUZZ, HUM; *ɔq·w'ɛ-. . .n·ia-* TO SOUND LIKE COUGHING; and numerous sound-verbs with suffixed durative *-γa-* (see § 30, 1). For *-n·ia-* with numeral stems, see § 36, 1; with certain postpositions, § 50, 4: 7, 35, 39; with certain adverbs, § 60, 1.

Quite unclear is *-n'nia-* following demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5) in cases like:

a'in'niaŋaxain· ‘a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* that-like (?) -he- indeed said, that is what he *did* say

Its glottal stop is unexplained.

(e) *-n·oa-* DUBITATIVE. It is almost impossible to assign any definite significance to this enclitic. It seems to render a statement either more doubtful or less definite in application. It may have an impersonalizing function. It is nearly always combined with either modal *-γwa-* (see c above) or with an impersonal *-t̓·ua-* (§ 29, 14) in its own or the following word. Examples of the former have been already given; see also *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* (h below). When combined with pronominal enclitics, *-n·oa-* regularly follows except in the case of *-n·i-* I, ME, which it precedes. Examples of *-n·oa-* with *-t̓·ua-* are:

pa'it̓·ua(i)yïn·oanɪ somebody calls me
uwa'n·untcan·ϙᴀ sɔtsι'ŋᴜt̓u'^{a} over-there-past-indefinite peep-somebody, somebody peeped over there
sa'a'ŋqït̓uava·n·ιa·ŋanoᴀ make-mush-for-somebody-will-him-indefinite, somebody will make mush for him; mush will be made for him
^{u}*mpa'iʽcamp̓aminuʽ tɔna't·*^{u}*'α'vaʽ* no-matter-thee-indefinite strike-somebody-shall, I don't care if you are struck

An example of *-n·oa-* unaccompanied by either *-γwa-* or impersonal *-t̓·ua-* is:

m^{w}*α'nintcu' tïʽqa'n·oᴀ* thus-interrogative eat-indefinite? that is not how to eat! (cf. f below)

(f) *-ru'a-* (*-tcu'a-*, *-ntcu'a-*) INTERROGATIVE. Examples of interrogative *-ru'a-* are:

tɔna'va·n·ιar'ɔa·ŋa'ŋᴀ will he punch him?
ivi'yïro'^{a} art thou drinking?
qanι'va·^{a}*tcaro'a·ŋaφï* did he (arrive) at his own house?
qatcu'ru'ax·qa'^{a} *naŋqa'ŋwa'*^{a} not-interrogative-it-thou hear-negative? do you not hear it?
taŋwa'ru'a·ŋ aro''^{a} tooth-interrogative-his it-is? is it his tooth?

Examples of interrogative *-tcu'a-* (used after *i*) are:

sari·'tcιtcu' aro'^{a} is it a dɔg?
ɔvι'tcu'a·ŋ ar aro''ana·ŋᴀ stick-interrogative-his it his-being? is it his stick

Interrogative *-ntcu'a-* (used after *i* preceded by nasal, also after demonstrative *ai-*) is illustrated in:

imi'ntcu'^{u} *tümpa'γaʽ* thou-interrogative mouth-have? have you a mouth?
a'intcu'an a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* that-interrogative-I said? did I say so?

Sometimes the interrogative is used merely rhetorically, implying an inference, e. g.:

um^{w}a'rïar'u(w)a·ŋᴀ nï̹'nι a·'γawantcιŋqïm^{w}ι̹ʽ those (inanim. obj.)-interrogative-he me hide-from-usitative? so it is those (clothes) that he has been hiding from me!
wa·(a'i)yumιk̯·aitcuaŋᴡ have two been (here)? it looks as though two have been here!
pu(w)a'ru'(^{w})a(i)yuru'ɑnɪ medicine-become-present-interrogative-I? I must be getting to be a medicine-man!

Very frequently the interrogative is employed as an ironical method of stating the negative, e. g.:

um^{w}a'nɪ^{x}k̯aimiaγwar'ɔnoᴀ thus-resultative-usitative-should-interrogative-indefinite? should one act thus? that is not how to do!
nï̹'nιaro'^{a} sᴀʽpi'χ̯ava·nɪ me-interrogative-thou overcome-shall-me! you can't overcome me!
a'intcu'a·ŋ ʽa'imιʽ that-interrogative-he say-usitative? that is not what he really means!

The interrogative frequently combines with a following *-γain·ia-* (see a above) in the meaning of IT SEEMS THAT. The enclitic *-n·ia-* (see d above) may be introduced between the two enclitics. Pronominal elements may separate the interrogative (or following *-n·ia-*) from *-γain·ia-*. Examples are:

pua'r'uava·r'ɔn·ιx̯ain·ιʽ medicine-become-shall-interrogative-I-apparently? it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man
ya'a'ik̯·aip·ïγait'cɔa·ŋaxain·ιʽ die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-apparently? he seems to have died (long ago)
tïʽqa'q·ait'ua(i)yïr'uan·uaxain·ιʽ eat-perfective-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-apparently? it seems that somebody has been eating
nιŋwï'ʀᴜqwat·uχwava·r'uɑn·ι(y)ɑn·ιχ̯ain·ιʽ person-under-to-shall-interrogative-like-I-apparently? it seems that I shall go under the person, i.e. be beaten

(g) *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*) *-r'ɔ-n·ia-* (also *-ntua-r'ɔ-n·ia-*) LIKE. The element *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*; *-ntua-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with interrogative *-r'ɔ-* + enclitic *-n·ia-*. This compound enclitic has been found only with nouns. It follows possessive pronominal enclitics. Examples are:

w’a′p·ιntuar’ən·ι‘ like a penis
qanι′ntcuar’ən·ι‘ like a house
w’a′(i)ya·ŋaruαr’ən·ι‘ like his penis (obj.)

(h) *-c·uya–γwa-n·oa-* WOULD THAT! The element *-c·uya-* (*-c·ia-*, *-c·ιa-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with modal *-γwa-* (see c above) and generally *-n·oa-* (see e above). Pronominal enclitics come between the *-γwa-* and the *-n·oa-*, except, as usual, *-n·i-* I, ME, which follows *-n·oa-*. Examples are:

qU‘qwι′t̓·u′ac·uyaγwa·^{a}*ŋanoA* shoot-impersonal-would that!-him-indefinite, I wish he would get shot!
qU‘qwι′t̓·u′ac·uγwaraminoA I wish we two (inclus.) would get shot!
qU‘qwι′t̓·u′ac·uγwanoanI would that I might get shot!

In this sense *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* is often attached to the verbal irrealis *-γo·-p·u-*, *-ŋqo·-p·u-* (see § 33, 1), e. g.:

tU‘pu′n·ιγ̯u‘puc·ιaγwə(’)n·o‘ wake-might-would that!-thou-indefinite, would that you might wake up!
tïna′ŋqwantïAcuyaχwən·o‘ pïmpï′n’NI^{x}*ḵaiŋuŋqo·p·U‘cuyaχwən·o‘* upward-being-objective-would that!-indefinite look (plur.)- momentaneous-might-would that!-indefinite, would that (they) might look up this way!

With *impï-* WHAT (see § 44, 1, c), *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* or, more briefly, *-c·uya-γwa-* adds a flavor of unreality: WHAT PRAY! Examples are:

impï′mA‘cιaχwan·QA what-with-would that!-indefinite; with what, pray, is one (to cut it up)? (i. e. there is no knife handy)

impï′A‘ciaγwa·ŋA tï‘qa′va‘ what-objective-would that!-he eat-shall? what, pray, will he eat? (i. e. there is no food to give him)

(i) *-c·a’a-* AND, BUT; THEN! This element is used partly as a connective or contrastive (AND, BUT), partly as an emphasizing particle (THEN!). In the latter use it is frequently appended to *ïv*^{w}*ï-*, the hortatory adverb. Examples are:

nï′’ca’^{a} but I; I, for my part
maŋa′c·a’^{a} but that one
ιtcï′’ca’^{a} and this
ïv^{w}*ï′’ca’*^{a} go ahead, then!
ïv^{w}*ï′’ca’aŋwaχa’*^{a} *paiι′χ̯wa’aiŋWA* go-ahead-thou-pray-him-then call-go-after-him! go ahead, then, go and call upon him!

(j) *-c·ampa-* ONLY, EXCEPT, BUT. The primary disjunctive significance of *-c·ampa-* is exemplified in:

nï'c·ampᴀ	only I, except me
m^{w}a'i‘campa·^{a}ŋ ‘aik·^{x}ᴀ	that-only- he says, that is all he says
'i'nɪcamṗan onɪ	in-this-way-only-me do-so! enough of this to me!
imi'c·ampᴀ	thou alone, thou thyself!
marï'c·ampᴀ piya'ιɪpïγa‘	that-only was left

Its use as disjunctive connective (BUT) is illustrated in:

o·'tcᴀ‘camṗaŋᴡᴀ	break-wind-preterit-but-he, but he broke wind

The primary idea of ONLY shades off in idiomatic usage to other modal nuances, e. g.:

'i'nimiᴀcamṗanïm(ᴡ)ɪ	in-this-way-travel (plur.)-only-we (excl.), we ALWAYS do so when traveling
qarï'c·ampᴀ	sit-only, JUST stay
ma(·)va'‘campa·^{a}ŋᴀ	there-only-he, RIGHT there he
a'ik·^{x}campan·ιanɪ	say-only-like-I, I think so (*ai-. . .n·ιa-* TO THINK, see d above)
qï'ï'c·ampanɪ	bite-only-me! EVEN SO bite me
nιŋwï'ʀᴜqwat·uγwaq·an·ac·amparaŋᴡᴀ	person-under-to-plural-nominal-only-our (incl.); our being beaten, IT WOULD SEEM

For its use with certain independent adverbs, see § 60, 2, a and d. Concessive significance (ALTHOUGH) is exemplified in:

qᴜ‘qwι'va·ts·sampᴀ	shoot-shall-gerund only, though being about to shoot
tïv^{w}i'ŋᴜqwat·u'αc·ampan ‘ɔqi‘	ask-plural-impersonal-only-me (for ‘*ɔqi*‘ see § 60, 3), even if they ask about me
(u)ma'ivätccampᴀ	say-that-always-being-only, though (he) is wont to say that

For regular concessive clauses in *-kai-c·ampa-*, *-γu-c·ampa-* (*-ŋqu-c·ampa-*), *-yu-c·ampa-*, see § 55, 1, b, c, e).

(k) *-c·u-* ALSO, AGAIN, SAME. Etymologically this enclitic may be a reduced form of *cʊ·-* ONE. Examples of *-c·u-* in its primary significance are:

qᴜ‘qwι'p·ïγaaic·ᴜ	shot again
ųnι'c·un·ι‘	thus-again-like, just as before
mava·'(ai)yuc·ᴜ	from that same place
nɔntsi'q·uc·ᴜ	fly off again

Its meaning frequently shades off into that of JUST, ONLY (this goes well with its suggested etymology), e. g.:

tu(w)α'tsιŋwαc·'uŋWA only his sons
marï'c·cu' ʿanι'k̭·arïiʿ that (inan.)- only do-sits, that alone do-sits, that alone is thus sitting
nï̜'nιac·U me-just, myself

It is regularly used with *cv·-* ONE (e. g. *cv·'q·Ucutcαnι* one-objective-just-preterit-I; see § 59, 1), with certain adverbs (e. g. *wï·'t·uc·U* LONG AGO; *na'a·'c·U* SEPARATELY; *a'ïvʷic·U* ENOUGH; see § 60, 2), and very commonly with independent third personal and reflexive pronouns (see § 39, 1; § 46). For its employment with subordinating verbal suffixes (*-kai-*, *-ku-*), see § 55, 1, b, e. It has largely lost its individuality with personal pronouns, as indicated by its double employment in forms like *marï'c·cu'* above, i. e. *marï'-c·u-*.

(l) *-c·uru'u-* NOR CAN. It was not found possible to elucidate this infrequently occurring enclitic satisfactorily. It is evidently compounded of *-c·u-* (see k above); perhaps *-ru'u-* was misheard for interrogative *-ru'a-*. Examples are:

imi'Acuru'unι thee-neither-I, neither (will) I (act thus to) you
nï̜'nιac·Ucuru' ava'ŋWItuγwanι me-just-neither-thou it-into-me, nor could you (put) me into it

(m) *-y'a-* QUOTATIVE. Examples are:

ya'a'iya'ᵃ die-quotative; (he) died, it is said
ya'a'iy'a·mï die-quotative-they; they died, it is said
maŋa'c·uya' ya'a'iva·n·ιʿ he-quotative die-future; he will die, they say
uvʷa'ʿcuya'ᵃ tïŋqa'nιvïa(i)yaφï there-again-quotative cave-objective-own; in that same cave of his, it is said

(n) *-'* DUBITATIVE. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, is often best translated PERHAPS, particularly when accompanied, in the same or following word, by the dubitative verbal suffix *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* (see § 33, 2). It is also used in rhetorical questions. Examples are:

u̜nι'ŋUtsιŋwa' ivä·'ntïʿ tAʿtcu'ʿpaŋumpïʿ then-he-perhaps here-being-objective fall-down-might; then, perhaps, he fell down around here
uvʷa·''ŋwa' qarï'vïʿ there-he-perhaps sit-might, perhaps he lives there
'i'vä·ntuγwαc·ampa'q·wα' uru''avïʿ this-at-to-only-it-perhaps be-might, perhaps it is right up to here

maa′iva·mpï·ŋwarami'ⁱ find-shall-might-he-us 2 (incl.)- perhaps, he might find us two
axa′n·iχ̣ainɪ pᴀˣqa′xa.in·i'ⁱ how-subordinate-me kill-subordinate-me-perhaps? why act thus to kill me?
impï′aŋwï tïγι′p·ïn·ιk̫·arïxaim·i̹'ⁱ what-you (plur.) food-look-for-sit-subordinate-dual-perhaps? what (are) you two (doing) looking for something to eat?

It is this enclitic, perhaps, which appears in certain expressions that are difficult to analyze:

ma′ip·i(y)a'ᵃ so-say-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was only said so
cu(w)a′ɪ'pi(y)a'ᵃ be-glad-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was meant for welcome words

(o) *-aq·a-* imperative particle. This element will be referred to again when the imperative is discussed (§ 52).

(p) *-ya-* dual-plural subject particle in imperatives. This also will be taken up under imperatives (§ 52).

(3) Not easily classifiable enclitics. Two or three elements not easily classified and, in part, of doubtful significance, may be conveniently grouped here.

(a) *-a-*, *-'a-*. I have been quite unable to determine what either of these enclitics indicates. They precede pronominal enclitics, but follow certain other enclitic elements (e. g. *-tca-*, see 1, a above; *-c·u-*, see 2, k above). They are probably found in *-a-γain·ia-* (2, a) and *-γwa-'a-* (1, b), as already suggested. Examples are:

ᴀ'pï′inac·uan u̹ni′k·ˣᴀ sleep-noun-again-? - I do, I do nothing but sleep (for idiomatic use of *-na-c·u-*, see § 62)
qatcu′anɪ not -? - I, I did not

qatcu′a·ŋanɪ pi̹nι′ŋwα'ᵃ not -?- him - I see- negative, I did not see him
iva·′n·'ιan·ιχ̣ain·ι' this-at-be (§ 26, 2, c) -?- I-just, right here I was (*-a-n·ι-χ̣ain·ι'* is enclitic correspondent of independent *nï′-axain·ι'*; see 2, a above)

tïγι′p·i̹n·in'nιaro'ᵃ food-look-for-continuative -?- interrogative-thou? are you looking for something to eat?

'i·′c·'u(w)anɪ (< *'i·-c·u-'a-nɪ*) long-ago-?-I
nava′c·u'an a′ik·ˣᴀ yaxa′xa' just-for-fun -?- I say crying, I cry just for fun

ivä·'ntuγwatca'anɪ pᴀˣqa'ŋ'uŋwᴀ this-at-to-preterit- ? - I kill-him, I killed him at this place

Such examples as the second, third, and fourth suggest a preterital value for these troublesome elements, but this is rendered very doubtful by the occurrence of *-tca-'a-* and *-γwa-'a-* and of such forms as *qatcu'-tca-nɪ* NOT-PRETERIT- I.

(b) *-p·ïtsι-* DEAR. This is merely a compound suffix: *-p·ï-* (§ 24, 1, d) + diminutive *-tsι-* (§ 35) or *-p·ïtsι-* (§ 24, 1, g). It seems to be preceded by an accessory '. It is listed as an enclitic here because it may follow possessive pronominal enclitics, e. g:.

pa'a'nɪpïts·	aunt (*paa-*) -my-dear, my auntie
moα'n'ɪʽputs·	my (dear) father (cf. *moα'nɪ* my father)
pιya'n'ɪʽputs·	my (dear) mother (more affectionate than *piya'nɪ* my mother)

(4) ORDER OF ENCLITIC ELEMENTS. The enclitics follow one another in a rather definitely prescribed order. The following scheme is believed to be substantially correct:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
-c·u- (2, k)	*-y'a-* (2, m)	*-(n)tca-* (1, a)	*-a-*, *-'a-* (3, a)	*-ru'a-* (2, f)	*-n·ia-* (2, d)	pronoun	*-n·oa-* (2, e)	*-γa'a-* (2, b)
	-c·uya- (2, h)	*-γwa-* (1, b; 2, c)	*-rua-*, *-ntua-* (2, g)	*-ya-* (2, p)		*-aq·a-* (2, o)		*-γain·ia-* (2, a) *-'* (2, n) *-p·ïtsι-* (3, b)

There are a few exceptions to this rule of order, no doubt, but only a few. By "pronoun" is meant subjective and objective enclitic pronominal elements, also possessive *-vï-* ONE'S OWN (§ 40, 4); other possessive pronominal enclitics are, with certain enclitics, attached directly to the noun (or noun + derivative suffixes), with others to the enclitic (e. g. interrogative *-r'ua-*). The order of pronominal enclitics among themselves will be dealt with later (§ 41, 1). If position 7 is occupied by *-n·i-* I, ME, it follows position 8 (see 2, e above).

§§ 20–22. PREFIXES.

§ 20. *Adverbial prefixes.*

Most of the adverbial prefixes are prefixed to verb and adjective-verb forms, one or two to other parts of speech. In origin they are doubtless all stems which, once independent, have become restricted in usage to composition. In some cases, indeed, a plausible connection can be established with independent stems.

(1) *a·-*^{s} QUIETLY, GRADUALLY:

*a·'tca'aik̯·a*ʻ to hold quietly, keep quiet
*a·'χarïi*ʻ sits quietly
a·'^{a}*y*^{a}*'ai*ʻ gradually dies
a·'ŋwᴀʻtsɪŋ'umï gradually catch up with them

(2) *i·-*^{g} BEFOREHAND, READILY:

i·'^{i}*t·ɪʻqai*ʻ eats beforehand, willingly; is ready to eat
i·'^{i}*k̯·ᴀʻqaʀï* to run away beforehand
i·''ɪnɪk·^{x}*qaɪʻpïγa*ʻ got ready, were ready
ʻ*i·'*^{i}*ŋwaru'ᴀ*^{x}*qantɪn·ɪ*ʻ who is willing, ready
i·'p·ɔtsɪn'ɪ^{x}*k̯ainɪ* I (am) ready to start off

(3) *ï'-*^{g} IN VAIN:

*ï'p·ïn·in'ni*ʻ looks around in vain

(4) *nam·ï-*^{s} FIRST:

*nam·ï'ivim·i*ʻ always drinks first
nam·ï'^{i}*'aip·ïγa*ʻ (< *nam·ï'-y'ai-*) died first
nam·o·'^{u}*v*^{w}*it·ᴜʻpïγa*ʻ (< *nam·ï'-uv*^{w}*it·u-*) sang the first song
nam·ï'v^{w}*axai*ʻ goes first
nam·ï'χaχa·n·av u'mᴀ first-sing-noun-own it-with, with his first song

This element is sometimes also found with primary nouns, e. g.:

nam·u'ruwatsɪnɪ first-son-little-my, my first-born son

(5) *nan·ɪ-*^{g} SEPARATELY (cf. independent adverb *nan·ɪ'c·ᴜ* SEPARATELY, § 60, 2, d):

nan·ɪ'p·aaitcᴀ separately-three-times, three each (see Numerals)
*nan·ɪ't·ɪʻqaq·ai*ʻ (they) eat separately

(6) *ɔn·ɔ-*^{g} EARLY, JUST PAST:

ϙnɔ't·ᴀʻciaŋqᴜ early-dawn-when, very early in the morning
ɔnɔ't·uγwar'uintï early-night-become-participle, early in the night
*ɔnɔ't·avai*ʻ early-day-present, (it) is early in the day
ɔn·ɔ'p·itcɪ early-arrive, to have just arrived
*ϙnɔ't·ɔvun'niχ̯a*ʻ when just waking up (assimilated from *-tuvun'ni-*)

(7) *paï-*^{n} PERFECTLY, ALTOGETHER (perhaps identical with adjective-verb *paï-*^{n} TO BE SMOOTH):

paï′mpa·n′nɔaγantï	perfectly hollow (used of park or valley)
paï′mpɔ·t·ɔ^{x}*qwaRï*	perfectly spherical
paï′ntɔγ(ɔ)imUʻquntaRï	perfectly-just-straight (see 15 below)
paï′yua·χantï	perfectly-plain-being, level desert with little or no vegetation

Probably identical with this is *pa·-* ENTIRELY (for *a·* < *aï* see § 4, 1) in:

pa·′m·anun·ιʻ	entirely-all, every single one
pa·′tsιŋqoŋqo’^{o}	entirely destroyed (as of field trampled down by people)

(8) *pi·-*^{s} BACK (cf. instrumental *pi-*^{g} below; § 21, 3):

pi·′vï̦nιk̯·aʻ	to look back

(9) *pim·i-* BACK AND FORTH (cf. no. 8 above; instrumental *pi-*^{g}; and independent *pimi′t·ux·WA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b):

pim·ι′ŋwï’ιk̯·aiʻ	(they) dance back and forth

(10) *pïŋqa-*^{s} TO KEEP ON -ING:

pïŋqa′RIqa’^{a}	keep on eating!
pïŋqa′avιp·ïγaʻ	kept lying down
pïŋqa′maip·ïγaʻ	kept on saying
pïŋqa′’ampaχaiʻ	keeps on talking
pïŋqa′m·a(·)n·ιyïnI	I do so very (fast)
pïŋqa′vaaip·ïγa’aik·WA	kept calling it
pïŋqa′ŋwa’aŋιʻ	keeps shouting

(11) *cυ·-*^{g} VERY (probably identical with numeral stem *cυ·-* ONE):

cυ·’a′iyïiʻ	is very good, feels very well
sυ·′p·a’antï	very high
cυ·′MU^{x}*qunta’mιap·ïγaʻ*	went right ahead
su·′tcaχιp·A	very near

(12) *cu(w)a-*^{s} NEARLY:

cua′φA^{x}*qaŋuntsanι’*^{i}	nearly-kill-preterit-me-thou, you nearly killed me
cuwa′ŋWAʻtcïp·ïγa’aimï	nearly caught up with them
cua′rɔγɔMUʻquntaRï	nearly straight

cuwa′RUp^{w}ik·Upïγaʽ were nearly all gone, used up
cua′ruγwιp·ïγaʽ (fire) was nearly out
cuwa′rɔγɔmAʽcüŋwιYU nearly-ten, nine

This element is probably identical with *cuwa-^{g}* in:

cuwa′p·itciʽ wakes up (lit., nearly-arrives)

(13) *ta-^{n}* FAR; used only, so far as known, in *tantï′v^{w}ai-* FAR WEST (cf. *tïv^{w}ai-* DOWN, WEST):

tantï′v^{w}aip·aʽ in a far-western land
tantï′v^{w}aiuv^{w}ιaφï far-western songs

(14) *tï·-^{n}* WELL, THOROUGHLY:

tï·′ntɔγɔq·WIpïγaʽ ran well, was on a dead run
tï′ntI^{x}qaiʽ eats well, eats a grand feast
tï′ʼʽampaγaiʽ talks well, has a good talk
tï·′ŋwa′aŋuʽ gives a good shout

(15) *tɔγ(ɔ)i-^{g}*, *tɔγ(w)i-^{g}*, more rarely *tɔγɔ-^{g}* JUST, RIGHT, IN MIDST OF. This prefix is very common and occurs freely with all parts of speech. Examples are:

tɔγɔ′it·avaiʽ (it) is mid-day
tɔγɔ′n·^{y}iv^{w}aIʽtïm^{w}ïn·ιʽ just-I-comparable-being-plural-like, equal to me (in strength) (*tɔγɔ′n·^{y}i-* < *tɔγɔ′in·ï-*)
tɔγɔ′MUʽquntaŋqw′aip·ïγaʽ went right straight ahead
tɔγɔ′ip·a′antï just high (enough)
tɔγɔ′it·Iʽqaiʽ is right in eating, is about half through eating
tɔγ^{ɔ}i′m·ava′anA right above that
tɔγ^{w}ι′aŋaruq·WA right under him
tɔγɔ′iŋqwιyumpa·ŋqunI right on the center of my head

§ 21. *Instrumental prefixes.*

Under this term are included a considerable number of elements of prevailingly instrumental significance. They are used chiefly with verb forms, but not exclusively. In nouns they may in part be employed non-instrumentally, nor is the properly instrumental function always apparent in verb forms. Their origin is largely obscure, but certain analogies suggest strongly that they are on the whole specialized forms of incorporated nouns with instrumental function (see § 18, 2, f, α); to some extent they may be related to verb stems.

(1) *ma-*^{s} (*man-* before *tc, ts*) HAND. This prefix is clearly related to, but not directly derived from, independent *mɔ'ɔ-*^{s} HAND. It is found in one form or other in all Uto-Aztekan dialects (e. g. Tübatulabal independent *ma-*; Fernandino, Luiseño *-ma*; Tarahumare, Pima *ma-*; Nahuatl *ma-* in compounds and as instrumental prefix). It is very common as instrumental verb prefix, many verbs not occurring without it. Its great age is indicated by the presence of verbs in *ma-ŋw-*, spirantized from *ma-m-*. Instrumental (in part apparently objective) examples of verb forms are:

mavi'tcᴀ^{x}qiŋqï	to crush with one's hand
maγu'x·ɪk̯aʿ	to point at
mavi'tsιγ̯ιʿ	claps (his) hands
maγa·'iʿ	tests by feeling
maγu'tcu'ιʿ	feels around, picks at (ear, tooth, arm-pit)
mayu'(w)aiʿ	rubs with (his) hand
mayu'm'ᴜ^{x}kwiŋqï	to nudge with one's finger
marïŋqa-	to create
maγarï-	to protect
ma(i)yu'n·aq·ai(y)aŋᴀ	to have arms around his neck
maχɔ'p·in'ɴᴀ	to break (trans.)
ma'a'ip·aʿ	to stretch out one's hands palm up
ma'nι'k·ɪ	to stick one's hand in (water)
maŋwï'n'ɪcιŋqïaŋᴀ	roll him over (< *ma-* + *mïn'ιc·ι-* to turn)
maŋwï''ųna·ŋqïp·ïγaʿ	tore out of ground with hands (cf. *tam·ï''ųna·ŋqï* to dig out by scraping or poking with foot)
maɔ'p·ᴀ^{x}qa·ŋqï	to make a hole by sticking one's hand into
naŋwa'(i)yunɴᴀ^{x}qa'aimï	they two hold arms around each other's necks (< *na-ma-*; see § 22, 1)
mantca'va.iʿ	waves (his) hand
mantca·'ŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·ᴀ	reached for it

A few verbs have *ma-*^{g}, e. g.:

ᴍᴀʿpi'k·ɪ	to touch with one's hand
ᴍᴀʿtca'ï'αŋqïp·ïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ	reached for it
ᴍᴀʿci'q·ιa(i)yïnɪ	my hands are cold
ᴍᴀʿcü'ŋwi-	ten (i. e. hands-completed?)

Examples of *ma-*^{g} and *man-* (before *tc, ts*) in noun compounds are:

ᴍᴀʿcï'uφɪ	finger
ᴍᴀʿpa'(i)ya·vuφɪ	hand-surface, palm

mantca′q̇·oiφɪ	flesh from elbow to wrist
mantsi′vïφɪ	bone from elbow to wrist

(2) *mu-*^{s} (*mun-* before *tc*, *ts*) NOSE (cf. independent *muv*^{w}*i-*^{g} NOSE). Verb examples are:

muv^{w}*a′ntuiʻ*	shakes head from side to side (like a horse)
murɔ′nᴀ	to strike with one's nose
moγo′inaiʻ	takes off with (his) nose
muntca′ʼaik̯·aʻ	to hold with one's nose
muntca·′ru’ιʻ	holds up (his) nose in the air

mu-^{g} is found in noun compounds, e. g.:

ᴍᴜʻp^{w}*i′k·ιφɪ*	nasal mucus

(3) *pi-*^{g} BUTTOCKS, REAR (for *pi-* as independent stem cf. *pimι′t·ux·ᴡᴀ* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b). Verb examples are:

pɪʻtcu′q·wιn’ɴᴀ	to crush with one's buttocks, by sitting on
pɪʻtï′ŋwaiʻ	closes by pushing with (his) buttocks
pɪʻk̯o′i’naiʻ	lets (his) trousers down (*-qoi’nu-* to remove an article of clothing)
pɪ^{x}*k̯i′k̯·in·iʻ*	to sound like a slap on the buttocks (face, or other soft part)

Examples of *pi-*^{g} in noun compounds are:

pɪʻtɔ′ʼɔmpɪ	rump-fat
pina′s·iχ̯anɪ	my rear-cleft, my crotch

(4) *pï-*^{g}, *pu-*^{g} EYE (cf. independent *pu’i-*^{s} EYE):

pɪ̈ʻtï′na(ι)yïaŋᴀ	follows him with (his) eye
pᴜʻca′γaip·ïγaiaŋᴀ	looked for him

This is an uncommon prefix. A nominal example is:

pᴜʻtï′ŋqanιφï	eye-cave, superciliary ridge

(5) *qï-*^{g} TEETH (cf. perhaps verb-stem *qï’ï-* TO BITE):

qɪ̈ʻtcι′tcuχwιʻ	grinds, gnashes (his) teeth
qɪ̈ʻtcɔ′χw’a.iʻ	chews
qïnι′p·uχwιʻ	(mouse) gnaws
qïu′ŋwqiʻ	hangs by (his) teeth

qïʿqa′vιtcaiʿ breaks (them) in (his) mouth, by grinding with (his) teeth
qïʿtcv·′iʿ squeezes between (his) teeth
qïʿca′ra·q·aip·ïγaʿ (his) mouth remained open

(6) *ta-*^{g} FOOT (cf. perhaps verb-stem *taŋa-* TO KICK). Verbal examples of this very common prefix are:

tᴀʿpu′q·wι- to jump
tᴀʿqu′q·wι- to foot-shoot, to kick one's feet out into the air
ta·′q·ï- to feel with one's foot
taya′nunuŋqι- to have one's feet dangling
tᴀʿqwi′p·a- to stumble
taŋ’wï′tcιγι- to keep time by tapping with one's foot
ta’ɔra- to dig a hole with the foot
tᴀʿtcu′n’na- to scratch around with claws
tᴀʿci′n·’aiyïnɪ my feet burn from cold
tᴀʿqo′itcaiʿ takes off (his) footwear
taa′in·iʿ touches with the feet
tama′χa·iʿ tests (its) depth with the foot
nïv^{w}*a′ʀᴀʿtɔn’ɴɪʿtïŋwavaʿpïγaʿ* snow-foot-shake-make-noise-past, made a noise of stamping snow off (his) feet

Noun compounds with *ta-*^{g} are, e. g.:

tan·a′s·ιγaφɪ foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes
tᴀʿpa′ia·φï sole (of moccasin)
tᴀ^{x}*qu′c·ɪ* top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin

(7) *tɔ-*^{g} FIST (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tɔna-* TO PUNCH):

tɔʿtca·′rɔ’ιʿ shakes (his) fist (at)
tɔʿpa′t·ᴀ^{x}*qiŋqï* to burst (trans.) by punching
tɔʿtï′ŋwaiʿ closes up (a hole) by punching (his) fist (against it)
tɔʿpa′raiva·n·ιa·m·ïnɪ I shall knock them down with (my) fist
tɔya′ᴜʿqwaiʿ pushes in with (his) fist

(8) *tcɔ-*^{g} HEAD (survival of old Uto-Aztekan stem for HEAD, cf. Nahuatl *tzon-tli*):

tcɔʿpa′ntuiʿ shakes (his) head
tcɔmɔ′ntïγιʿ shakes (his) head
tcɔ^{x}*qɔ′q·ɔin·*^{y}*iʿ* sounds like a noise of punching hard on head (or face)

As first element in noun compounds it occurs, e. g., in:

tcɔʿpι′k·ι- brains

(9) *tsι-*^{g} WITH THE POINT OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. This is a very frequent instrumental prefix. Examples are:

tsιmï'n·ɪ'caiʿ turns (meat put to roast on red-hot ashes) with a stick
ts·tsa'ŋki'aq·aʿ to hold on a pole
ts·qu'r'uiʿ pokes in a hole with the point of a stick
ts·tu'n'naiʿ braces (house, tree) with a pole
ts·pɔ·'iʿ tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by prying out with a point (e. g. of needle)
tsιnï'ntcïkiŋqï to shake with the end of a stick
tsιŋwï'n·aiva·ŋᴀ will throw him (in) with a stick
tsιŋwï''ιŋqï to knock down with a stick
ts·ḳa'vinaiʿ cuts (with a knife)

(10) *wï-*^{g} WITH THE LENGTH OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. The applicability of the primary meaning of this prefix is sometimes obscured. Examples of its use are:

ᴡɪʿpɔ'n'nɔaiʿ drums
wï̜nι'ruxwιʿ moves a stick back and forth on the notched rasp
ᴡɪʿqɔ'p·in'ɴᴀ to break against the edge of something
ᴡɪʿqa'vitcaiʿ cuts several objects
ᴡɪʿpa'raiʿ knocks (them) down by slashing with a stick
ᴡɪʿpï't·ʿkιŋᴜpïγaʿ grazed (it) with (his) wing
ᴡɪʿqa'm'mι- to cover
ᴡɪʿtɔ'n'nɔ.iʿ shakes (e. g. a blanket)
naŋqa'vaŋᴡɪpantuγwιyïnɪ ear-instrumental-shake-iterative-present-I, I shake my ears

A few examples of *wi-*, before *y*, may contain another form of this element:

wiyu'm'ᴍᴜ^{x}*qwιŋqï* to hit slightly (as with a willow switch) on the edge (cf. *mayu'm'ᴍᴜ*^{x}*kwiŋqï* to nudge, poke with the finger)
wi'yα'ŋqï·'na- to cut notches, *wi'yα'ŋqï'na-q·ai-* to have notches cut into (itself)

(11) *ta-*^{g} BY THROWING, WITH A STONE (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tavi-* TO THROW A STONE). Externally it is identical with *ta-*^{g} FOOT (see 6 above). Examples are:

tan·ï'ntcïkiŋqï to shake by throwing an object at (it)
tᴀʿpa'raiʿ knocks (them) down with stones
taŋwï''ιŋqï to knock (it) down with a rock

tᴀʽcι'n'ɪ^{x}qava·raŋᴡᴀ let us all play the ring-and-pin game
tᴀ^{x}qa'.iyuŋwι- to split in two by hitting on a stone
yu'o'ʀᴀ^{x}qɔp·ιn'ɴᴀ leg-instrumental-break, to break a leg by throwing a stone at (it)

Cf. also, as example of a noun compound:

tᴀʽcι'ŋwαmpï coarse gravel (cf. *cιŋwα'mpï* gravel)

(12) *qu-^{g}* FIRE (cf. independent noun stem *qun·a-* FIRE; also independent Shoshonean **ku-*, e. g. Tübatulabal *gu-t*, Cahuilla *ku-t*):

qumu'ntuaʀïpïγa' heated stones by putting them on the fire
qᴜʽtu'n·ųiʽ drills for fire
qᴜʽpa'ra·χaiʽ pops in the fire
qᴜʽtsι'k·iyïnɪ I build a fire
qǫnɔ'yɔχwaiʽ water boils
qᴜʽtsι''aiʽ roasts on a spit
qoq·wavιtcayï' breaks it in half by burning over the fire (song form)

(13) *cï-^{g}* COLD (survival of Uto-Aztekan stem **se-*, cf. Nahuatl *ce-ti*). This element is not freely used, but occurs only in certain stereotyped forms, e. g.:

cɪʽpï'raiʽ (object) is cold
cɪʽpa'ï'aiyïnɪ I feel cold (lit., I die of cold; *cïp·a-* as incorporated noun has not been otherwise found)
cɪʽpï'χurutca·q·aip·ïγain·ιʽ felt as though a cold breeze were in his head
cɪʽtu''ιʽ (it) is cold weather
cɪʽpï'n·ιk̨·ain·ιʽ (it is) draughty, chilly
ᴍᴀʽci'q·ιaiyïnɪ my hands are cold

(14) *ta-^{s}* SUN, HEAT (cf. independent *tava-* SUN, DAY). This element also occurs only in certain stereotyped forms:

taro''ιʽ (it) is hot weather (cf. *cï-t·u'i-* above)
tᴀʽcï'a-^{n} to be dawn
tᴀʽcï'p·a-^{s} to be evening

Possibly also:

tavai- to set (brush) on fire
tavac·u- to dry in the sun

(15) *tca-^{g}*. This prefix is fairly common and is clearly instrumental in force, as shown, e. g., by its alternation with other instrumental

prefixes (e. g. *ma-*^{s}, *ta-*^{g}, *tsι-*^{g}). Its precise force, however, is far from clear. Perhaps it denotes indefinite instrumentality. In some cases it seems to refer, like *ma-*, to the HAND. Examples are:

tcᴀʻpa'ntuiʻ shakes (with the hand) (cf. *tᴀʻpa'ntu-* to shake with the feet)
tcą'ų'wa.iʻ scratches (with the hand) (cf. *tą'ų'wa.iʻ* scratches with the foot)
tcᴀ^{x}*qo'itcaiʻ* takes off clothes (cf. *maγo'itcaiʻ* takes off gloves, bracelets, armlets)
tca·'mpïn'na·- to raise so as to uncover (*tca-ï'mpïn'na·-*) (cf. *maï'-mpïn·a·ŋqï-* to raise covering from)
tcᴀ^{x}*pa'q·ιn'ɴᴀ* to tear into two pieces; *tcᴀ*^{x}*pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear to pieces (cf. *tɔʻpa'γιtca-* to rip open in several places; *wii'ŋwïʻpaq·ιn'ɴᴀ* knife-edge-tear-momentaneous-causative, to rip open with a knife)
tcan·o'ŋqwa·ŋqïva·n·ιʻ will pull (feathers, hairs) out by force
tcᴀʻpu'ruχwιʻ scatters (trans.), sows (seeds)
tcᴀ^{x}*pï'nɪkiŋᴜpïγain·ιʻ* (it) appeared like open, darkness cleared up

(16) *ɔ-*, assimilated *u-* ROUND OBJECT, HOLE (*ɔ-*^{g} before momentaneous forms, *ɔ-*^{s} before durative forms). This element occurs only in a few stereotyped forms:

ɔʻpa'q·ι- to be (one-)holed, participle *ɔʻpa'q·(a)itcï* with a hole, *ɔv*^{w}*a'xιtcai-* to have holes (derivatives from *-paq·ι-*, *-paγι-* to tear, see under *tca-* above)
ᴜʻpu'q·wι- to bounce (like a ball) (cf. *tᴀʻpu'q·wι-* to jump).

This element is not a true instrumental, but rather a stereotyped objective classifier. It may, indeed, be used with true instrumental prefixes, e. g. *maɔ'p·ᴀ*^{x}*qa·ŋqï-* TO MAKE A HOLE BY STICKING ONE'S HAND INTO.

A few verbs in *u-*^{g} referring to SLEEP OF CLOSING ONE'S EYES may possibly contain this element (ROUND OPENING metaphorically > EYE?):

ᴜʻtu'c·uŋwï'ι- to cause to go to sleep (cf. *tᴜʻcu'ŋ'wι-* to exercise power upon, to cause to do as one wishes)
ᴜʻtcu'm'mι- to have one's eye's closed, *ᴜʻtcu'm'ma·-* to close one's eyes

It is just as possible, however, that this *u-*^{g} is assimilated from an *ï-*^{g} that appears also in *ït·ï'ŋ'wa-ampaγa-* TO TALK IN ONE'S SLEEP.

(17) *pa-*^{s} WATER. This is nothing but the incorporated noun stem *pa·-*^{s}, *pa-*^{s} WATER used instrumentally. It is listed here as a

prefix because it occurs in a number of verbs whose bare stems are not found in use without it:

patca'q·wa·- to get wet, *patca'q·wi-* to be wet
parï'γi- to wash (trans.), *nava'rïγi-* to wash oneself
patca'q·ïŋwa- to water, irrigate

Less probably also:

nava'q·ï- to bathe (intrans.) (non-reflexive *-paq·ï-* not found)

The instrumental prefixes are much more closely connected with the verb stem proper than any other elements preceding the stem, e. g. adverbial prefixes, reflexive *na-* (see § 22, 1), or incorporated nouns. An instrumental prefix comes nearest the stem. Owing to this close connection, the psychological analysis becomes somewhat obscured at times, so that the notion of instrumentality may be repeated in a preceding incorporated noun, e. g. *wïï'-ŋwïʿpaq·ɪn'NA* TO RIP OPEN WITH A KNIFE (contains both instrumental incorporated noun *wïï-* KNIFE and instrumental prefix *-ŋwï-* < *-wï-* WITH THE BLADE OF A LONG OBJECT). Sometimes an instrumental prefix is so closely identified with the stem that it may be preceded by another instrumental prefix, e. g. *MAʿpi'k·i-* TO TOUCH (that *ma-*^{g} is a prefix is indicated by parallel *tAʿpi'k·i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT): *wïma'p·ik·ɪ* TO TOUCH WITH THE EDGE OF A STICK, *tɔma'p·ik·ɪ* TO TOUCH WITH THE FIST.

§ 22. *Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes.*

(1) *na-*^{s} SELF, EACH OTHER (*nan-* before *tc*, *ts*). Properly speaking, forms in *na-*^{s} are nothing but compounds of reflexive pronominal stem *na-* (for independent *na-* with postpositions, see § 46) and verb-stem or noun-stem (for type of compound see § 18, 2, c; 1, i). The element *na-* is so frequently and idiomatically used, however, that it seems advisable to treat it as a prefix.

Its primary significance is reflexive, e. g.:

pïn·i-	to see	*navï'nɪtuik̥·ai(y)aŋanɪ*	he let me see himself
uŋwai-	to hang	*nqu̧'waip·ïγaʿ*	hung (him)self
a·ŋa-ru-	to make a piñon jay	*na'a·'^{a}ŋaRUqwq̧umpaʿ*	shall turn (them)selves into piñon jays
sa'a-	to boil	*NAʿsa''aiʿ*	boils (him)self, takes a sweat-bath
parïχɩ-	to wash (trans.)	*nava'rïχɩʿ*	washes (him)self

Many verbs in *na-* have an indirect reflexive or mediopassive significance. Not infrequently the stem is not in use without the prefixed *na-*. Examples are:

-qa·-	(stem not used alone)	*naγa·-*	to wear (clothing)
-to·'a-	(stem not used alone)	*naro·'a-ŋu-*	to have (one's skin) on
-paq·ï-	to bathe (bare stem not in use)	*nava'q·ïpïγaʻ*	bathed (them)-selves
-qut·cï'a-	(for *qu-*^{g} see § 21, 12)	*naγu't·cï'a-*	to burn up (intrans.)

A very common derivative of the primary idea of *na-* is that of reciprocity, generally of the subject, less often of the object, e. g.

quq·wi-	to shoot	*naγu'q·wιŋqï-*	to shoot at each other, i. e. to fight
tɔn·a-	to punch	*nï'aŋᴀ narɔ'n'naŋqïiʻ*	I-him self-punch-to-present, I have a fist-fight with him
kwιp·a-	to hit	*naγwι'p·a*^{x}*qap·ïγaʻ*	(they) hit each other
maγa-	to give	*naŋwa'xaŋqï-*	self-give-to, i. e. to pay
tïntïnia-	to tell (on)	*narï'ntïnia(i)yï'ïmï*	they tell on each other
tïv^w*iŋu-*	to ask	*narï'v*^{w}*iŋuq·waiʻ*	(they) ask one another
-tsιn'na-	(stem not used alone)	*nantsιn'na-*	to joint, cause to be joined together

Reduplicated *nana-*, to express either iteration or distribution of reflexive-reciprocal activity (see § 58, 3 and 4), is common, e. g.:

na-ro·'q·wa-	to stretch oneself	*nana'ro·q·waiʻ*	stretches (him)-self several times
cv·yu-ŋqwai- . . . c·u-	to be one	*nana'c·v·yuŋqwaiyuc·ᴜ*	(they) being one by one

It is frequently employed where emphasis on reciprocity, as distinct from reflexive activity, is desired, even when not more than two actors are involved, e. g.:

wïnai- to throw down	*nana'ŋwį̈naiŋqïyïaŋanɪ* I throw each other with him, i. e. I wrestle with him
naruγwa- to oneself, to give to oneself	*nana'ruγwa(i)yïaq·ᴀ* (they) 2 give it to each other

The idea of reciprocity leads naturally to that of duality of terms involving mutual relationship, e. g.:

pavi- elder brother	*nava'vιŋwï* two brothers
tcᴀ^{x}*qa'itsι-* younger brother	*nantca'q·aitsιŋwï* two brothers
moa(tsι)- father	*na'ŋ'ᴡᴀʻtsιŋᴡï* self-fathers, father and son
pia- mother	*navi'aŋᴡï* self-mothers, mother and daughter (*or* son)
qum·a- husband	*naγu'm·aŋᴡï* self-husbands, husband and wife
qïmantsι- stranger	*naγï'mantsιŋᴡï* two who are strangers to each other
tïγïv^{w}*ï-* friend	*narï'χïv*^{w}*ïŋᴡï* two friends
pai- three	*navai-* 2 x 3, i. e. six

Plurals of such dual reciprocals are formed by reduplicating *na-* to *nana-*, e. g. *nan·a'vavιŋᴡï* (three or more) BROTHERS; *nana'-ŋ'watsιŋᴡï* FATHER AND SONS; *nana'rïγïv*^{w}*ïŋᴡï* (three or more) FRIENDS.

(2) *nai-*^{n}. This element, which is perhaps compounded of reflexive-reciprocal *na-* and an unexplained *-i-*^{n}, occurs only in:

piŋwa- wife	*na'impiŋwa-* wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife, i. e. potential wife
quma- husband	*na'iŋquma-* husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband, i. e. potential husband

§ § 23–37. DERIVATIVE AND FORMAL SUFFIXES.

§ 23. *Types of derivative and formal suffixes.*

By "derivative suffixes" are here understood such elements as have derivational rather than purely formal or syntactic value, i. e. such elements as help to build up the word as such from the stem rather than to relate the word to other words in the sentence. Under formal suffixes are not here included strictly syntactic elements.

Derivative and formal suffixes may be grouped into seven more or less clearly distinct types of elements. 1. Noun suffixes, including absolutive or classifying elements, elements defining possession, and tense elements; 2. Nominalizing suffixes, generally suffixed to verb stems, embracing agentive, instrumental, and verbal noun suffixes, certain special noun-forming elements, and participial suffixes; 3. Verbalizing suffixes, affixed to nominal, adjectival, or demonstrative stems; 4. Verbal derivative and formal suffixes, affixed to verb stems, embracing suffixes of movement, voice, verbal aspect, number, tense, and mode; 5. Diminutive -(*n*)*tsι*-, suffixed to both predicating and denominating terms; 6. Numeral suffixes; 7. Quasi-pronominal suffixes of special nature. In general it may be said that the derivative suffixes of Southern Paiute are, on the whole, of a general and colorless rather than of a specific or concrete nature.

§ 24. *Noun suffixes.*

(1) ABSOLUTIVE OR CLASSIFYING ELEMENTS. Many nouns end in a suffix that either suggests classification of the noun under a general category or that has little assignable significance except to render the noun absolute. Some of these elements disappear in composition or when the noun is used with a possessive pronominal enclitic, others may or may not. Some nouns appear with or without an absolutive suffix, e. g. *nï'ŋwï* and *nïŋwï'nts·* PERSON.

(a) *-vi-*^{n}, *-p·i-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n} absolutive suffix implying indefiniteness or non-specification of possessor. These elements, which immediately follow the stem, are used with nouns expressing objects, persons, or relations that can hardly be thought of except in connection with other objects or persons, e. g. terms of relationship, body-part nouns, and substantivized local concepts (e. g. BOTTOM, SURFACE). They may be rendered by SOMEBODY'S, OF SOMETHING or, preferably, left untranslated. They always disappear with pronominal enclitics and in composition.

Examples of *-vi-*^{n} are:

moa'-nι	father-my	*moa'φι*	(somebody's) father
paa'-nι	aunt-my	*paa'φι*	(somebody's) aunt
tïʻtï'χιvï-^{s}	friends (plural, not reciprocal)	*tïʻtï'χιvïφι*	(one's) friends
taγa'p·ïa-nι	servant-my	*taγa'p·ïaφι*	servant, one who serves another

tᴜʿtu'χua-nɪ guardian-spirit-my	*tᴜʿtu'χuaφɪ* guardian spirit
ᴡïʿcιa·-^{s} feather	*ᴡïʿcι'a·φɪ* feather
yïnï-^{s} crown of head (e. g. *yïnï'χantï* having a crown)	*yïnï'φɪ* crown of the head
mɔ'ɔ-^{s} hand	*mɔ'ɔ'φɪ* hand
ɔa·-^{s} back (e. g. *ɔa·ru-* to make a back)	*ɔa·'φɪ* back
pu'ι-^{s} eye (e. g. *pu'ι'-ŋᴡïʿtuv*^{w}*ɔa-* to cover one's eyes)	*pu'ι'φɪ* eye
nι(y)a·'-nɪ name-my	*nι(y)a·'φɪ* name
ᴜ^{x}*qwι'(y)uʿ* arrow, *ᴜ*^{x}*qwι'(y)υ·-nɪ* arrow-my	*ᴜ*^{x}*qwι'(y)υ·φ*^{w}*ɪ* (somebody's) arrow
tïna·-^{s} bottom (e. g. *tïna·'aq·ᴀ* its bottom)	*tïna·'φɪ* bottom (of anything)
wïγa·-^{s} bank, edge	*wïxa·'*^{a}*φɪ* bank, edge (at top of precipice)
naŋwa'-nɪ tracks-my	*naŋwa'φɪ* tracks

Examples of *-p·i-*^{n} are:

muv^{w}*i-*^{g} nose	*muv*^{w}*ι'p·ɪ* nose
paï-^{g} blood	*paï'p·ɪ* blood
wï'a-^{g} penis, *wï'a'(i)ya·ŋaruar'ɔn·ι*ʿ like his penis (obj.)	*wï'a'p·ɪ* penis, *wï'a'p·ιntuar'ɔn·ι*ʿ like a penis (as such, not thought of as belonging to anyone)
tïra'χua-^{g} center, middle	*tïra'χuap·ι*ʿ center, middle (obj.)

Examples of *-mpi-*^{n} are:

taŋwa-^{n} tooth (e. g. *taŋwantu-* to make a tooth)	*taŋwa'mpɪ* tooth
aγɔ-^{n} tongue (e. g. *aγɔ'ŋqwai-* to have a tongue)	*aγɔ'mpɪ* tongue

It should be carefully noted that even when the noun is uncompounded or used without other derivative suffix, it does not take the absolutive suffix when its possessor (person or object) is referred to or implied elsewhere in the sentence, e. g. *nï̜'ni a'x·ɔ* OF-ME TONGUE like *aγɔ'nɪ*, not *nï'ni aγɔ'mpɪ*, which would be intrinsically contradictory; *tïna·'i u'u'raintïᴀ* BOTTOM (obj.) IT-TOWARD-BEING (obj.), i. e. BEING TOWARD THE BOTTOM (of something already specified).

(b) *-vi-*^{n}, *-p·i-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n} classificatory suffix referring chiefly to animals, topographical features, and objects (chiefly movable), less frequently persons. It is perhaps identical etymologically with (a). These suffixes are in some cases constant, i. e. never dropped, in others movable.

Examples of *-vi-*^{n} (non-movable and movable) are:

qï·'φɪ locust, *qï·'vɩnɪ* my locust
aŋa·'^{a}*φɪ* ant
tʌ'ci'aφɪ red-ant: *tʌ'ci'aχa(·)nɩvï-* ant-camp, ant-hill
ᴡɪ'tca'φɪ bee
pa'a'(tsɩ)φɪ animal
iyɔ'φɪ mourning dove, *iyɔ'vɩtcuʌtsɩŋᴡï* mourning-dove-children
cina''aφɪ wolf
cina'ŋwaφɪ coyote, *cina'ŋwavintɔts·* coyote-headed, *cina'ŋwaviŋk̯ai-* to be coyote
tɔγɔ'aφɪ rattlesnake: *tɔγɔ'aruʌtsɩŋᴡï* rattlesnake-children
aŋi'φɪ mosquito
pɔ'a'φɪ louse: *pɔ'a'nɪ* my louse
tïra'φɪ desert: *tï'ra(i)yua·-* desert-plain, open plain
ava'φɪ shade: *ava'χanɪ* shade-house, summer shelter
kiŋwa''aφɪ doll
pʊ·'tsɩφɪ star: *pʊ·'tsɩγwɩtcap·ï* star-excrement, shooting stars
aï'φɪ now: *aï-*^{s} to be new (*aï'-vi-* probably originally noun, "recentness")
pɪ'qɔ'φɪ cactus-cake
qa'ï'nacaφɪ supernatural being who owns deer on Kaibab Plateau (perhaps contains agentive *-vi-*^{n}, see § 25, 1)

Examples of *-p·i-*^{n} are:

paγa'tcʌ^{x}*qap·ɪ* red-winged blackbird
o(w)i'p·ɪ canyon, *maa·''oip·ɩmpaŋwɩt·uɑ·ᴡʌ* brush-canyon-in-to: *oi't·ï'* end of canyon, *o(w)i'ŋwaγantï* canyon-having, canyon
q(w)ɔ'a'p·ɪ tobacco: *q(w)ɔ'a't·ï'qa-* to eat tobacco, to smoke
qᴜ^{x}*qwa'p·ɪ* wood: *qᴜ*^{x}*qwa'n·ɔ·-* to carry wood on one's back
wï'na'p·ɪ arrow-head

Examples of *-mpi-*^{n} are:

ᴜ^{x}*qwa'mpɪ* tarantula (cf. *ᴜ*^{x}*qwa'tsa·ts·* small spider)
si'i'm·o·^{u}*rɑmpɪ* bumble-bee

A few personal nouns are derived by combining (*-vi-*^{n},)*-p·i-*^{n} (,*-mpi-*^{n}) with *-tsι-* (see below), e. g.:

ïŋa·''p·its· baby: *ïŋa·''anɪ* my baby
ïnï'p·its· evil spirit, ghost, *ïnï'p·ιntup·ɪ* ghost-making-game (for final *-p·ɪ*, see § 25, 5, a)

Less frequently this suffix is also combined with *-mpï-* (see e below), e. g.:

cïï'v^w*ιmpï* squaw-bush, ordinarily *cïï'φï* (stem *cïï-*^{s}, e. g. *cïïru-* to make a basket out of squaw-bush twigs)

(c) *-mpi-*^{s} BERRY. This classificatory suffix can hardly be identified with *-mpi-* of (a) or (b) above, as it occurs in consistently nasalized form after all stems (e. g. *wa'a'mpɪ* CEDAR-BERRY < *wa'a-*^{g} CEDAR) and has spirantizing, not nasalizing, power. Examples are:

tïŋwα'mpɪ service-berry, *tïŋwα'mpιφï* service-berry bush (for *-vï-* see e below)
wa'a'mpɪ cedar-berry (cf. *wa'a'p·ï* cedar tree)
tsι'α'mpɪ wild-rose berry, *tsι'α'mpιφï* wild-rose bush, *tsι'a'mpιva·ts·* wild-rose spring (place name)
pɔχɔ'mpɪ currant, *pɔχɔ'mpιφï* currant bush
wιa'mpɪ red holly-like berry, *wιa'mpιφï* berry bush, *wi(y)α'mpι-χarïrïʻ* berry-sitting (obj.), berry-knoll (obj.)
piya'ɪʻtcampiφï locust tree (lit., locust-berry-tree)

(d) *-vï-*^{s}, *-p·ï-*^{s}, *-mpï-*^{s} absolutive suffix, very similar, as regards range of usage, to *-vi-*^{n}, *-p·i-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n} (b above). It is used in certain body-part nouns, in nouns denoting movable objects, objects in mass (e. g. SAND, MUD), and topographical features, and in nouns denoting HIDE, BLANKET. It is partly movable, partly fixed. When appropriate, this suffix may be followed, though infrequently, by *-vi-*^{n} (see a above).

Examples of *-vï-*^{s} are:

pᴀ^x*qa·'φï* sweat
tava'tsιφï leg bone
qïʻca'φï (hawk's) wing, *qïʻca'vïaŋᴀ* his wing, *qïʻca'vïφɪ* (somebody's) wing
paï'γιφï hair of the head: *paï'x·ɪ* hair, *paï'γιnɪ* my hair
ɔɔ'φï bone, *tɔtsι'ɔɔφï* head-bone, skull: *ɔɔ'ru-* to make a bone, *ɔɔ''anɪ* my bone

quna'ϕï sack: *uγu'nᴀ* arrow-sack, quiver
ɔra·'ϕï pole, post
wawa'ϕï foreshaft of cane arrow, *wawa'vïnɪ* my foreshaft: *wawa'-s·iva-* to whittle a foreshaft for a cane arrow
mantsi'ϕï scraper made of foreleg of deer, *mantsi'vïϕɪ* (one's) bone from elbow to wrist: *mantsi''anɪ* my bone of forearm
tï'ca'ϕï rope
uv^{w}*a'ϕï* meat-soup: *uv*^{w}*a'c·a'ai'* boils meat with soup
ᴀ'ta'ϕï sand: *ᴀ'ta'ʀᴀ*^{x}*qa·γantï* sand-flat
yona'ϕï rocks lying around loose: *yona'xanints·* little gravel-house
wιa'ϕï mud, *wιa'vïnɪ* my mud: *wιa'n·aχuq·wι-* to fight with mud (missiles)
sɔγɔ'ϕï moist ground: *sɔχɔ'aχantï* moist
pa·'vïts· little spring (< *pa·-*^{s} water; for diminutive *-tsι-* see § 35)
pï^{γ}*ï'aϕï* fur (of animal): *pï*^{γ}*ï'a·ŋᴀ* his (animal's) hair
pïï'ϕï hide: *pï*^{γ}*ï''a·ŋᴀ* his skin (for *-'a-* see 2, c)
tïŋqwι'tca'aϕï rabbit-skin blanket
pɔnι'aϕï skunk-blanket (< *pɔnιa-*^{s} skunk), *pɔnι'avuru-* to make a skunk-blanket
tïγι'aϕï tanned deer-hide (< *tïγιa-*^{s} deer)
pao'ntsιϕï hair-wrapping beaver band (< *paontsι-*^{s} beaver)
tïv^{w}*ï·'ϕï* hide (owned by one), *tïv*^{w}*ï·'v*^{w}*ïnɪ* my hide (owned by me; not my own skin)

Examples of *-p·ï-*^{s} are:

tᴀ'pa''ap·ï stockings, socks
qïrα'c·ι'αp·ï water-jar stopper
qwï'(y)α'p·ï fence
tᴀ'sι'p·ï flint, *tᴀ'sι'p·uϕᴜ'caxai-* to look for flint
paï'q·ap·ï ice
qᴜ'tca'p·ï ashes: *qᴜ'tca'q·aʀï* ash-colored, light gray
tïv^{w}*ι'p·ï* earth, country, *tïv*^{w}*ι'p·ïanɪ* my country: *tïv*^{w}*ι'nᴀ*^{x}*qwιtcuts·* earth-worm
pia'p·ï mare (< *pia-* mother, female)
ᴀ'ta'p·ï rawhide
tᴜ'qu'p·ï panther-hide (< *tuq·u-*^{g} panther), *tᴜ'qu'p·ïγai-* to have a panther-skin

One or other of these may really be past passive participles in *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, b).

Examples of *-mpï-*^{s} are:

aŋwa'tּ·ampï rib
cį̈nï'mpï vulva, *cį̈nï'mpïaŋᴀ* her vulva
ciŋwα'mpï sandy gravel: *parɩ's·ɩŋwaoip·ɪ* sand-gravel "wash," arroyo
tɔiα'mpï gravel, mass of big and small rocks: *tɔi'ɔ'ip·ɪ* creek running through rocky bed (probably *tɔia-* + *oi'p·ɪ* canyon)
pa(ą)'ų̈mpï hail: *pa(a)'u'uŋwa-* to hail (lit., to hail-rain)
qᴜ'ca·'^{a}rumpï trousers string, leggings thong (lit., leggings string-hide)
narɔ''ɔmpï underwear (< *narɔ'ɔ-^{n}* clothes, *narɔ''ɔŋqwai-* to have clothes)
qwi·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔmpï clothing, blanket

Here probably belongs also *ɩ·'t·ümpï* old (e. g. *ɩ·'t·ümpïra·'ï* OLD SHIRT).

It is not at all improbable that all examples of *-vï-^{s}*, *-p·ï-^{s}*, *-mpï-^{s}* that indicate HIDE, BLANKET, CLOTHING are only apparently provided with absolutive *-pï-^{s}* and that they are really compound nouns whose second element, *-pï-^{s}*, is shortened (see § 11) from *pïï-^{s}*, *pï·-^{s}* HIDE (see above; *-vï-^{s}* of *pïï'φï* HIDE itself, however, is clearly absolutive).

Apparently distinct from absolutive *-vï-^{s}*, though not easy to keep apart from it, is *-vï-* (*-p·ï-* and *-mpï-* are not found alternating with it) suffixed to nouns used in some specialized or metaphorical sense. These nouns are generally compounds. When possessive enclitics are added, possessive *-a-* (see 2, a below) is generally suffixed to *-vï-*. Examples are:

qanɩ'φï nest (< *qani-* house)
tᴀ'cɩ'aχanɩφï ant-house, ant-hill
tïŋqa'nɩvïanɪ stone-house-owned-my, cave that I own: *tïŋqa'nɪ* cave, *tïŋqa'nɩnɪ* my cave (that I live in)
pᴜ'tï'ŋqanɩφï eye-cave, superciliary ridge
tümpa'x^{u}sɩφï mouth-rim, lip (cf. *tᴀ^{x}qu'c·ɪ* top-piece stitched on to upper of moccasin)
qanɩ'naŋqavaφï house-ear, flap of tepee (cf. *naŋqava-^{s}* ear, *naŋqa'vaφɪ* one's ear)
tᴀ^{x}qo'vaφï foot-face (cf. *qova'φɪ* one's face)
tᴀ·pa'ia·φï foot-surface, sole (< *paia·-* surface)
tï'rauq·wɩvï- unfeathered arrow (cf. *tï'ra-* empty; *uq·wɩ-(y)v·-* arrow)

(e) *-vï-^{s}*, *-p·ï-^{s}*, *-mpï-^{s}* classifying suffix for plants. It may be rendered PLANT, TREE, BUSH. Less frequently it is used with nouns indicating parts of plants. It is a movable element. Perhaps it is only a special use of *-vï-*^{s}, *-p·ï-*^{s}, *-mpï-*^{s} of (d).

Examples of *-vï-* are:

maa'φï brush, plant, *maa'vïnɪ* my brush: *maa'xaiφᴀ* brush-mountain, timbered mountain
o·χwι'φï grass: *o·χwι'aχai-* to be grassy (but also *o·χwι'vïaχai-* to have grass)
aɔ'ŋqɔφï dried-up tree, *aɔ'ŋqɔvïanɪ* my dried-up tree
wï'ι'φï milkweed: *wï'ι't·ï'caφï* milkweed rope
qana'φï willow: *qana'rï'* canyon-mouth bordered by willows
ciya'φï quaking asp
saŋwa'φï sagebrush: *saŋwa'uaγantï-* sagebrush-singer
qwιya'φï scrub oak: *qwιya'rïnaφï* oak-stump
tɔ'ɔi'φï bulrush
tia'φï service-berry bush
naŋqavï- leaf (< *naŋqa-* branch)
qa'ɔ'φï pine-cone
uru'φï arrow-stick, stick from which arrow is to be made (< *uru-* to fix an arrow)
tïna'φï stump (perhaps related to *tïna·'φɪ* bottom, see a above)
qɔ'cɔ'φï tinder, slow-match, *qɔ'cɔ'vuru-* to prepare a slow-match of cedar-bark

See also *-mpi-φï* berry-bush under *-mpi-*^{s} (c).

Examples of *-p·ï-*^{s} are:

wa'a'p·ï cedar: *wa'a'mpɪ* cedar-berry, *wa'a'p·a·ts·* cedar-spring
tïv^{w}*a'p·ï* piñon: *tïv*^{w}*a-*^{g} pine-nut
ïna'p·ï cedar-like tree: *ïna'n·aŋwɪ* apron of *ïna'p·ï-* bark
cïa'p·ï sapling, *ɔγɔ'c·ιap·ï* fir-sapling: *cïa'p·iaφɪ* tree-sap
sɔ·'vιp·ï cottonwood: *cɔ·'vιnuq·wιntï* cottonwood-stream
moγwa'p·ï cedar-bark: *moγwa'q·anɪ* cedar-bark wickiup

Examples of *-mpï-*^{s} are:

ɔγɔ'mpï fir: *ɔγɔ'ntava'ats·* fir-chipmunk
ᴀ^{x}*qï'mpï* sunflower-plant: *aq·ï-*^{n} sunflower seeds
tᴀ'ci'mpï barrel-cactus clump: *tᴀ'ci'm·*^{w}*anaφï* cactus-spines
yïv^{w}*i'mpï* long-leafed pine: *yïv*^{w}*i'ŋkarïʀï* pine-mountain, Mt. Trumbull
yu'a'vιmpï opuntia: *yu'a'φɪ* opuntia fruit
s·qu'mpï "rabbit-bush": *sιk·u-*^{n} gray squirrel

(f) *-tsι-*^{n}, *-ntsι-*^{n} (when preceded by nasal consonant) classifying suffix, chiefly for animate nouns. The suffix is sometimes movable, sometimes not. Animate examples of *-tsι-*^{n} are:

tïv^w*a'ts·* wolf (myth name), *tïv*^{w}*a'tsιnavavιŋᴡï* wolf and his younger brother
mu·'ra·ts· mule
qwι(y)a'ts· grizzly bear, *qwι(y)a'tsιntï'qaŋ'ᴡɪ* to become a grizzly bear: *qwι'(y)aγantï* grizzly bear
pu'ι'tcats· mouse: *navu''ιtcaru-* to change oneself into a mouse
sari·'ts· dog: *sari·'vuŋquɴɪ* my dog (lit., my dog-pet)
tavu'ts· cotton-tail rabbit: *tavu'm·uru'*^{i} cottontail-rabbit blanket
qa·'ts· rat: *qa·'-tsιn'nɔrɔ-* to poke with a stick into a hole for rats (*-tsι-* is instrumental prefix, not classificatory suffix)
sɔ·''ιts· soldier
paru'χuts· prophet, composer of ghost-dance song: *paru'χuγwantï* prophet
qwi·'ts· left-handed person (personal name): *qwi·'nɪ* my left (hand)
qᴜ'tcu'mpiyats· buffalo-female (personal name): *qᴜ'tcu'mpιᴀ* heifer
-tsι-^{n} is common in tribal names, e. g.:
mori·'tsιŋᴡï bean-people, Moapa Paiutes
yïv^w*ι'ntï*^{i}*tsιŋᴡï* pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes
paγï'utsιŋᴡï fish-people, Paiutes of Panguitch Lake
qa'iva·vιtcιtsιŋᴡï mountain-lying-people, plateau people, Kaibab Paiutes

It is not always easy to decide whether a nominal *-tsι-* is classificatory *-tsι-*^{n} or diminutive *-tsι-* (§ 35), e. g. *a'ip·ats·* BOY, plur. *-tsιŋᴡï*.

A number of inanimate nouns also end in *-tsι-* (apparently not diminutive *-tsι-*), e. g.:

wιi'ts· knife: *wïι'ŋ'wïnap·ɪ* knife-point, *wi·'p·ᴜ'caγai-* to look for a knife
mara'ts· metate: *ma'ʀᴀ* metate
mɔ'a'ts· stone mealer

Such nouns as these corroborate Shoshonean comparative evidence, which shows that **-ti*, **-ta* (S. Californian *-t*, *-l*; S. Paiute *-tsι-*) was originally used, like its Nahuatl cognate *-tl(i)*, for all types of nouns. In Paiute, however, this element tended largely to become restricted to animate (including particularly personal) nouns.

Examples of *-ntsι-* are:

qïma'nts· stranger, *qïma'ntsιŋwï* strangers, Shoshones (> Comanche): *qïma-*^{s} other
nïŋwï'nts· person, *nïŋwï'ntsιŋwï* persons, Indians: *nïŋwï-*^{s} person
tɔmι'nts· (male personal name)
pᴀ'cï'γï'mιnts· water-lizard: *pᴀ'cï'χï'mιvaχarïʀï* water-lizard lake
cï'mï'nts· Muddy River

(g) *-vïtsι-*^{n}, *-p·ïtsι-*^{n}, *-mpïtsι-*^{n} classifying suffix for animate nouns. This suffix is compounded of *-vï-*^{s}, *-p·ï-*^{s}, *-mpï-*^{s} (see d above) and animate *-tsι-*^{n} (see f above). It is also quite possible that some of our examples contain diminutive *-tsι-* (cf. *pa·'vïts·* SPRING under d). Examples of *-vïtsι-*^{n} are:

yɔγɔ'v^{w}*ïts·* coyote (probably < *yɔγɔ-*^{s} to copulate with)
a'ïc·iv^{w}*ïts·* butterfly
yïnï'v^{w}*ïts·* bald-headed (personal name; *yïnï-*^{s} crown of the head)
'a'ïv^{w}*ιŋwavïts·* newly married one (*aï-*^{s} new + *piŋwa-*^{s} wife)
mιa''p·ïv^{w}*ïtsι-* little one (*mιa''p·ïtsι-* LITTLE with diminutive *-tsι-*)

Examples of *-p·ïtsι-*^{n} are:

wantsι'p·ïts· antelope: *wa'nts·* antelope, *wantsι'χaʀï* antelope-colored, light gray
tᴜ^{x}*qu'p·ïts·* wildcat: *tᴜ*^{x}*qu'ts·* wildcat, *tᴜ*^{x}*qu'q·aitcɔx·ᴜ* hat of wildcat skin
ᴀ'ta'p·ïts· crow: *ᴀ'ta'q̇·wɔts·* crow
moo'p·ïts· hooting owl: *moo'n·ap̓·ïŋw* old man Owl
cïγï'p·ïts· lizard (cf. *cïγï''mints·* under f)
a'iϕᴀpïts· young man: *a'ivamï* young men
nan·a'p·ïts· old man (perhaps with diminutive *-tsι-*) < *nan·a-* to grow

It is very difficult to separate examples of *-p·ïtsι-*^{n} that contain animate *-tsι-* from such as are clearly compounded with diminutive *-tsι-*, e. g. *mιa''p·ïts·* SMALL (cf. *mιa''ants·* A LITTLE); *piya'p·ïts·* YOUNG FEMALE ANIMAL, FILLY (cf. *piya'p·ï* MARE); *qam·ï'ɔap·ïts·* LITTLE JACK-RABBIT. Cf. enclitic- *p·ïtsι-* (§ 19, 3, b). Another difficulty lies in separating *-p·ï-* of *-p·ïtsι-*^{n} from past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b); thus, *nan·a'p·ïts·* may be plausibly analyzed as LITTLE GROWN-UP ONE.

Examples of *-mpïtsι-*^{n} are:

ïna'mpïts· badger: *ïna'ŋqwac·ɪ* badger-tail
mïyï'mpïts· gopher: *mïyï'ŋqanιϕï* gopher-house, gopher pile

yïŋï'mpïts· porcupine: *yïŋï'ŋqwac·ɪ* porcupine-tail
ɔγɔ'mpïts· bull-snake
qa·(a')mpïts· ruffed grouse
wɪ‘qu'mpïts· buzzard
tavu'mputs· cotton-tail rabbit (song-form for *tavu'ts·*)
yïv^{w}ι'mpïts· pine-man (personal name) < *yïv^{w}ι-^{n}* pine

(2) Elements defining possession. Here are grouped a number of suffixes that appear chiefly with possessive pronominal enclitics and which, on the whole, define the nature of the possessive relation. It is not always easy, as a matter of fact, to see exactly what increment of significance they bring.

(a) *-a-* seems to be used to indicate possession that is alienable, particularly, it would seem, of such objects as are not normally thought of as being possessed. It is generally preceded by *-pï-^{s}* (see 1, d and e). Examples are:

tïv^{w}ι'p·ïanïmɪ our (excl.) country (*-nïmɪ* our); *tïv^{w}ι'p·ïaianïmɪ* our country (obj.) (*-ia-* objective, § 49, 1).
pa·'^{a}vïanɪ spring that I own
a'ɔŋqɔvïanɪ my dried-up woods
tïŋqa'nivïa(i)ya'ŋwᴀ his cave (obj.) owned as house (*-ya-* objective); *tïŋqa'nιvïatsiaφï* his own little cave (obj.) (*-tsi-* diminutive; *-a-* objective; *-φï*, § 40, 4)

Possessive *-a-* may also be used with causative *-ť·ui-* (§ 29, 12) to form verbs indicating TO CAUSE TO HAVE SO AND SO, e. g.:

tümp^{w}ι'ᴀťïip·ïγa‘ caused (it) to have stones
qan·ι'ᴀťuip·ïγa‘ caused (it) to have houses
naŋqa'ᴀťuip·ïγa‘ caused (it) to have branches

For possessive *-a-* combining with verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE into *-aγai-* (participle *-aγantï-*), see § 26, 1, b; for possessive *-a-* after past passive participial *-p·ï-*, see 3, b below.

(b) *-ŋwa-*, *-ŋ'wa-*. These elements are used very much like *-a-*, occurring both before possessive pronominal enclitics and verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE, not, however, before causative *-ť·ui-*. They do not seem to be used after classificatory *-pï-^{s}* (1, d and e), but may be directly appended to noun stems. Examples of *-ŋwa-* are:

paï'ŋwanɪ my blood (absolute *paï'p·ɪ*; in possessive forms of this noun *-ŋwa-* is always used) *u(w)ι'ŋwaγant'ï* canyon-possessive-having, canyon

pa·n·a'q·ar'uiŋwaγant'ï money-become (§ 26, 1, g)-possessive-having, one who has money

quna'ŋwaχaiŋup·ïγa' fire-possessive-have-momentaneous- past, got fire

nïmpι'ŋwarutcaŋwap·ιŋwaxaiʏᴜ person-wife-deprive-past pass. partic. (§ 25, 5, a)-possessive-have-subordinating, while having (as his own wife) somebody else's wife taken away (by him)

nïv^{w}a''uŋwat'·uintιŋwanɪ snow-rain-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-my, snow belonging to me (snow-raining = snow)

Examples of *-ŋ'wa-* (it is not clear how, if at all, it differs in usage from *-ŋwa-*) are:

tümp^{w}i'ŋ'wa·ŋᴀ his rock

ma·'xarïr'ïŋwa(i)ya·ŋᴀ his clump of trees (obj.)

qa·'nt'uintιŋ'wa·ŋᴀ sing-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-his, song belonging to him

Both *-ŋwa-* and *-ŋ'wa-* are used particularly to indicate possession of one of a group by the group (e. g. OUR LEADER = THAT ONE OF US WHO IS LEADER). This includes adjectival participles indicating selection (e. g. THE GOOD ONE of several). Examples are:

nιa·'vιŋ'waraŋᴡᴀ our chief; *qan·ι'aγant'ïᴀ nιa·'vιŋ'ᴡᴀ* house-possessive-having-obj. chief-possessive, village's chief

ampa'xarïŋ'wa·m·ï talker- possessive-their, their talker; *qan·ι'aγant'ï ampa'xarïŋ'ᴡᴀ* village's main speaker

ava't'·ïŋw'aŋw'uŋᴡᴀ big-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-animate plur.- their (anim.), their big ones (anim.), those of them (anim.) that are big

^{a}'a't'·ïŋwaŋwïa'aŋᴡᴀ good-present ptc.-possessive-animate plur.-obj.-their, the good ones (anim. obj.)

t'iv^{w}ι't'c at·ïŋwa(i)'yaq·ᴡᴀ very good-present ptc.-obj.-their (inan.), a very good one of them (inan.)

(c) *-'a-* is used to indicate possession, chiefly of body-parts, that is inherent without being strictly inalienable. In other words, it is suffixed to nouns indicating objects (or persons) that do often occur disconnected in experience (e. g. SALIVA, BONE, SKIN) but are thought of as indissolubly connected. Examples are:

ɔɔ'’anɪ my bone (i. e. bone of my own body); *aŋa'vïɔɔ’*^{a} shoulder-bone-possessive, shoulder-blade: absolute *ɔɔ'φï* bone
pï$^{\gamma}$*i'’a(i)ya·ŋᴀ* his skin (obj.): absolute *pïï'φï* skin, hide
nį'ni qïʿtsi'’^{a} me saliva-possessive, my saliva: absolute *qïʿtsɩ'φɪ* saliva
nį'ni tąmu'’^{a} me sinew-possessive, my sinew: absolute *tam·u'φ* ^{w}*ɪ* sinew
tïγi'ayoo’^{a} deer-fat-possessive, fat of deer: absolute *yoo'φ* ^{w}*ɪ* fat
qarï'n·ïmpɔʀɔtsi’^{a} saddle-head-possessive, saddle-horn
nïŋwï'’a(i)ya·qᴀ person-possessive-obj.-its, its (country's) people (obj.)

(d) *-in’(n)i-*^{s} (*-’in·i-*^{s}) OWNED. This element is always employed with alienable nouns and has a specific reference to actual ownership as contrasted with mere possession in the grammatical sense. Examples are:

pura'ɔin’ninɪ my flour
pɔɔ'in’ninɪ my owned trail (not merely: trail that I use)
saχw(ɛ')ia·in’ninɪ my owned belly, (some animal's) belly that I possess (as meat); contrast *saχw(ɛ')ia·nɪ* my belly
qani'’ninɪ my house (that I own); contrast *qani'nɪ* my house (that I live in)
quna'ï’niaraŋᴡᴀ our possessed fire (obj.)
nį’ qamï'’iniχ̰aʿ I jackrabbit-owned-have, I have a jackrabbit (*qamï'χaʿ* to be a rabbit, see § 26, 1, a)
cïʿpu'v^{w}*’ain·ɩntsɩγ̰aim·ɩʿ* cold-water-owned-diminutive-have-usitative present, is wont to have cold water (*cïʿpu'v*^{w}*a·-*)

(e) *-vuŋqu-*^{s}, *-p·uŋqu-*^{s}, *-mpuŋqu-*^{s} PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL. This is no true suffix, but merely the compounded form of *puŋqu-*^{s} HORSE (belonging to one; contrast *qava'ʿ* HORSE absolutely), originally PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL, DOG (cf. Tübatulabal *puŋgu-l* DOG). It is listed here because it is regularly added to all nouns denoting owned animals. It is a suffix in the making. Examples are:

qava·'vuŋqunɪ my horse (more frequently simply *puŋqu'nɪ*)
pi·'χɩvuŋquraŋᴡᴀ pig-pet-our, our pig
a(i)ya'vuŋqunɪ my turtle
sari·'vuŋqunɪ my dog; *sari·'vuŋquχwai-* to have a dog
qᴜʿtcu'mpuŋqunɪ buffalo-pet-my, my ox; *qᴜʿtcu'mpumpuŋquŋwïraŋᴡᴀ* buffalo-pets (for reduplication see § 58, 2, d) -animate plur.-our, our cattle

(3) TENSE ELEMENTS. Tense can be expressed in nouns provided they are first verbalized. This is generally done by suffixing *-kai-* TO BE (§ 26, 1, a) and then turning the denominative verb into a participle. Thus, the future form of *qava·-*^{s} HORSE is *qava·'χaiva·ntï* HORSE-BE-FUTURE-PARTICIPLE, A HORSE TO BE; similarly, *qam·ï'χaivätcï* JACK-RABBIT-BE-USITATIVE-PARTICIPLE, ALWAYS A JACKRABBIT. Here we shall specifically list only two compound suffixes relating to past time, because of their rather characteristic usage.

(a) *-γaip·ï-*, *-q·aip·ï-*, *-ŋqaip·ï-* HAVING BEEN, PAST, FORMER; compounded of *-kai-* TO BE and past participial *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, a). Examples are:

ini'a·γaip·ïnɪ	my dead relation < *ini'a·nɪ* my relative
muru'’ιχ̬aip·ï	cast-away blanket
ɔʿtca'(vï)γaip·ï	formerly used water-jar (*ɔ't·cʌ*)
qa·'yaait·ïaχaip·ïa'aŋwʌ	rat-hunt-place-be-past partic.-obj.-his, place (obj.) where he used to hunt rats
tɔna'vɩŋk̬aip·ï	punch-er-be-past partic., one who used to be a puncher

(b) *-p·ï-* PAST, FORMER. This is the past participial *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, a), only rarely used with noun stems, e. g.:

qanɩ'p·ï abandoned house, village site, old camping place

It is sometimes found combined with possessive *-a-* (2, a) as *-p·ïa-*, e. g.:

a'iφʌpï(γ)arïγïv^{w}*ïnɪ* youth-past-possessive- friend-my, my former youthful friend

This *-p·ïa-* occurs also combined with other elements in verbal forms (see *-p·ïa-γai-ť·ua-*, § 32, 8; *-p·ïa-yï-*, § 32, 7).

§ 25. *Nominalizing suffixes.*

These are formed chiefly from verb and adjective-verb stems. The verbal noun in *-n·a-* and the various participles are in very frequent, in part idiomatic, use.

(1) AGENTIVE *-vi-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n}. Examples of agentive *-vi-*^{n} are:

muwaraχi-	to crush	*wa'a'mpɩm·uwaraχιφɪ*	cedar-berry-crusher, spermophile
marïn·a-	to chase	*nïŋwï'm·arïn·aφɪ*	man-chaser, lizard (sp.)

naγa'rιŋqï-	to dodge	*naγa'rιŋqïϕɪ*	dodger
nɔ·-	to carry on one's back	*nïŋwï'n·ɔ·*^{ɔ}*ϕɪ*	man-carrier, roc
ampaχa-	to talk	*ampa'χaϕɪ*	talker
tɔna-	to punch	*tɔna'vιŋḵaip·ï*	one who used to be a puncher

Examples of agentive *-mpi-*^{n} are:

taŋa-	to kick	*taŋa'mpɪ*	kicker
ɔrɔŋwi-	to grunt, growl	*ɔrɔ'ŋwιmpɪ*	grunter

Agentives are used to refer only to permanent (quasi-occupational) activities. Temporary or casual agentives are expressed by means of active participles (see 6 below).

(2) INSTRUMENTAL *-nïmpï-*, *-n'ïmpï-*. This suffix is compounded of usitative *-nï-*^{n} (see § 30, 11) and passive participial *-p·ï-* (see below); *-n'ïmpï-* has accessory ', perhaps of momentaneous significance (§ 53, 2, a, 3). There seems to be no clear difference of function between *-nïmpï-* and *-n'ïmpï-*.

Examples of instrumental *-nïmpï-* are:

yï'ïχi-	to swallow	*yι'ï'χιnïmpï*	swallower, throat
qarï-	to sit, ride horseback	*qarï'n·ïmpï*	saddle
wɪ̈ʿqa'm'mi-	to cover	*pu'ι'ŋᴡɪ̈ʿqam'mιnïmpï*	eye-coverer, blinder (for a horse)
yum'muχwi-	to poke	*tayu'm'muχwιnïmpï*	foot-poker, spur
ts·qwan'nɔ-	to stir up (mush)	*ts·qwa'n'nɔnɔmpï*	mush-stirrer
tᴀʿcin'nι-	to play cup-and-ball with a rabbit's head	*tᴀʿci'n'nιnïmpï*	rabbit-head used in cup-and-ball game

Examples of *-n'ïmpï-* are:

ïγa-	to enter	*mov*^{w}*i'ïχan'nïmpï*	nose-enterer, bit and bridle
tïŋwa-	to close	*qanι'ntciŋwą'nïmpï*	house-closer, door
ɪ̈ʿta'-	to stretch out (a skin)	*ɪ̈ʿta'n'nïmpï*	hide-stretching frame
kwip·a-	to beat	*kᴡɪʿpa'n'ïmpï*	beater, shinny-stick
pᴀ^{x}*qa-*	to kill, to guess the right bone in the hand-game	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'n'nïmpï*	bone that is to be guessed in the hand-game

On the whole it seems that the action in instrumentals in *-n'ïmpï-* is conceived of as momentaneous, in those in *-nïmpï-* as durative.

(3) VERBAL NOUN IN *-n·a-*. Verbal nouns in *-n·a-* are freely formed from all verbs and often appear in syntactic combinations. More often than not, a verbal noun in *-n·a-* is used with a possessive pronoun, often in a subjective or objective relative sense. When a tense suffix is absent, it refers to present or general time. Futures in *-va·-n·a-* (cf. § 32, 4) and perfectives in *-q·ai-n·a-* (cf. § 32, 3) are also very common. In the case of transitive verbs, the action is to be thought of as passive rather than active, e. g. *ampa'γananɪ* MY TALKING, WHAT IS SAID BY ME. Nevertheless, the matter of voice does not seem to be clearly defined in *-n·a-* forms. Examples are:

nį'ni nɔ·'nanɪ	me carying-my, my pack
niŋwï'ʀᴜqwat·uγwaq·an·araŋᴡᴀ	person-under-to-plural subj.-verbal noun- our, our going under a person, our being beaten
w'a'ŋιn·a·m· ur ʿa·'ï'niŋᴜcampᴀ	shouting-their it silent-become-but, but their shouting became silent
tɔ'ɔ'ivï'ɔran'naŋw ᴀʀï	bulrush-digging-his it, the bulrushes he digs (dug) up
nï' o·'p·a' anι'va·n·ι imi a'ï'namɪ	I thus do-shall thee saying-thy, I shall do as you say
tïʿqa'va·n'aŋw u'ʀ	eat-future-verbal noun-his it, his being about to eat, for him to eat
nǫnɔ'c·ιva·n·anɪ	what I shall dream
nǫnɔ'c·k̯ainanɪ	what I dreamt
m^{w}α'ŋ 'ani'k̯·a ïa'vuruŋᴜqwainanɪ	that-one do-resultative wounded-make-momentaneous-perfective-verbal noun-my, that one it is whom I have wounded

Cases of *-n·a-* as noun-forming or adjective-forming derivative without clear verbal force are uncommon, e.g.:

uru''anᴀ	being, property < *uru'a-* to be
wïγɔ'ɔʿpaq·ïnᴀ	vulva-perforated-verbal noun, vagina
ava''^{a}nᴀ	much < *ava'^{a}* to be much

For the idiomatic use of *-n·a-c·u-* with verbs of doing and saying, see § 62.

(4) SPECIAL NOMINAL DERIVATIVES. Here are grouped a few nominalizing suffixes of more than ordinarily concrete significance.

(a) *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF. Examples of nouns in *-t·ïa-* formed from verb stems are:

na'a'itʻ·ui-	to cause to burn	*na'a'itʻ·ut·ïʻ*	cause-to-burn place, fireplace
tuγ(w)υ·-	to cache	*tuγ(w)u'ʻtïanɪ*	my caching-place, my cache
qa·-yaai-	to hunt rats	*qa·'yaait·ïaχaip·ïa'aŋwᴀ*	place where (obj.) he used to hunt rats
nïv^{w}*a-ʀᴀʻtɔn'ni-*	to shake off snow from one's feet	*nïv*^{w}*a'ʀᴀʻtɔn'ɴɪʻtï'aŋwᴀ*	his place of shaking off snow from his feet
kwɪʻtu- anus + *yɔγɔ-*	to copulate with	*kwɪʻtï'iɔγɔt·ïʻ*	anus-copulating-place, passive pederast

Less commonly *-t·ïa-* is suffixed to noun stems, e. g.:

qani-	house	*qanι't·ïanɪ*	my house-place, my camping place

Alone among derivative suffixes, *-t·ïa-* forms a reduplicated plural (see § 58, 2, b): *-t·ïrïa-* PLACES OF, e. g.:

tïʻqa't·ïᴀ	eating place	*tïʻqa't·ïrïᴀ*	eating places
qanι't·ïᴀ	camping place	*qanι't·ïrïᴀ*	camping places

(b) *-va-*, *-p·a-*, *-mpa-* CONTEST, FIGHT. Examples are:

naγu'q·wιp·ᴀ	war, battle with bows and arrows (lit., shoot-one-another-contest), obj. *naγu'q·wɪpaiᴀ*
ɔɔ'mpᴀ	fist-fight, obj. *ɔɔ'mpaiᴀ*

An isolated noun suffix *-va-*^{s} occurs in *naŋqa'va-*^{s} EAR (absolute *naŋqa'vaφɪ*) < *naŋqa-* TO HEAR. Also isolated is *-mpa-*^{g} in *tuγumpa-*^{g} SKY < *tuγu-*^{n} UP. Both of these are old Shoshonean elements, cf. Hopi *nak*^{u}*-ve*, Gitanemuk *a-ka-va*, i. e. *a-k·a-va* (< **a-ŋkava* < **a-naka-va*) EAR; Tübatulabal *dogu-mba-l*, Möhineyam *dugu-ba-t*, Gabrielino *tuku-pa-r* SKY.

(c) *-rï·-*, *-t·ï·-*, *-ntï·-* CANYON MOUTH. This suffix seems to be added only to noun stems, but is most conveniently listed here. Perhaps it is related to *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF. Examples are:

qana-^{s}	willow	*qana'rïʻ*	mouth of canyon bordered by willows (> Kanab)

oi-^{g} canyon (absolute *oi′p·ɪ*)	*oi′t·ïʿ* mouth of canyon
yïv^{w}*i-*^{n} pine	*yïv*^{w}*ι′ntïʿ* mouth of canyon bordered by pines (> Uintah), *yïv*^{w}*ι′ntï*^{ï}*tsιŋwï* Uintah Utes

(d) *-’ya·-*^{s} FORE PART. This suffix also is apparently added only to noun stems. It has been found in:

wawa-^{s} foreshaft to cane arrow (absolute *wawa′φï*)	*wawa′(i)’ya·φï* foreshaft
tümpa- mouth	*tümpa′’yaʿ* mouth of canyon (apparently found only in compounds, e. g.: *s·qu′rumpa’yaʿ* mouth of rabbit-bush canyon < *s·qu′-mpï* rabbit-bush; *ɔa′i-t·ümpa(i)’yaʿ* mouth of salt-canyon < *ɔa-* salt)

(e) *Isolated elements.* There are a few elements that may be recognized as noun suffixes (or stereotyped compounded stems), but to which no definite meaning can be assigned. Among these is *-n’naŋqa-* (cf. perhaps *naŋqa-* EAR-ORNAMENT) in bird nouns:

qïri′n’naŋqats·	sparrow-hawk
ɔva′n’naŋqᴀ	goose

-q̇·wa-(tsι-) occurs in:

ᴀʿta′q̇·wɔts· crow (cf. parallel *ᴀʿta′p·ïts·*)

-tca·- occurs in:
ᴜ^{x}*qwa′tsa·ts·* small spider (cf. *ᴜ*^{x}*qwa′mpɪ* tarantula)

(5) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES. Two distinct suffixes of closely related meaning are frequently employed in Paiute to express the passive participle, *-p·i-* and *-p·ï-*. It is difficult to say just what difference of meaning there is between these elements, though they are not used interchangeably. On the whole, *-p·i-* seems to have a more substantival force, *-p·ï-* a more truly participial one; it would be incorrect to press this point, however. Moreover, *-p·i-* is primarily tenseless except when preceded by specific tense elements, e. g. future *-va·-*; *-p·ï-* is always preterital. Both may be formed from intransitive stems, though derivatives formed from transitive verbs are naturally far more common.

(a) *-p·i-* passive participle. Examples are:

sa'a-	to boil	*sa'a'p·ɪ*	what is boiled, mush
aγan·i-	how? to do (be) in what way?	*qatcu''q·w aγa'n·ɪˣk̭aɪ‘pin·ι naia'vaŋwq'ᵃ*	not-it how-do-perfective-passive partic.-like seem-negative, it does not look as though capable of handling
cu(w)ai-	to be glad	*cu(w)a'ip·ɪ*	(some one's) being glad
nɔn·ɔc·ι-	to dream	*nɔn·ɔ'c·ιp·ɪ*	what is dreamt, dream (as noun)
tavi-	to hit, plur. subj. *tavi-k̭·a-*	*tavi'k·am·ιp·ɪ*	who are (were) always hit
tïχwι·n·a-	to tell a story	*tïχwι·'n·ap·ɪ*	what is told, story
tï‘qa-	to eat	*tï‘qa'va·p·ɪ*	what shall (always) be eaten
ivi-	to drink	*ivi'p·ɪ*	something drunk, *ivi'k̭·aip·ɪ* what was evidently drunk (by someone)
ampaγa-	to talk	*naŋqa'p·ïγa ampa'x·ᴀpiᴀ*	heard talked (obj.), heard some one talking
cυ·p·ar'ua-	several gather together	*cυ·'p·ar'uαp·ɪ*	gathered-together, gathering place

A considerable number of nouns referring to games are passive participles in *-p·i-*, e. g.:

naiaŋwi-	to play the hand-game	*naiα'ŋwιp·ɪ*	hand-game
ïnï'p·ιntu-	to make a ghost, to play at ghosts	*ïnï'p·ιntup·ɪ*	ghost-making game
mavɔ'xɔi-	to make a pile of dirt	*mavɔ'xɔip·ɪ*	game of making piles of dirt

(b) *-p·ï-* past passive participle. Examples are:

sa'ma-	to spread out (a blanket, sheet)	*sa'ma'p·ï*	having been spread out, cover on which something is put
wɪ‘tca'-	to wrap about	*wɪ‘tca'p·ï*	having been wrapped about, band

nɔ·- to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'p·ï* carried on one's back, pack
ai- to say	*a'ip·ïa·ŋ o·'p̓·ac· an·ι'p·ïγa'* say-passive partic.-obj.-his that-way-again it-did, it happened as he had said
naŋqa- to hear	*maï'm imi naŋqa'q·aip·ï'mɪ* that-thy thee hear-perfective-passive partic.-thy, that (is) thy heard, that is what you heard
qwïï- to take	*piŋwa'χwïïp̓·ïŋᴡᴀ* wife-taken-his, whom he had taken as wife
ɔra- to dig up	*ɔra'p·ïnɪ* my having-been-dug, something that I dug long ago
qᴡᴀ'cï- to be ripe	*qᴡᴀ'cï'p·ïaq·ᴀ* ripened-it, it (is) ripe
qwitca- to defecate	*qwitca'p·ï* excrement
si'i- to urinate	*si'i'p·ï* urine

Several nouns referring to ceremonials, dances, and games are really past passive participles in *-p·ï-*, e. g.:

ki(y)a- to play, dance a round dance	*ki(y)a'p·ï* round dance
-tïv^{w}*ï'-* to lead away	*qam·ï'n·arïv*^{w}*ï'p·ï* jackrabbit-reciprocal-lead away-passive partic., game in which each tries to head off rabbits from others
yaγa- to cry	*yaγa'p·ï* having been cried, mourning ceremony
tu'u'n'ɴɪ^{x}*qa-* to dance the scalp dance	*tu'u'n'ɴɪ*^{x}*qap·ï* scalp dance

(6) Active participles. The primary form of the active participial suffix is *-tï-*^{n}. When unpreceded by a tense element, it refers to present time or, particularly in secondary substantival uses, is tenseless. Participles of explicitly temporal reference may be formed from the present participle by prefixing appropriate temporal suffixes to *-tï-*^{n}. Animate plurals are formed by suffixing *-m·ï-* (§ 48, 1, a), e. g. *-rïm·ï-*.

(a) *Present participle: -rï-*^{n} (*-tcï-*^{n} after *i*; *-ntcï-*^{n} after nasal + *i*), *-t·ï-*^{n}, *-ntï-*^{n}. Examples are:

tï‘qa-	to eat	*tï‘qa'ʀɪ̈*	eating
ivi'-k̭·a-^{s}	several drink	*ivi'k̭·arïmɩ*	those drinking
nïa-	to blow	*nïa'ʀɪ̈*	blowing, wind; *nïa'rïntï‘qaŋ'ᴡɪ‘pïγa‘* turned into wind
qᴀ‘qa'rï-^{s}	to run away	*qᴀ‘qa'rïʀɪ̈*	one who runs away
pᴜ‘tcu'tcuγwa-^{s}	to understand	*i'mɪ pᴜ‘tcu'tcuγwar'ïq·ᴡᴀ*	thou (art) understanding-it
ivi-^{s}	to drink	*ivi'tcï*	drinking
tcaŋwï'k·ɪqwa'(a)i-^{s}	to die off	*tcaŋwï'k·ɪqwa'(a)itcį̈mʷïᴀ*	those dying off (obj.)
avi-^{s}	to lie	*avi'tcï*	lying, plateau
an·i-^{s}		*an·i'ntcï*	doing so, anim. plur. *an·i'ntcïmʷɩ-*
ai-^{s}	to say	*a'intcï*	saying, sayer (§ 13, 3)
^{a}*'a-*^{g}	to be good	^{a}*'a't·ï*	good
ᴀ‘pï'iŋwa'ai-^{g}	not to sleep	*ᴀ‘pï'iŋwa'ait·ï*	one who does not sleep
na'ai-^{n}	to burn	*na'a'intï*	burning, fire
-mi-^{n}	usitative	*a'imintïmɩ*	those saying
-r'ui-^{n}	to become	*tuγwa'r'uintï*	becoming night
ɴᴜ^{x}*qwi-*^{n}	to flow	*ɴᴜ*^{x}*qwi'ntï*	flowing, stream

For *-kantï-* HAVING; BEING < *-kai-* TO HAVE; TO BE, see § 26, 1, a, b.

(b) *Future participle: -va·ntï-*^{n}*, -mpa·ntï-*^{n}*; formed from future* *-va·-*^{n}, *-mpa·-*^{n} (§ 32, 4). Examples are:

pɪ‘pɩ'tcï-	to arrive	*pɪ‘pɩ'tcïvʷa·ntï*	being about to arrive, going to arrive, shall be arriving
pɪ‘k̭a''ayaxai-	to be a hard-shell turtle	*pɪ‘k̭a''axaiva·ntï*	destined to be a hard-shell turtle
pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋu-*^{n}	to kill	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋumpa·ntï*	going to kill, will kill

(c) *Usitative participle: -vatcï-*^{n}*, -mpatcï-*^{n}. The usitative element *-va-*, phonetically treated as though terminating in *-i-*^{s}, is not otherwise used as a verb suffix. It is perhaps identical with postpositive *-va-* AT (§ 50, 4, 37), which also changes following *-t-* to *-tc-*. Examples are:

nɔn·ɔ'c·ɩ-	to dream	*nɔn·ɔ'c·ɩvätcï*	accustomed to dream, having ever dreamt
na'ai-	to burn	*na'a'ivätcï*	wont to burn

qarï-	to sit	*qarï'vatcï*	who always sits
o·χwai-	to have an arrow	*o·'χwaivätcï*	provided with an arrow
nɔntsιn'i-	to fly	*nɔntsι'n'ivätcï*	always flying around
-mi-^{n}	usitative	*avi'm·ιmpatcï*	always accustomed to lie down

(d) *Perfective participle: -q·antï-*^{n}; based on perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3). Examples are:

pï̯nι'k̯·ai-	to see	*pï̯nι'k·aik̯·antï*	having seen
pa'x·ɪqwɔ'ai-	to go away	*pa'x·ɪqwɔ'aik̯·antï*	having gone away
qanι'χ̯ai-	to have a house	*qanι'χ̯aik̯·antï*	who had a house

(e) *Narrative preterital participle: -p·ïγantï-*^{n}; based on narrative preterital *-p·ïγai-*. This participle differs from the preceding in referring more explicitly to past time, also in being more frequently used in narrative as a sort of equivalent for properly preterital forms in *-p·ïγai-* (see §32 , 6; also § 55, 4, e). Examples are:

pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜtï·-*	to be killed	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋᴜtïɪpïγantï'ŋ uru''av*^{w}*ï‘*	be-killed-preterit partic.-he is-dubitative, maybe he has been killed
tïγai-	to take place	*tïγa'ɪpïγantï*	having taken place
qᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋuŋqv·-*	would kill	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋuŋquᴜ*^{x}*pïγantïnɪ*	who would have killed me
'u'raiŋu-	to go towards it	*nï' u'raiŋᴜpïγantï*	I (am) having-gone-towards-it, I went towards it

(f) *Animate plurals of participles.* Animate plurals of active participles have been already referred to. They end in *-tï-m·ï-*. A curious idiom allows of their use also as singulars. This takes place when the participle refers to a person (or animal) that is singled out from a number or is compared with others. The plural ending of the participle, in other words, refers to the implied collectivity rather than to the person explicitly indicated. Examples are:

qᴜ‘tca'p·ɔ·t·ɔ‘qwarïmï blue-round-adj. verb-partic.-plur., one who is blue around (as contrasted with others of different color) *tɔγɔ'n·^{y}op·a' tɔγɔ'q·wιtcïmï* quite-me-like running-plur., equal to me in running

qa'tc 'a'iyuŋwaï't·i̜mï not good-negative-partic.-plur., not a good one

nïχa·'^{a}vat·ïm·^{w}ïaŋᴀ me-greater-partic.-plur.-he, he (is) greater than I

tïv^{w}ι'ts· pa'a'ntïmï very tall-partic.-plur., tallest; contrast *tïv^{w}ι'ts· pa'a'ntï* very tall (no comparison involved)

Analogous constructions are found in other than *-tï-*^{n} forms, e. g.:

ni̜' narï'χwι·nᴀpïŋwï I mighty-plur. (§ 48, 1, b), I (am) a mighty person (as contrasted with others)

§ 26. *Verbalizing Suffixes.*

A number of verb-forming suffixes are in common use. They transform noun, adjective, and demonstrative stems into verbs.

(1) *Elements suffixed to noun and adjective stems.*

(a) *-γai-, -q·ai-, -ŋqai-*, TO BE. Any noun or participle may become a verb of being by means of this suffix, e. g.:

nïŋwï-^{s}	person	*niŋwï'χaiʏᴜ*	while being a person
qanι-^{s}	house	*qanι'χ̭aiŋᴜ*	house-be-momentaneous, to be already manifest as a house
wɪ̈'cιa·-^{s}	feather	*wɪ̈'cι'a·χaik̭·ain·a·ŋᴀ*	feather-be-perfective-verbal noun -his, what had been his feathers
sari·tsι-^{s}	dog	*nï' sari·'tsιγ̭a'*	I am a dog
tümp^{w}i-^{g}	rock	*tümp^{w}i'k̭·ainɪ*	I am a rock
nïχa·'^{a}va·'t·ï-^{n}	greater than I	*nïχa·'^{a}va·'t·ïŋqaiva·t·ŋ̥nι'*	I-greater-active partic.-be-future- gerund-like, if (you) are to be greater than I

For negative *-'ai-* NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2 c.

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§ 55, 1, e) verbifying *-kai-* TO BE becomes *-ka·-*, e. g.:

a'ip·atsιγai-	to be a boy	*a'ip·atsιγa·q·unɪ*	when I was a boy

For corresponding negative *-a·'-q·u-* WHEN NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2, c.

The active participial form of this suffix is *-γantï-*^{n}, *-q·antï-*^{n}, *-ŋqantï-*^{n}. e. g.:

tᴀ^{x}*qa·-*^{s} to be flat	*tᴀ*^{x}*qa·'γantï* being flat, flat country
cïï-^{s} to be strong	*cïï'xantï* strong
'ɔntcɔχι-^{s} to be one-eyed	*'ɔntcɔ'χιγantï* one-eyed
yu(w)a·-^{s}	*yu(w)a·'*^{a}*χantï* being level, plain
wï'qɔn·oi-^{g} to be circular	*wï'qɔ'n·oik̯·antï* circular

As may be seen from these examples, *-kantï-*^{n} forms many nouns and adjectives. Many of these participial forms, indeed, seem to be more freely used than the *-kai-* verbs from which they are derived

Compounded with indirective *-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 2) this element seems to appear as *-'ai-* (cf. negative *-'ai-* NOT TO BE, § 57, 2, c). *-'ai-ŋqï-* seems to indicate TO ACT LIKE —TO. It occurs in:

cï̹na'ŋwavι-ŋk̯ai- to be coyote; to be amorous, "mushy"	*cï̹na'ŋwavι'aiŋqïi'* acts like coyote to (her); acts in an inordinately amorous manner toward (her)

(b) *-γai-*, *-q·ai-*, *-ŋqai-* TO HAVE. This element closely parallels the preceding in all its forms (including negative *-'ai*; subordinate *-ka·-q·u-*; negative subordinate *-a·'-q·u-*; participle *-kantï-*^{n}). From the form alone it is not always possible to tell whether the *-kai-* suffix denotes TO BE or TO HAVE; e. g. *tümp*^{w}*ik̯·ai-* TO BE A ROCK or TO HAVE A ROCK. Frequently, however, the theoretical ambiguity is removed by the use of a nominal possessive suffix (§ 24, 2) before the *-kai-*; e. g. *sari·'tsιγaivätcï* WONT TO BE A DOG, but *sari·'vuŋquχwaivätcï* WONT TO HAVE A DOG (§ 24, 2, e). On account of their particular frequency, forms in *-a-γai-* (§ 24, 2, a) are separately listed.

Examples of *-γai-*, *-q·ai-*, *-ŋqai-* TO HAVE are:

puŋqu-^{s} horse (owned)	*puŋqu'χwaiva·n·ιanι* I shall have a horse
ɔvi-'ini-^{s} stick-owned	*ɔvi''iniχ̯ainι* I have a stick
taŋa-^{s} knee	*taŋa'xainι* I have a knee
patcï-ŋwï- daughters (§ 48, 1, b)	*patcü'ŋwïχaιpïγa'* (he) had daughters
impï-^{s} what	*impï'xai'* what hast thou?
mov^{w}*i-*^{g} nose	*mov*^{w}*i'k̯·ai(y)aŋᴀ* he has a nose
aγɔ-^{n} tongue	*aγɔ'ŋqwainι* I have a tongue
wïγï-^{n} vulva	*wïγï'ŋqaip·ïγa'* (she) had a vulva
narɔ'ɔ-^{n} clothes	*nï̹' narɔ''ɔŋqwa'* I have clothes

An example of subordinate *-ka·-q·u-* is:

piŋwa-^{s} wife	*piŋwa'xa·q·ᴜ* that (he) had as (his) wife

Examples of *-a-γai-* TO HAVE, BE PROVIDED WITH (subordinate *-aγa·-q·u-*) are:

o·χwɩ'vï- grass	*o·χwɩ'vïaχaʿ* to have grass
ᴀʿta'vï- sand	*ᴀʿta'vïaχaiaq·ᴀ* it is sandy
pɔvɔ·'- trails (§ 58, 2, b)	*pɔvɔ·'aγaip·ïγaʿ* (country) had trails (all over)
qamï'χanɩ- jackrabbit-camp	*qamï'χanɩaγaɪʿt̓uaiʿ* people (§ 29, 14) have a jackrabbit-camp
taŋwa- tooth	*taŋwa·'γax·qoαq·ᴀ* that it (her vulva) had teeth (< *taŋwa-aγa·-q·o-*)

Participial examples in *-kantï-*^{n}, *-aγantï-*^{n} are:

p̓ɔ'a-^{s} louse	*p̓ɔ'ȧχantï* having lice, lousy; plur. *p̓ɔ'aq·aγantïmï* several having lice
pu(w)a-^{s} supernatural power	*pu(w)a'γantï* having supernatural power, medicine-man
naŋqava-^{s} ear	*ava''*^{a}*t·ïᴀ nana'ŋqavaχantï* big (obj.) ears (§ 58, 3, c) -having
sɔγɔ- moisture	*sɔγɔ'aχantï* having moisture, moist
qanɩ- house	*qunɩ'aγantï* house-possessed-having, camp, village

(c) *-γa-*, *-q·a-*, *-ŋqa-* TO ACQUIRE. Examples are:

qava·-^{s} horse	*wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·ᴀ* two-objective-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
uru'v^{w}*ï-*^{s} stick for making arrow	*uru'v*^{w}*ïχap·ïγaʿ* got arrow-sticks
tümp^{w}*i-*^{g} rock	*tümp*^{w}*i'k̫·ava·n·ɩanɪ* I shall get a rock
aγɔ-^{n} tongue	*aγɔ'ŋqwava·n·ɩanɪ* I shall get a tongue

(d) *-ru-* (*-tcu-* after *i*; *-ntcu-* after nasal + *i*), *-t·u-*, *-ntu-* TO MAKE, TO MAKE INTO. The idea of MAKING is sometimes used in a somewhat extended sense. Examples are:

atcï-^{s}	bow	*atcï′ruv*^{w}*a·n·ι*ʽ	will make a bow
tïγι′avï-^{s}	deer-hide	*tïγι′avurup·ïγa*ʽ	made a deer-hide
paï′c·aγa-^{s}	bridge	*paï′c·axaʀᴜqwap·ïγa*ʽ	several made (it) into a bridge
pa·na-^{s}	bread	*pa·′narui*ʽ	makes bread
quma-^{s}	husband	*quma′ruyïaŋᴀ*	(she) husband-makes, marries him
nïŋwï-^{s}	person	*nïŋwu′runɪ*	to person-make me, consider me a person
impï-^{s}	what	*impu′ruyïaŋᴀ*	what is he making?
ʽ*aïc·ι-*^{s}	basket	ʽ*a′ïc·ιtcuv*^{w}*a·n·ι*ʽ	will make a basket
qani-^{s}	house	*qani′ntcᴜpïγa*ʽ	made a house
piyï-^{g}	heart	*piyï′t·ui*ʽ	makes a heart
ɔvi-^{n}	wood	*ɔvι′ntuv*^{w}*a·n·ι*ʽ	will make wood
taŋwa-^{n}	tooth	*nį̈ʼ taŋwa′ntuŋuaq·ᴀ*	I made a tooth out of it

(e) -ʼ*a*- TO PUT ON FOR WEAR, TO WEAR. Examples are:

maavï-	clothes	*maa·′vïʼai*ʽ	puts on (his) clothes; *maa·′vïʼaŋᴜ* to be dressed up
qarïn·ïmpï-	saddle	*qarï′n·ïmpïȧt·ui*ʽ	saddles (a horse; *-t·ui-* causative, § 29, 12)
ʽ*a·′n·ᴜʽci-*	harness	ʽ*a·′n·ᴜʽciȧt·ui*ʽ	harnesses (a horse)
qaγ(ε)i-	necklace	*qaγ(ε′)iʼai*ʽ	puts necklace (or collar) around (one's neck); *tᴀ*^{x}*qa′xiʼai*ʽ loops around the feet (or ankles)

(f) *-ruʼa-*^{n} (*-tcuʼa-*^{n} after *i*; *-ntcuʼa-*^{n} after nasal + *i*), *-t·uʼa-*^{n}, *-ntuʼa-*^{n} TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix is appended to both noun and adjective-verb stems. Examples are:

pu(w)a-^{s}	supernatural power	*pu(w)a′r′uai*ʽ	turns into a medicine-man, commences to be a medicine man
qava·-^{s}	horse	*qava·′ruʼaŋuntca·ŋᴀ*	he became a horse
yuu-^{s}	grease, *yuu′χwantï* fat (adj.)	*yuu·′ruʼap·ïγa*ʽ	got fat
yua·-^{s}	level, plain	*yuyu′a·r′uaŋqu*ʽ	(it) would become level

aŋqa-^{s}	red	*aŋqa′r’uai*‘	turns red
qanι-^{s}	house	*qanι′ntcu’aŋU*	to become a house
tυ·-^{g}	black	*tυ·′tʻ·uαŋUpïγa*‘	turned black
ɔυι-^{n}	stick	*ɔυι′ntu’αŋuntca·ŋA*	he became a stick

(g) *-ru’i-*^{n} (*-tcu’i-*^{n} after *i*), *-t·u’i-*^{n}, *-ntu’i-*^{n} TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix, which is evidently closely related to the preceding, is used with verb stems, particularly such as relate to time and the weather, less often with noun stems. Examples are:

tuγwa-^{s}	to be dark, night	*tuγwa′ru’ιntï*	becoming night, at night
tɔmɔ-^{s}	to be winter	*tɔmɔ′r’uιntï*	commencing winter
tam·a-^{s}	to be spring	*tam·a′r’uιntï*	commencing spring; *ɔnɔ′t·am·ar’uιŋqU* when (it) becomes early in spring, early in spring
nana′p·ïtsι-	old man	*nana′p·ïtcιtʻcuiŋumïntca·ŋ* ‘*ɔai*‘	he has already become an old man
tatca-^{g}	to be summer	*tatca′tʻ·uιntï*	commencing summer
yïvʷana-^{g}	to be autumn	*yïvʷa′nAtʻuιntï*	commencing autumn
nïa-	to blow	*ni(γ)a′tʻ·u’ιntï*	commencing to blow, wind
nïvʷa’uŋwa-	to snow	*nïvʷa′’uŋwatʻ·uιntιŋwanI*	snow-commencing-possessed-my, snow belonging to me
tuγu-^{n}	to be clear weather	*tuγu′ntʻuιŋuq·υ·’q·WA*	it would clear up
qa·-	to sing	*qa·′ntʻuιntιŋ’wa·ŋA*	sing-commencing-possessed-his, song belonging to him

(h) *-γa-*^{s}, *-q·a-*^{s}, *-ŋqa-*^{s} adjective-verb suffix. This suffix makes verbs of being out of adjective-verb stems, e. g. from *aŋqa-* RED (cf. *aŋqa-* in compounds and *aŋqa′-r’ua-* TO TURN RED) is formed *aŋqa-γa-* TO BE RED. It is particularly common with adjective-verb stems indicating color; it may also make color-verbs out of noun stems. Most frequently it is used in its participial form, *-karï-*^{n}. Examples are:

tɔʻca-^{s} to be white	*tɔʻca′χaʀï* white
saγwa-^{s} to be blue	*saγwa′χaʀï* blue
wantsι-^{s} antelope	*wantsι′χ̯aʀï* antelope-colored, light gray
tcιŋka-^{s} to be rough	*tcιŋka′xaʀï* rough
yu'mι-^{s} to be warm	*yu'mι′γ̯aʀï pa·ʻ* warm water
qᴜʻtca-^{g} to be light gray; ashes (absolute *qᴜʻtca′p·ï*)	*qᴜʻtca′q·aʀï* light gray
to·-^{g} to be black	*to·′q·waʀï* black (probably coal-colored, cf. Fernandino *du·u-t* coal)
qwi·-^{g} smoke (in compounds)	*qwi·′k̭·aʀï* smoke (as absolute noun)
paï-^{n} to be smooth	*pa′ïŋqaʀï* smooth
sa·-^{n} to be raw	*sa·′ŋqaχo'oq·ᴡᴀ* when it is raw
siu-^{n} to be light gray (like rabbit's eyes)	*siu′ŋqwaʀï* light gray and translucent

(i) *-ra-* adjective-verb suffix. This element is found only in a few stereotyped adjective-verbs, e. g.

cïʻpï- cold (as noun, e. g. *cïʻpï′v*^{w}*aʻ* cold water)	*cïʻpï′raiʻ* (object) is cold
yu'(w)a- (cf. perhaps *yu'mι-* under h)	*yu'(w)a′raiʻ* (it) is warm weather

(j) *Isolated elements.* One or two isolated verbalizing (or verb) suffixes that can not well be classified are given here. *-t·ca-* occurs in:

naŋqa-va- ear; *naŋqa-* to hear	*naŋqa′t·ca-q·ai-* to listen (for resultative *-q·ai-*, see § 30, 9); *nana′ŋqᴀtca'q·aivaʻ* (they) will listen

-t·cï- (two-moraed) occurs in:

nïntcï′-γa- to shake (duratively; for *-γa-* see § 30, 1)	*nïntci′t·cïiʻ* shakes; *nïntci′t·cïp·ïγaʻ* shook; *nïntcï′t·cuq·ᴜpïγaʻ* started to shake

(2) *Elements suffixed to demonstrative stems.* For demonstrative stems *a-*, *i-* (^{i}*'i′-*), *ma-* (*m*^{w}*a′-*), and *u-* (^{u}*'u′-*) see § 43.

(a) *-ro'a-* TO BE; makes substantive verbs from demonstrative *a-* and *u-*, e. g. *aro'a-* TO BE (visible subject). Substantive verbs are dealt with in § 56.

(b) *-n·i-* TO ACT, DO, BE. This suffix makes verbs of action or manner out of demonstrative stems, also out of interrogative *aγa-*, e. g. *an·i-* TO DO SO, TO ACT THUS; *aγan·i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? For examples see § 43, 3. These verbs are often used absolutely as adverbs of manner, e. g. *aγa'nɪ* HOW?

(c) *-n·'i-* (*-n·i'i-*) verbalizing suffix appended to demonstrative stem + postposition (see § 43, 1). From *iva·-* THIS-AT, HERE, e. g., is formed *iva·n·'i-* TO BE HERE. It is possible that this element is identical with continuative *-n·'i-* (§ 30, 12); both are two-moraed. Examples are:

iva·-, *ivä·-*	here	*ivä·'n·'ɩyïnɪ*	here-be-present-I, I stay right here; *ivä·'n'ɩa·ŋ'a-xain·ɩ wᴀˣqï'k·ˣᴀ* here-be-*a*- (§ 19, 3, a)-he-indeed hither-go, he was coming here
(u)mʷα'va·-	there	*waa(i)y (u)mʷα'va·n·'ɩk̠·a'*	two there-be-perfective, two have been there

(d) *-q·a-* TO GO; makes verbs of movement out of independent adverbs and demonstrative stems + postposition (cf. c above). Examples are:

wᴀˣqɩ'-	hither	*wᴀˣqɩ'k̠·a·ᵃŋᴀ*	he is coming (< *-q·a-aŋa-*)
tïvʷai-	down	*tïvʷa'ik·ˣᴀ*	to go down (away from one)
tï·i-	up	*tï·'ⁱk·ˣᴀ*	to go up (away from one)
i(y)u'ṗ·a-	through here	*i(y)u'ṗ·aq·anɪ*	I went through here
u'a'xaruχwa-	through it	*u'a'χaruχwaq·ᴀ*	goes through the (house)

§ § 27–34. *Verb suffixes.*

§ 27. General remarks.

The suffixes added to verb stems or verbalized bases (see § 26) may be grouped into six distinct classes: suffixes of movement, of voice, of verbal aspect, of plurality, of tense, and of mode. Many of these may be considered as more properly formal than derivative in character, but the line is in any case not easy to draw.

§ 28. Suffixes of movement.

In origin these are in all probability verb stems that have become specialized as second members of verb + verb compounds (§ 18, 2, a). This appears quite plausible in view of the fact that several verb stems of movement (e. g. *paγ(a)i-*^{n} TO GO, *pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN) are frequently used in composition in a quasi-formal sense.

(1) *-γwa'ai-*^{s}, *-q·wa'ai-*^{s}, *-ŋqwa'ai-*^{s} TO GO WHILE -ING, TO MOVE. This is generally used only in verbs whose animate subject is singular. For corresponding plurals the compounded verb-stem *-mι·ia-* SEVERAL MOVE is used (for examples see § 18, 2, a). Examples of *-γwa'ai-*^{s} are:

nɔntsι-^{s}	to fly	*nɔntsι'χ̯w'a.ï‘*	goes flying, flies away
wïnï-	to stand, be stationed	*wį̈nï'χw'aip·ïγa‘*	was stationed as (he) moved
ai-^{s}	to say	*a'iχ̯w'aip·ïγa‘*	said as (he) went
yaŋwι-^{s}	to carry	*yaŋwι'χ̯w'aip·ïγa‘*	went carrying

Of *-q·wa'ai-*^{s}:

pa(i)yï-^{g}	to return	*pa(i)yι'q·w*^{ɔ}*'a.ï‘*	return-goes, goes back
mïn·ïc·ι-^{g}	to return, turn back	*mį̈nï'c·qw*^{ɔ}*'aip·ïγa‘*	went returning home
‘am·u'^{x}*ᴜp̓a-*^{g}	(to go) past them	*‘am·u'*^{x}*ᴜp̓a(·)'q·waiŋup·ïγa‘*	went past them
tu'uma-^{g}	to take (several objects)	*tu'u'mᴀ*^{x}*qwaï'p·ïγa‘*	went and took (several objects)

Of *-ŋqwa'ai-*^{s}:

ɴᴜ^{x}*qwi-*^{n}	to run	*ɴᴜ*^{x}*qwi'ŋqw'a.ï‘*	goes running, runs off
paγ(a')i-^{n}	to go	*paγ(a')iŋqw'a.ï‘*	walks off
tᴀ‘ci'a-^{n}	to dawn	*tᴀ‘ci'aŋqwa'aix̯·ᴜ*	when (it) dawn-goes, when dawn approaches
tᴀ‘cï'p̓a-^{n}	to be evening	*tᴀ‘cï'p̓·aŋqwaï'ix̯·ᴜ*	as evening approaches
tᴜγwa'-r'ui-^{n}	to get dark	*tuγwa'r'uιŋqw'aix̯·ᴜ*	when (it) commenced to get dark
u'urai-^{n}	(to go) towards it	*u'u'raiŋqw'aip·ïγa‘*	went towards it

The idea of GOING, as some of these examples show, shades off into that of BECOMING.

(2) *-q·wa'ai-ˢ* (TO MOVE) OFF, AWAY. This is evidently nothing but a specialized use of the geminated form of the preceding suffix. It occurs, however, after spirantizing and nasalizing as well as after geminating stems and is clearly felt as a distinct, though related, element. Examples are:

paγ(ε)i-ⁿ	to go (see a above)	*paγ(ε')iq·w'aitcarɔa·ŋᴀ*	did he go away?
ya·-	to carry (one object)	*ya·'q̇·waip·ïγa'aik·wᴀ*	carried it away
tsip·i-	to appear, emerge	*ts·pi'k·w'aiŋᴜpïγaʻ*	went right through beyond
tɔγɔq·wi-	to run	*tɔγɔ'q·ᴡɪqwa'aiyïaŋᴀ*	he runs off
wa'aŋi-ˢ	to yell (e. g. *wa'a'ŋιχ̰wa'a.iʻ* yells as he goes)	*wa'a'ŋɪqwa'aiŋᴜ*	to call out while going past

Quite often *-q·wa'ai-ˢ* OFF is used in a secondary sense to indicate completion (cf. English TO DIE OFF), e. g.:

ya'ai-	to die, be dying	*ya'a'ik·wᵓ'aiväʻ*	die-off-shall, let him die
pᴀˣqa-	to kill	*pᴀˣqa'q·wᵓ'aiŋᴜqwαnɪ*	when I kill off, when I have killed (but also *pᴀˣqa'q·w'ai-* to kill while on one's way)
cu(w)a-	to consume	*cu(w)α''q·waaix̰·ᴜ*	while eating (it) up
ʻa·'ιnι-	to be silent	*ʻa·''ιnιk·wᵓ'aiŋᴜqwa·q·ᴀ*	as soon as it became silent

Another common development in meaning is that of continuance or duration (cf. English TO COUNT OFF, TO WORK AWAY), e. g.:

yaγa-	to cry	*yaχa'q̇·wɔ.iʻ*	cries away, cries without interruption
ampaγa-	to talk	*ampa'x·qwa'a.iʻ*	talks away, keeps on talking
tïʻqa-	to eat	*tïʻqa'q·w'ɔivä·nɪ*	I'll eat away, I'll keep on eating

(3) *-γwa'ai-*^{s} TO GO IN ORDER TO. This element also is evidently merely a specialized use of the spirantized form of (a). Examples are:

qU‘qwi-	to shoot	*qU‘qwi'χ̯w’ɔiva·n·ιanI*	I shall go in order to shoot
uru'v^{w}ïγa-	to get arrow-sticks	*uru'v^{w}ïχwɔ’ai’^{i}*	go and get arrow-sticks
ya·-	to carry (cf. under b)	*ya·'xw’ai’ŋWA*	go and fetch him
ani-	to do so	*ani'χ̯w’aip·ïγa‘*	went and did so

In many cases it is not easy to be clear as to whether examples of *-q·wa’ai-* and *-γwa’ai-* are to be classed under (a) or under (b) and (c). It is highly probable that *-q·wa’ai-* (b) and *-γwa’ai-* (c) are related to each other as momentaneous and durative (see § 53, 2, b for momentaneous gemination). The two uses of *-γwa’ai-*, WHILE GOING and TO GO IN ORDER TO, are reflected in its plural correspondent *-m·ia-*, e. g. *qa·'m·ia-* SEVERAL SING WHILE ON (THEIR) WAY and SEVERAL GO IN ORDER TO SING.

(4) *-m’mia-* CONTINUOUS MOTION. This element, which is perhaps etymologically connected with plural *mia-* SEVERAL TRAVEL, is very similar in significance to *-kwa’ai-* (a) and to compounded *-paγ(a)i-* WHILE JOURNEYING. The idea of continuity, however, seems to be more explicit. Moreover, the movement referred to is not necessarily the straight-line movement of normal walking or travel, but may be the periodic movement say of dancing. Examples are:

pɔ·ya-	to run	*pɔ·'yam’mιa.i‘*	goes running, keeps on running
qa·-	to sing	*qa·'m’mιa.i‘*	sings while moving along (e. g. in the round-dance)
qarï-	to sit, ride on horseback	*qarï'm’mιa.i‘*	keeps on riding
U‘tcu'm’MI^{x}k̯a-	several have (their) eyes closed	*U‘tcu'm’MI^{x}k̯am’mιava‘*	(ye) shall have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance
yaŋwι-	to carry	*yaŋwι'm’mιap·ïγa‘*	carried along
wï’i-	to dance	*wï’ï'm’iap·ïγa‘*	danced back and forth
pïnι-	to look	*pïnι'm’mιai‘*	looks while walking
tïv^{w}ai-	(to go) west	*tïv^{w}a'im’mιap·ïγa‘*	travelled westward

For *-m·ιk·u-*, the inceptive form of this suffix, see § 30, 8.

(5) *-γi-*^{s}, *-k·i-*^{s}, *-ŋki-*^{s} TO COME WHILE -ING. This suffix is the correlative of (1). Examples of *-γi-*^{s} are:

nɔntsι-^{s}	to fly	*nɔntsι'χi*ʽ	comes flying
qarï-^{s}	to ride	*qarï'χi*ʽ	comes riding

Of *-k·i-*^{s}:

pa(i)yï-^{g}	to return	*pa(i)yι'k·i*ʽ	comes back
ya·-^{g}	to carry	*ya·'q·ï(y)aq·ᴀ*	bring it (back)
ya·-ŋqï-	to carry to	*ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ*	to bring to
watci-	to put	*watci'k·ιχ̜ainɪ*	having put me away and come off
cį̈m^{w}*ïa-*	to leave	*cį̈m*^{w}*ï'ᴀ*^{x}*qitcaŋᴡᴀ*	left him and came (back)
nį̈m^{w}*ι'vatcuγwa-*	(to go) to us (excl.)	*nį̈m*^{w}*ι'vatcux·ᴡᴀqι*ʽ	comes to visit us

Of *-ŋki-*^{s}:

paγ(a)i-^{n}	to walk	*paγ(a')iŋki*ʽ	comes walking
pɔ·ya-^{n}	to run	*pɔ·'yaŋqïp·ïγa*ʽ	came running
moi-^{n}	to lead	*mǫį'ŋkitcimï*	those who come leading

It seems quite likely that, analogously to *-q·wa'ai-* (b), *-k·i-*^{s} is used after all types of stems to indicate TO COME AWAY; it would be the momentaneous correlate of durative *-γi-*^{s} (6). Some of the above examples suggest this.

(6) *-γi-*^{s} TO COME IN ORDER TO, analogous to *-γwa'ai-* (3).

qa·-	to sing	*qa·'χι*ʽ	comes to sing
ya·-	to carry	*ya·'x·ɪk̜aai*ʽ	has come to get (cf. *ya·q·ι-* to come carrying, to bring)
nɔ·-	to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'χwιaŋᴀ*	come to carry him (cf. *nɔ·'q·wιaŋᴀ* come carrying him)
tɔ'ɔivïɔra-	to dig up bulrushes	*tɔ'ɔ'ivïɔraχιp·ïγa*ʽ	came to dig up bulrushes

§ 29. Suffixes of voice.

There are two groups of suffixed elements that indicate voice, i. e. direction of action with reference to subject, object, or indirect object. The first group (1–9) is a primary series that is not freely used; that is closely welded with the verb stem (often with internal stem changes); that occurs in contrasting pairs of mediopassive (or intransitive) and active (or transitive); and that, for the most part, involve at the same time other ideas than that of voice, namely verbal aspect (see 3 below) and number. This group will be only listed here for convenience of reference and taken up later under other headings. The second group (10–14) is used with great freedom and indicates voice relations of a somewhat more external sort. Suffixes of the latter sort are often appended to the former.

(1) *-q·i-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number (see § 30, 3).

(2) *-γi-*, (*-ŋqï-*) mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of iterative-durative aspect (see § 30, 2).

(3) *-γa-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of durative aspect (see § 30, 1).

(4) *-tcai-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of primarily durative aspect and of plural number (see § 31, 2, a).

(5) *-na-* transitive suffix of durative aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, b).

(6) *-n'na-* transitive suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, c).

(7) *-tca-* transitive suffix of plural number of object (see § 31, 2, d).

(8) *-a·-* final stem vowel indicating active voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-i-* (9).

(9) *-i-* final stem vowel indicating inactive voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-a·-* (8).

(10) *-ŋqï-*^{g} transitivizing or activating suffix appended to verbs of primarily mediopassive aspect. It is particularly common with preceding *-q·i-*, *-γi-* (1 and 2 above) and generally occurs with an instrumental prefix in the verb (§ 21). Before it mediopassive *-i-* (see 9 above) sometimes becomes active *-a·-* (8); an *-a-* of the active stem

is lengthened to *-a·-*. No doubt it is a specialized use of indirective *-ŋqï-*^{g} (see 11 below). Examples are:

tAʻpi'ťca- to crush by trampling	*tAʻpi''tcAqιŋqï'q·WA* to crush it (cause it to become crushed) by trampling
mïn'ïc·ι- to turn, roll over (intrans.)	*maŋwï'n'ïcιŋqïaŋA* to roll him over (lit., with the hand)
tayu'm'muχwι to be poking with the foot	*tayu'm'MU*^{x}*qwιŋqï* to poke, kick, spur on with the foot
(*-putsιγι-*)	*qïʻpu'tsιxιŋqï* to crush between one's teeth
wï'ι- to fall	*tsιŋwï''ιŋqï* to knock down with a stick
yauq·wι- to go in (momentaneous)	*maya'U*^{x}*qwιŋqïiʻ* pushes in
ɔp·a'q·(a)i- to have a hole, be perforated (in one place)	*taɔ'p·A*^{x}*qa·ŋqï* to kick a hole into
to·q·wι- to stretch (intrans.), *to·q·wa-* (trans.)	*maru'x·qwa·ŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·A* stretched it
tïŋwa- to close (trans.)	*marï'ŋwa·ŋqïpïγaʻ* shut with (his) hands

(11) *-ŋqï-*^{g} indirective: TO, FOR. This extremely common suffix expresses dative or indirective relations and may be rendered TO, FOR, FROM, WITH, AGAINST. The indirect object is always animate. Examples are:

ya·- to carry	*ya·'ŋqïk·I* to bring to
uni- to do, make	*ųni'ŋkïpïγaʻ* made (it) for (him)
a·'γawantci- to hide	*a·'γawantciŋqïm*^{w}*ɩʻ* has been hiding from (him)
U^{x}*qwι'yuru-* to make a bow and arrows	*U*^{x}*qwι'yuruŋqup·ïγaʻ* made a bow and arrows for
naŋqa'ťca-q·ai- to listen	*naŋqa'ťcaŋqïqaiyïaŋA* listens for, instead of him
to·q·wa- to bet	*to·'q·wαŋqïy'ïŋWA* bets against him
mantcu''aik̯·ai- to wait	*mantcu''aiŋqïqai(y)αŋA* wait for him
sa'a- to make mush	*sa'a'ŋqïnI* make mush for me
qa·- to sing	*qa·'ŋqïtu'a(i)yïnI* I sing for people (indef.; see 14 below), I sing with them

The idea of FOR quite often leads to the "ethical dative." In such cases the person of the indirect object is not really affected by the action at all but is merely interested in it. Such ethical datives with first person indirect object are frequently employed to indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker, e. g.:

aχa'n·iŋqïŋᴜqwaiyun·ι' anï'k̯·a' what-do-for-momentaneous-resultative-subordinate-me-thou do-so? what happened to you for me? what, pray, did you do that . . .?

pǫn·ι'avïn· aʀï naxa·'ᵃŋ'wį̈nιŋqï skunk-blanket-my it be-clothed-stand-for (me), stand clothed in my skunk-blanket for me, please stand clothed in my skunk-blanket

naŋa'ï'ait̓·uiŋqïaŋanɪ cause him to get angry for me, (you, who are dear to me,) make him angry

With this last example (*-t̓·ui-ŋqï-* TO CAUSE FOR as ethical dative) contrast *naya'p̓·a·ŋqït̓uip·ïγa'* CAUSED (THEM) TO APPEAR.

In a considerable number of cases the indirective *-ŋqï-ᵍ* has grown so to the stem as to give a new meaning in which the indirective idea is not very prominent, e. g.:

pitci-	to arrive	*pitci'ŋqï-*	to arrive to, engage with (cf. also *uni-vitci-* to do-arrive, attack)
naγuq·wi-	to reciprocally-shoot	*naγu'q·wιŋqï-*	to fight
tua-	to give birth	*nïntu'aŋqï-*	to person-bear-to, give birth to

(12) *-t̓·ui-* causative, freely suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples are:

ᴀ'pïi-	to sleep	*ᴀ'pï'ɪ't̓ui'*	puts to sleep
qa·-	to sing	*qa·'t̓·uinɪ*	make me sing
tïγai-	to take place	*tïγa'ɪ't̓uiyï'q·ᴡᴀ*	to bring it about
'aiyu-	to be good	*namι·ï''aiʏᴜt̓uiŋup·ïγa'*	first caused to be good, first resuscitated
ɔaq·ι-	to spill (intrans.)	*ɔa'q·ˣɪt̓uivaᴀˣqa·ŋᴀ*	he'll spill it
na'ai-	to burn (intr.)	*na'a'it̓·ui-*	to make a fire
pïnι-	to see	*pïnι't̓·uk̯·a'*	(he) let (him) see (it)

For passives of causatives and causatives of passives, see (13) below. Much less frequently *-t̓·ui-* makes causatives out of nouns, e. g.:

tsɪ'a'mpɪyua·-	wild-rose plain	*tsɪá'mpɪyua·t'·ɪp·ïγa‘*	caused wild-rose plain to be
qan·ɪ-	house + possessive *-a-*	*qan·ɪ'ʌt'uip·ïγa‘*	caused (it) to have houses

A few survivals seem to indicate that *-t'·ui-* is but the geminated form of an older variable *-r'ui-*, *-t'·ui-*, *-nt'ui-*, which has become generalized for all cases. There seems also to have been an alternation between momentaneous *-t'·ui-* andd urative *-r'ui-* (see § 53, 2, b). An example of causative *-nt'ui-* is *'a'c·int'ui-* TO LIKE. Causative *-r'ui-* (durative) is exemplified in *iyä'r'ui-* TO CAUSE TO BE AFRAID, TO FRIGHTEN; with this contrast momentaneous *iyä't'·ui-* TO FRIGHTEN (at one moment of time).

(12a) *-n·i-* causative. This element occurs so uncommonly that it has not been found possible to determine its precise application. Examples are:

yu'u'runɪp·ïγai(y)aq̇·aŋʌ leg-make-causative-past-it (vis.)-he (vis.), he made a leg out of it

naŋwï'q·a'mɪnɪp·ïγa‘ self-cover-causative-past, covered (him)self (with leaves) (cf. *wï‘qa'm'ɪ‘* covers, tr.)

NA‘sɔ'xɔ'ma'nɪp·ïγa‘ covered (him)self with moist ground, dirt (cf. also *NA‘sɔ'xu'map·ïγa‘* covered self with dirt)

In the last two examples, which are provided with reflexive prefixes, it is to be noted that the reflexive is better considered the logical object of the causative suffix than of the verb; e. g. HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO BE COVERED, not HE CAUSED TO COVER HIMSELF. Contrast, with ordinary causative *-t'·ui-* (12), *navï'nɪt'uiḳ·ai(y)aŋanɪ* HE CAUSED ME TO SEE HIMSELF, not HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO SEE ME. Possibly *-n·i-* is best defined as an indirect causative, like *-ŋqï-* (10, 11), whose *-ŋ-* is perhaps a reduced form of *-n·i-*; e. g. HE MADE IT INTO A LEG, HE COVERED TO HIMSELF.

(13) *-t·ï·-*^{s} passive; sometimes heard as *-t·ï-*, but always two-moraed. This suffix is freely used to make true passives out of transitive verbs. Examples are:

tɔna-	to hit, punch	*tɔna't·ï·*^{i}*v*^{w}*a·n·ɪanɪ*	I shall be hit
pʌ^{x}*qa-ŋu-*	to kill	*pʌ*^{x}*qa'ŋUtï'qaq·a‘*	(they) have been killed
ivi-c·ua-ŋu-	to drink up	*pa· ivi'c·uaŋUtïxqa‘*	water has-been-drunk-up

taŋa-	to kick	*taŋa'tˑïˑqˑatcaraŋᴡᴀ*	we were all kicked
ųnivitci-	to attack	*ųni'vitcitˑïγaʻ*	when being attacked
sᴀʻpi'χ̣a-	to overcome	*sᴀʻpi'x̣ˑᴀtïʀï*	one who is overcome
qɔ'ɔi-	to kill several	*qɔ'ɔ'itˑïˑrïmˑį̈ᴀ*	those (obj) who are killed

The last two examples illustrate passive participles in *-tˑïˑ-rï-*^{n} (cf. § 25, 6, a). These differ from passive participles in *-pˑi-* and *-pˑï-* (§ 25, 5) in referring to passing or non-characteristic states. Contrasting with *sᴀʻpi'x̣ˑᴀtïʀï*, for instance, is *sᴀʻpi'χ̣amˑipˑɪ* ONE WHO IS ALWAYS OVERCOME (*-mˑi-* is usitative, § 30, 10).

Passives may be readily formed from causatives, e. g. *ivi'tʼˑuiŋᴜtïˑ-tcaˑŋᴀ* DRINK-CAUSE-MOMENTANEOUS-PASSIVE-PRETERIT- HE, HE WAS CAUSED TO DRINK. Here the causative suffix precedes the passive, as is to be expected. Curiously enough, the same order is followed in causatives of passives, an indirective *-ŋqï-* coming in between the causative suffix and the passive *-tˑïˑ-*, e. g.:

maa'itʼˑuiŋkïtïˑv^{w}*aˑŋaraŋᴡᴀ* catch-cause-to-passive-shall-he-us, he will get us caught (lit., he will cause to us to be caught)

pᴀ^{x}*qa'ntʼuiŋqïtïˑtcaˑŋᴀ* kill-cause-to-passive-preterit-him, (he) caused him to be killed (for *-ntʼui-* cf. 12 above)

In other words, the passive suffix can not precede the causative. In the preceding examples the indirective is required to point to the logical object as the indirect object, the passive of the verb itself being apparently conceived of as the direct object, e. g. HE WILL-CAUSE-BEING-CAUGHT TO-US. That these forms are causatives of passives, not, as would be inferred from their appearance, passives of causatives, is proved by the absence of a plural subjective *-qˑa-* (see § 31, 1, c) in the first form above; this would be required if the fomr were to be understood as WE SHALL BE CAUSED TO BE CAUGHT BY HIM.

(14) *-tˑu'a-*^{s} (*-tʼˑua-*^{s}) impersonal. Verbs with impersonal subject or, less often, object refer either to an indefinitely defined person or to a collectivity, people in general. In the latter case, if used subjectively, it may be preceded by the pluralizing *-qˑa-* (§ 31, 1, c). The impersonal suffix is often employed as the equivalent of the passive, never simultaneously with it. It follows perfective *-qˑai-* and narrative preterit *-pˑï(a)γai-*, but precedes present *-yï-* and future *-vaˑ(nˑia)-* (see § 34). Curiously enough, present *-yï-* regularly

follows *-t·u'a-* even in preterit tense forms (cf. also *-p·ïa-γai-t̓·ua-yï-*; § 32, 8). As already noted (§ 19, 2, e), it is frequently accompanied by enclitic *-n·oa-*. Examples of subjective *-t·u'a-* are:

pᴀ'qa'ŋᴜt̓ua(i)yïaŋᴀ kill-momentaneous-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) kill him, he is being killed
pᴀ'pa'q·ᴀqwa'iŋup·ïγaɪ't̓ua(i)yïamï kill (distributive)- go-momentaneous-past-impersonal-present-them, people went to kill them
pᴀ'qa'ŋᴜqwaɪ't̓ua(i)yïaŋᴀ kill-momentaneous-perfective-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) killed him, he was killed
taʋι't̓·ua'amɪ hit-impersonal-thee, you (were) hit (by somebody)
ʉnι't̓·uava·q·ᴀ do-impersonal-shall-it, let some one do it
nï' pi̥nι'k̯·a.i ivi't·u'ᵃ I see drink-impersonal, I see some one drinking
tï'qa'q·ᴀt̓uayïr'uαn·uaxain·ι' eat-plural-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-indeed, it seems that people are eating

As impersonal object *-t·u'a-ˢ* seems to be used only indirectly after *-ŋqï-*, e. g.:

qa·'ŋqïtu'a(i)yïnɪ sing-to-impersonal-present-I, I sing with them (indef.)
naγu'q·wιŋqït̓·u'a(u)x·ᴜ fight-to-impersonal-when, when fighting (with people)
nï̥' o·'p̓·a' anι'ŋqït̓uaχw'ɔiva' I that-way do-to-impersonal-go-shall, I shall go to engage one thus
yaa'iŋqït̓uap·ïγa' hunt-to-impersonal-past, was hunting with the rest
naia'ŋwιŋqït̓·uαq·ˣᴀpïγa' play-hand-game-to-impersonal-plural-past, (they) played the hand game with people, the hand game was played with them

These examples show that *-ŋqï-t̓·ua-* generally denotes coöperation with a group. Moreover, the two suffixes form a close unit, as they occur before elements that would normally precede *-t·u'a-* alone (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO TO, narrative preterit *-p·ïγai-*, plural subject *-q·a-*); see above examples.

§ 30. Suffixes of verbal aspect.

By "aspect," a term borrowed from Slavic grammar, is here meant the temporal range of the action, i. e. its definition with respect to such concepts as momentaneousness, durativeness, inception, iteration. These and like concepts have no primary connection with the concept of relative time, which is the province of the temporal suffixes (§ 32).

Among the ideas expressed by aspect suffixes, those of momentaneousness and durativeness are the most important. Every verb has a durative and a momentaneous form, the former being generally the primary form of the verb, the latter expressed by internal consonant gemination, glottalization, reduplication, the suffixing of certain elements, or a combination of these. The durative, as its name implies, expresses continuous action, action conceived of as lasting for an appreciable length of time (e. g. TO DRINK); the momentaneous conceives of the action as taking but a moment of time (e. g. TO TAKE A DRINK). Following are a few preliminary examples of the distinction:

DURATIVE		MOMENTANEOUS	
qɔvɔ'q·wi-	to break	*qɔ'pɔ'q·wi-*	
naya'va-	to seem	*naya'p̓·a·-ŋu-*	
mantcu'γwi-na-	to crush	*mantcu'q·wi-n'na-*	
yaγa'-	to cry	*yaya'γa-*	to burst into tears
ivi'-	to drink	*ivi'-ŋu-*	
qwatca'-γa-	to splash about	*qwᴀ'tca'-q·i-*	to splash (once)
tïγai-	to take place	*tï'qa'ŋ'wi-*	
nɔntsi'-	to fly	*nɔntsi'-k·u-*	

The various methods of forming the momentaneous exemplified above are to be considered as more or less equivalent. No simple rules can be given for all cases. One simply has to learn, e. g., that such a form as **yaγa'ŋᴜpïγa'* is not in use, but that *yaya'x·ᴀpïγa'* must be employed.

The aspects that may be recognized in Paiute are the durative, the momentaneous, the inceptive, the iterative, the durative-iterative, the resultative, the usitative, and the continuative. Moreover, ideas that belong to the category of aspect are sometimes expressed by means of compounded verb-stems or suffixes of motion (e. g. the cessative by *-maup̓·a-*, § 18, 2, a; the continuative or durative by *-qarï-* TO SIT, *-q·wa'ai-* TO GO OFF, § 28, 2). A careful study of the nuances of aspect formation can hardly be given here. We shall simply list the various aspect suffixes with examples. For momentaneous (and inceptive) verbs formed by gemination or glottalization, see § 53, 2; by reduplication, § 58, 5. For iteratives formed by reduplication, with or without accompanying gemination, glottalization, or both, see § 58, 4.

(1) *-γa-*^{g} durative of active intransitive (mediopassive) verbs. By a mediopassive verb is meant one that expresses action without

definite agency, e. g. TO SHAKE (intr.), as contrasted with transitive TO SHAKE and passive TO BE SHAKEN. Sometimes -*γa*- seems to be used also with agentive active verbs. Examples of durative -*γa*- are:

nïntcï'γaiʿ (it) shakes
piyɔ'xwaiʿ (he) drags (it); *piyɔ'x·ᴀqιp·ïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ* he came home dragging (it)
yι'u'χwaiʿ moves around
yu'mu'x·(ᴡ)ᴀpïγaʿ (he) moved
qwιmpu'χwaiʿ (it) wiggles
si'yu'χwaiʿ slides

The momentaneous correlate of -*γa*- is -*q·i*- (see 3 below).

The element -*γa*-^{g} is very commonly employed in durative verbs expressing a continuous sound of some sort, e. g.:

ampa'γa- to talk
ṗo·'γux·ᴀpïγain·ιʿ there was a sound as of something going through (his) flesh (for -*n·ia*- in these and other -*γa*- verbs, see § 19, 2, d).
ẗïŋwa'vaγa- to make a noise
ki·'yuχwa(i)yïn·ιʿ makes a noise like rattling coins
pa·'raxa(i)yïn·ιʿ (rain) patters
qᴜʿpa'raχa- to pop in burning
pɔ·'n'nɔχwa(i)yïn·ιʿ sounds like drumming
no·'ruχwa(i)yïn·ιʿ sounds like a heavy object being dragged on a smooth level surface
pi'ŋkiχ̯a(i)yïn·ιʿ sounds like dripping water
si·'γ̯axan·i'iyïn·ιʿ makes a rustling noise (for -*n·i'i*-, see 12 below)

The momentaneous correlate of this -*γa*- also is -*q·i*- (or -*ŋqï*-).

(2) -*γi*-, (-*ŋqï*-) durative-iterative, chiefly of active intransitive, sometimes transitive, verbs. It is often transitivized by means of -*ŋqï*- (§ 29, 10). It differs from -*γa*- in conceiving of the action as not strictly continuous, but broken up into a rapid series. It differs from the normal iterative (expressed by reduplication) in that the repeated acts cohere into a single durative unit. Examples are:

taŋ'wï'tcιγιʿ keeps time by tapping with (his) foot
mavi'tsιγ̯ιʿ claps hands
qïnι'p·uχwιʿ (mouse) gnaws
tᴀʿpi'ŋ'ana'χιŋqïiʿ stamps (on the ground to make it smooth)
tᴀ^{x}qu'tsι'nιχuʿ puts feet into (shoes, stirrups)

mayu'm'muχwιʽ	pokes with (his) finger
tan·ï'ntcïχiʽ	keeps on shaking with (his) feet (cf. *nïntcïγa-* under a)
tʌˣqi'uγιŋqïqap·ïγaʽ	(they) chipped (it) into small pieces
ovʷo'q·waγ(ε)iʽ	(it) bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)
tuvʷa'γᵃitcai-	several pull out (intr.), emerge

Sound-verbs indicating a continuous series of sounds of like nature may also have the *-γi-* suffix, e. g.:

qᴜʽpa'ra·χ(ε)ik̯·a-	several pop (one after another)
wïnï'ruxwι-	to make a noise on the rasp
wa'a'uxwιʽ	barks
w'a'tcιγιŋᴜpïγaʽ	(he) whooped

A few such verbs have *-ŋqï-* instead of *-γi-*, e. g.:

pᴜʽqwι'aiŋqïyïn·ιʽ	(he) pants
puŋ'wi'ŋqïiʽ	(mouse, rat) makes a peeping noise
ki(y)ε'ŋqïiʽ	laughs

(3) *-q·i-* momentaneous, chiefly of active intransitive and medio-passive verbs. Transitive forms in *-q·i-ŋqï-*. Morphologically, *-q·i-* is the regular momentaneous correspondent of *-γi-*, formed from it by gemination (§ 53, 2 b); it contrasts with both *-γa-* and *-γi-* forms. Examples of its use are:

tʌʽpι''tcᴀqιŋqï'q·ᴡᴀ	to crush it by stepping on (it)
mι'na'q·ɪ	(one thing) break(s) off
tanï'ntcïqiŋqïpïγai(y)aq·ᴀ	(he) shook it by trampling once with (his) feet
mava't·ᴀˣqiŋqï	to burst by means of the hand
tᴀˣqι'ᴜˣqwιŋqïpïγaiᴀˣqa·'mï	they hit it so as to have (it) go to pieces
tᴜʽpa'q·ɪpïγaʽ	(one) pulled out (intrans.), emerged
tɔʽpa'q·ɪ	(one object) come(s) loose
si'yu'q·ᴡɪ	to slide, slip

Midway between properly momentaneous forms in *-q·i-* and durative forms in *-γa-* or *-γi-* are certain verbs in *-q·i-* with non-momentaneous form of stem, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. These may be termed durative-momentaneous. Examples of durative-momentaneous versus momentaneous forms are:

qɔvɔ'q·wι- to break (intr.): *qɔʽpɔ'q·wι-* to break instantaneously
paγa'q·(a)i- to tear slowly (but in one tear): *pʌʽqa'q·ι-* to tear

In such verbs -*q·i*- does not seem to alternate with -*γa*- and -*γi*-.

Verbs indicating a momentaneous sound also have a -*q·i*- suffix, e. g.:

kɪ^{x}k̯a'q·in·ιʻ	(it) makes a sound as of when something is thrust through paper
sa·'mᴜ^{x}qwiyïn·ιʻ	makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a well
qï·'k·in·ιʻ	(it) sounds like one tear of a rag
ᴜʻcu'q·wιʻ	whistles

(4) -*n·a*- durative transitive with singular object: -*n'na*- momentaneous transitive with singular object. See § 31, 2, b and c.

(5) -*ŋu*-^{n} momentaneous. This is by far the most common momentaneous suffix. It follows most verb stems and is also employed after many derivative and verbalizing suffixes. Examples are:

ivi-	to drink	*ivi'ŋᴜ*	to take a drink
maain·i-	to touch (duratively)	*maa'in·ιŋᴜ*	to touch (for a moment)
qwïï-	to take (one object)	*qwïï'ŋᴜ*	to pick up (one object)
maa·'vï'a-	to be dressed	*maa·'vï'aŋᴜ*	to dress (intrans.)
aŋqa-^{s}	to be red	*aŋqa'r'uaŋᴜ*	to turn red
pa(i)yi-	to return	*pa(i)yi'ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	returned (conceived as non-durative act)
un·i-	to do	*tcaγι'p· u̧nι'ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	near did-momentaneously, got near
tsip·i-	to appear, emerge	*ts·pι'ŋᴜpïγaʻ*	came out, (suddenly) appeared
ai-	to say	*a'iŋᴜpïγaʻ*	spoke out

In particular cases -*ŋu*-^{n} may take on an inceptive or cessative significance, but its true force is never intrinsically inceptive or cessative. Examples of these developments of the primary momentaneous idea are:

(a) *tɔγɔq·wi*-	to run	*tɔγɔ'q·wιŋuiʻ*	gets ready to run, starts to run
yaŋwi-	to carry	*yaŋwι'ŋᴜ*	to start to carry along
ivi-	to drink	*ivi'ŋuyïaŋᴀ*	he is about to drink, *ivi'ŋuχwaʻ* while about to drink
cυ·'yu-c·u-	(to be) one	*cυ·'yuŋuc·ᴜ*	to become one

(b) *cua-*	to consume	*cuɑ'ŋumïʻtsi'q·wᴀ*	after having finished eating it
ivi-	to drink	*ivi'ŋuntca·ŋᴀ*	he (just) finished drinking

These examples show that *-ŋu-*^{n} in the present (*-yï-*) may indicate a momentaneous (or inceptive) activity that is just about to take place (cf. the use of momentaneous forms in Russian to indicate the future). The idea of imminent activity is still more explicitly rendered by *-ŋuntsɩ-*, compounded of *-ŋu-*^{n} and diminutive *-(n)tsɩ-* (§ 35, 2). Thus, a form like *tïʻqa'ŋuntsɩ-* EAT-MOMENTANEOUS (INCEPTIVE)-LITTLE, TO BE A LITTLE OFF FROM BEGINNING TO EAT, easily comes to mean TO BE ABOUT TO EAT. Examples of pre-inceptive *-ŋuntsɩ-* are:

qᴜʻqwɩ'ŋuntsɩk̭·ɑnɪ	I am ready to shoot (for *-k̭·a-* see § 32, 2)
ya'uq·wɩŋuntsik·^{x}*ᴀ*	(the sun) is about to set
ᴀʻpï'iŋunts·k̭ɑnɪ	I am about to fall asleep, I am sleepy

(6) *-ŋ'wi-* momentaneous (intransitive). This suffix, which may be related to *-ŋu-*^{n}, occurs only in two or three verbs, its durative correlative being a rarely occurring *-i-* or, in one case, *-q·a-*. These verbs are:

Durative		Momentaneous	
tïγai-	to take place	*tïʻqaŋ'wi-*	
piyai-	to be left over	*piyaŋ'wi-*	
cuwaq·a-	to breathe	*cuwaŋ'wi-*	to take a long breath

(7) *-q·u-*, *-q̇·u-* momentaneous; inceptive. This element, like *-ŋu-*^{n}, seems to be primarily momentaneous in significance and in a number of verbs is used instead of *-ŋu-*^{n}. Some verbs have both *-ŋu-*^{n} and *-q·u-* forms, generally with some idiomatic difference of meaning. In many cases, moreover, *-q·u-* is a properly inceptive element, as in durative-inceptive *-γa-q·u-*. What nuance of meaning differentiates *-q·u-* and *-q̇·u-* is not clear. Presumably *-q̇·u-* is more definitely momentaneous in character (see § 53, 2, a, 3); as inceptive it probably indicates a sharp moment of beginning.

Examples of momentaneous *-q·u-* are:

pᴀ^{x}*qa-*	to beat, kill	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'q·u-*	to give a licking: *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋu-* to kill
wï'ï-	to fall	*wï'ï'q·u-*	to drop down, fall out

tᴜʻpʷi-	to be used up	*tᴜʻpʷi'k·u-*	to become used up
'i'(ʏ)ᴜpa'-	to go by here	*'i'(ʏ)ᴜpa'q·ᴜ*	to have (just) gone by here
tsip·i-	to appear, emerge	*ts·pi'ꝁ·u-*	to ride (a horse): *ts·pi'ŋu-* to emerge
ai-	to say	*a'ik̥·ᴀˣqu-*	say-plural-momentaneous, each in his turn say(s)
nana-	to grow up	*nana'q·umï·-*	to finish growing, to have grown up (for *-mï·-* see 13)

An inceptive meaning is more clearly discernible in:

nɔ·-	to carry on one' back	*nɔ'ɔ'q·ᴜpïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ*	started to carry them on (his) back
ivi-	to drink	*ivi'ꝁ·u'uq·ᴡᴀ*	to start to drink it
marïn·a-	to chase	*mari'n'aq·ᴜ*	to (start to) chase, to give chase
qᴀʻqa'rï-	to run away	*qᴀʻqa'r'ïq·ᴜ*	to jump off to run away
yaŋwi-	to carry	*yaŋ'wɪ'ꝁ·u'q·ᴡᴀ*	to take it away, carry it off
pɔrɔ-	several proceed	*pɔru'q·ᴜpïγaʻ*	(they) started off
ɴᴜˣqwi'-	to flow	*ɴᴜˣqwɪ'k·ᴜpïγaʻ*	started to flow
ᴀʻpï'i-	to sleep	*ᴀʻpï'ik·ˣᴜ*	to fall asleep
ɔrɔŋwi-	to roar	*ɔrɔ'ŋwɪk·ᴜ*	to start roaring
qanɪntcu-	to make a wickiup	*qanɪ'ntcᴜqup·ïγaʻ*	started to make a wickiup
maa·'vï'a-	to be dressed	*maa·'vï'aq·ᴜ*	to begin to dress
ampaγa-	to talk	*ampa'χaq·ᴜ*	to begin to talk

Analogous to *-ŋuntsɪ-* (see 5) is *-q·untsɪ-*, which occurs less frequently. An example is:

nïntcï'γaq·ᴜ	to begin to shake	*nïntcï'x·ᴀqᴜ(·)ntsɪk·ˣᴀ*	(it) is just about to shake

(7a) *-q·wi-*. This suffix seems to occur as a correlative to momentaneous *-q·u-* in *tᴜʻpʷi-k·wi-* TO BE USED UP (cf. *tᴜʻpʷi-k·u-* TO GET USED UP < *tup·ʷi-* TO BE USED UP, TO BE WITHOUT REMAINDER), e. g.: *tᴜʻpʷɪ'k·wɪyïaq·ᴀ* it is used up; *tᴜʻpʷɪ'k·wɪtca·q·ᴀ* it has been used up; *nï' tᴜʻpʷɪ'k·ᴡɪt̓uiq·ᴡᴀ* I cause them (inan.) to be used up, I use them up

(8) *-mιk·u-* inceptive of verbs of continuous movement. The normal inceptive of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4) would be *-m'miaq·u-*, which is sometimes found, e. g.:

qa·'mιa-	to sing along	*qa·''mιaq·ᴜ*	to start singing

More typical, however, are forms in *-mιk·u-*, e. g. :

qarïm'mia-	to ride along	*qarï'm·ιk·ᴜ*	to ride off
ᴀʽsι'a·ʀᴜ^{x}qwa·γιm'mia-	to move along under the surface	*ᴀʽsι'a·ʀᴜ^{x}qwa·γιmɪʽkup·ïγaʽ*	started to travel under the surface
qa·m'mia-	to sing along	*qa·'m·ɪʽqup·ïγaʽ*	started in to sing (along)
yaŋwιm'mia-	to carry along	*yqwι'mɪʽquaq·ᴀ*	take and carry it along
unιm'mia-	to do so while moving along	*ųnι'mɪʽqup·ïγaʽ*	started to move on in so doing

(9) *-q·ai-* resultative. This suffix indicates a durative state or activity which is the result of the action predicated by the verb stem; e. g. TO HOLD as resultative of TO GRASP. Resultative verbs are very common in Paiute. Examples are:

tca'ai-	to catch	*tca'a'ik̭·ai-*	to hold (in one's hand)
uŋwai-	to hang (trans.)	*uŋwa'ɪk̭ai-*	to be hanging, to hang (intr.)
maain·i-	to touch	*maa'inɪʽk̭ai-*	to have one's hand on
yaŋwi-	to carry	*yaŋwι'k̭·ai-*	to have in one's hand
wïʽtu'v^{w}ua-	to cover	*wïʽtu'v^{w}uaq·ai-*	to have (one's eyes, hands, or other part of body) covered
qïʽca'ra·-	to open one's mouth	*qïʽca'ra·q·ai-*	to have one's mouth open
pin'nara·-	to spread one's legs apart in bow-legged manner	*pin'na'ra·q·ai-*	to stand bow-legged
sɔtsι-ŋu-	to take a peep	*sɔtsι'k̭·ai-*	to peep (duratively)
tïγai-	to take place	*tïγa'ɪʽk̭ai-*	to continue
cɔ·ya·-	to bend (intr.)	*cɔ·'ik̭·ai-*	to be bent
aγan·i-	to do in what manner? how?	*aγa'n·ɪ^{z}k̭ai-*	to be how?
an·i-	to do thus	*ani'k̭·ai-*	to be thus, to remain so

The active participle of *-q·ai-* is *-q·antï-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 25, 6, d), e. g.:

ʿa·'ɪnɪk̯·ai-	to be silent	*ʿa·''ɪnɪk̯·antï*	one who is silent

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§ 55, 1, e) resultative *-q·ai-* appears as *-q·a·-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b), e. g.:

ųnik̯·ai-	to be doing	*ųni'k̯·a·q·oaŋᴀ*	while (he) was doing so to him
ųnɪt́·uik̯·ai-	to cause to be (do) so	*ųnɪ't́·ïik̯·a·q̇·uŋᴡᴀ*	as he has caused to do so

Note that in causatives of resultatives, causative *-t́·ui-* precedes resultative *-q·ai-* instead of following it, as one would logically expect; cf. causatives of passive verbs (§ 29, 13).

(10) *-m·i-*^{n}, *-m·ia-* usitative. As its name implies, the usitative is used to indicate customary activity. The form in *-m·ia-* is used as a usitative present (without *-yï-* suffix; see § 32, 1), the form in *-m·i-*^{n} in all other cases.

Examples of the usitative present in *-m·ia-* are:

ai-	to say	*a'im·ɪᴀ*	always says, is in habit of saying
ɴᴀʿcï'm^{w}*ïa-*	to forget	*ɴᴀʿcï'm*^{w}*ïamɪ(y)a·q·ᴀ*	keeps forgetting it
aro'a-	to be	*aro''amiᴀ*	always is, is wont to be
tïʿqa-	to eat	*tïʿqa'mɪ(y)a'amï*	they 2 are wont to eat
qan·ɪχ̯ai-	to house-have, dwell	*qan·ɪ'χ̯aim·ɪa'mï*	they 2 always live

Examples of *-m·i-*^{n} are:

ųnɪ-	to do	*ųnɪ'm·ɪmpa·n·ɪanɪ*	I shall always do so
avi-	to lie down	*avi'm·ɪmpatcï*	having always been wont to lie down (apparently stresses duration of wonted act more than regular usitative participle *avi'vatcï* wont to lie down, § 25, 6, c)
tᴜ^{x}*qwɪ''ai-*	to be ashamed	*tᴜ*^{x}*qwɪ''aimɪntï*	always being ashamed

tv·^{u}'ai-	to reject (a suitor)	*tv·'^{u}'aim·intï*	always rejecting a suitor
pitcï-	to arrive	*pi'tcïm·iŋḳa*ʽ	while wont to return
ts·piŋu-	to go out	*ts·pi'ŋum·iŋq̇uŋwᴀ*	each time that he went out (*-ŋu-m·i-*^{n} momentaneous usitative)
maγa-	to give	*maγa'mɪpïγa*ʽ	(he) used to give
pa(i)yï-	to return	*pa(i)yü'ŋum·ιp·ïγa*ʽ	always returned
nïv^{w}a'tcuγwaq·ι-	to come to me	*nïv^{w}a'tcuγwaq·ιmiŋwa'^{a}*	never to come to me

Beside usitative preterits in *-m·ip·ïγai-* are used also forms in *-m·inïmpïγai-* (see 11 below); e. g. *yaa'imɪpïγa*ʽ or *yaa'im·inïmpïγa*ʽ USED TO HUNT. It is not obvious what difference in meaning, if any, there is between usitative participles in *-vatcï-* (§ 25, 6, c) and *-m·intï-*. Curiously enough, participles in *-tï-* may also be made usitative by suffixed *-m·ia-*, e. g.:

quna'q·aχantïmι̥'aq·wᴀ fire-plural-having-usitative-it, those who have it as fire

(11) *-n·ï-*^{n} usitative, used only before past passive participle *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b) and its temporal derivative *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6). Contrary to phonetic rule, not *-n·ïp·ï(γai)-* results, but *-n·ïmpï(γai)-*.

Examples of usitative passive participial *-n·ïmpï-* are:

pïnι''nu'ιnïmpïᴀ	(things) always seen about (obj.)
ma'in'ιŋunïmpïq̇·wanɪ	my always saying it (song form)

The common use of *-n·ïmpï-* as a means of forming instrumental nouns has been already discussed (§ 25, 2).

Examples of *-n·ïmpïγai-*, the usitative form of the narrative past, are:

ųnι-	to do	*ųnι'nïmpïγa*ʽ	kept doing
uru'a-	to be	*uru''an·ïmpïγa*ʽ	always was
qarï-	to sit, dwell	*qarï'nïmpïγa*ʽ	was living, dwelt (right along)
ɔra-	to dig	*ɔra'n·ïmpïγa*ʽ	used to dig

The suffix may be preceded, as we have already seen, by the common usitative suffix *-m·i-* (see 10 above). Examples of the combined *-m·inïmpïγai-* are:

kᴡɪʽpa-	to throw	*kᴡɪʽpa'minïmpïγaʽ*	always threw
ai-	to say	*a'iminïmpïγaʽ*	always kept saying
aiŋu-	to say (momentaneously)	*a'iŋum·inïmpïγaʽ*	said each time

There is little, if any, perceptible difference in usage between the forms *-m·ip·ïγai-*, *-nïmpïγai-* and *-m·inïmpïγai-*. It may be pointed out, however, that *-nïmpïγai-* does not seem to occur after momentaneous *-ŋu-*, which requires a following *-m·i-*. This may imply that the *-nï-*^{n} usitative tends to have a more strictly durative character than *-m·i-*^{n}, which in turn may have a momentaneous -iterative color.

(12) *-n'ni-*^{s} (*-ni'i-*^{s}) continuative. This is a common durative suffix that, with verbs of movement, shades into a significance not very different from that of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4). It seems best defined as a continuative, equivalent in meaning to such English locutions as TO KEEP -ING, TO BE -ING. It refers to an act consummated at one period, not, like the usitative, to one which is repeated at intervals. Examples are:

nɔntsι-	to fly	*nɔntsι'n'nιʽ*	flies around
qa·-	to sing	*qa·'n·'ιʽ*	sings along, sings while walking
ki(y)ɛ-	to laugh	*ki(y)ɛ'n'nιʽ*	is laughing
tsip·i-	to ride	*ts·pi'n·'iʽ*	is riding around
an·i-	to do	*i(y)ɛ'nuan ʽanι'n'nιʽ*	here-I do-continuative, here I am; *ʽan·i'-n'nintcï* one who keeps doing
pïni-	to look	*pïni'n'nιp·ïγaʽ*	kept on looking
moi-	to lead	*moi'n'nip·ïγai(y)aŋᴀ*	he led around; *moi'n'niχ̯wa'*^{a} go lead around!
qara'xa-	(there is) noise of rawhide	*qara'xan·i'iyïn·ιʽ*	(it) makes a noise as of rawhide

Another form of this suffix is *-n·i·-*^{s} or, with preceding glottal stop, -' . . *.n·i·-*^{s}. These elements seem to differ from the more common *-n'ni-*, partly in reinforcing the idea of plurality or distribution of the subject, partly in conveying a usitative implication. The matter is not altogether clear, however. Examples are:

anιk̯·a-	several do	*anι'k̯·ani·*^{i}*χ̯aʽ*	while (they) do so

i'i'n·i- to do like this	*i'i'n·ini·*^{i}*väʻcampani(·*^{i}*)χ̯a'*^{a} this-do-continuative-future-just-me-then! let me just keep doing like this (regularly)!
ïmpïn'i- to be resting raised on (something)	*ïmpï'n'ini·*^{i}*ntcï* being (permanently) raised on (something)
nampïni- to look for tracks	*nampï'n'ini·*^{i}*χ̯aʻ* while looking for tracks
ɔʻtca'nɔ·ntsι- to carry (diminutively, § 35) a water-jar	*ɔʻtca'n'ɔ·ntn̥ni·*^{i}*väʻ* shall always be carrying a water-jar

(13) *-mï·-* (*-mï-*) ALREADY, AFTER. This suffix indicates that the activity predicated by the verb stem has already been attained and is thus either past (if momentaneous) or in progress (if durative). Examples are:

tïʻqa- to eat	*tïʻqa'm·ï·yïaŋ ʻɔaiʻ* he is eating already (for *ʻɔaiʻ* see § 60, 3)
pitcï- to arrive	*pιtcι'mïntca·ŋ ʻɔaiʻ* he has already arrived
u̯nik̭·a- several do	*u̯ni'k̭·aŋum·ï·q·a·mï* after they had all done so
qUʻtsι'k·ιk̭aŋu- all burn (momentaneous)	*qUʻtsι'k·ιk̭aŋumïʻtsinι* after having (plur. subj.) burned me

§ 31. Suffixes of number.

Number is expressed in the verb in four different ways: 1, by reduplication, properly a distributive formation but frequently expressing plurality of subject or subject (see § 58, 3); 2, by the use of distinctive stems for the singular and plural, a few of the plural stems being used only as second members of verb + verb compounds (see § 54); 3, by the use of suffixes indicating plurality of the subject or, less commonly, of the object; 4, by the use of suffixes expressing ideas of number and voice (transitiveness and intransitiveness) at the same time. Only the last two processes are here discussed.

Even aside from pronominal elements, it is always possible to tell from the form of a verb whether its animate subject is singular or plural, often, also, whether its object is singular or plural. Verbs with a dual subject are singular in form, but are differentiated in practice from singulars by their employment of plural (or, in two cases, distinctively dual) pronominal elements (§ 40). Thus, *qarï'yïaŋᴀ* HE SITS, *qarï'yïamï* THEY 2 SIT, *yuγwι'yïamï* THEY (MORE THAN 2) SIT; *ivi'yïnɪ* I DRINK, *ivi'yïnïm(ʷ)ɪ* WE 2 (EXCLUSIVE) DRINK, *ivi'k̯·ayïnïm(ʷ)ɪ* WE (MORE THAN 2, EXCLUSIVE) DRINK.

(1) Suffixes indicating plurality.

(a) *-'ŋwa-* plural subject. This element occurs very rarely, e. g.:

ts·tsι'p·i- one keeps coming out (§ 58, 4, c)	*ts·tsι'p̓·ιŋwaŋᴜ* many come out (momentaneous)

(b) *-t·ï-* plural object. This element also is very uncommon. It occurs, e. g., in:

qïni'vuχwιy'ïq·ᴡᴀ (he) nibbles at it	*qïni'vuχwιt·ïy'ïq·ᴡᴀ* (he) nibbles at them

(c) *-q·a-ˢ* animate plural subject. This is the typical suffix for the formation of verbs with animate plural subject. Examples of its use are:

cu(w)a'p·itci- to wake up	*cu(w)a'p·itciq·ᴀ* several wake up
qa·- to sing	*qa·'q·a(i)yïamï* they sing
taŋa- to kick	*taŋa't·ï·q·atcaraŋwᴀ* we were all kicked
ai- to say	*a'ik·ˣᴀpïγa'* (they) said
ivi'tcï one drinking	*ivi'k̯·arïmï* those drinking
ųnι- to do so	*ųnι'k̯·aγuc·uamï* after they were doing so; *ųnι'k̯·aŋumïⁱts·* after (they) had done so
nana'ruγwa(i)yïaq·ᴀ (they 2) give it to each other	*nana'ruγwαq·a(i)yïaq·ᴀ* (they) give it to each other
ᴍᴜˣqwi'χ̯ava(i)yï- to return from calling on	*ᴍᴜˣqwi'χ̯avaɪˣk̯ap·ïγa'aiŋwᴀ* (they) returned from calling on him
ɴᴜˣqwi'ŋqw'aip·ïγa' ran along	*ɴᴜˣqwi'k̯·aχwa'aip·ïγa'* several ran along
naiαŋwιŋqï- to play the hand-game with	*naiα'ŋwιŋqïq·anïmɪ* (for several) to play the hand-game with us

For the use of plural *-q·a-* in noun forms see § 48, 2.

(2) Suffixes indicating voice and number.

(a) *-tcai-* plural (or distributive) intransitive (medio-passive). It is frequently added to distributive *-γi-* (§ 30, 2) or replaces singular momentaneous *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3). The form of the stem is regularly durative, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. For a change of the singular vowel to *-i-* in the plural, see § 53, 1, b. Examples are:

yauq·wi-, yauq·wa·- one enters, goes into (e. g. flesh); sun sets	*ya'uγwιtcai-* several go into
qʌʻpa'-q·i- one (thing) stops	*qavι'tcai-* several stop
paγa'-q·(ε)i- (it) tears (slowly); *pʌʻqa'-q·i-* (it) tears (at once)	*paγ(a')itcai-* several articles tear (intr.), (clothes, hat, moccasins) are torn in several places, are worn out; *paγ(a')itcaiŋu-* (clothes) wear out
ɔʻpa'q·ι-tcï having a hole (lit., hole-ripping)	*ɔv*^{w}*a'xιtcaitcï* having holes (lit., hole-rip-several-participle)
qɔvɔ'-q·wi- (it) breaks (slowly); *qɔʻpɔ'-q·wi-* (it) breaks (at once)	*qɔvι'tcai-* several break; *qɔvι'tcaip·ï* broken (arrows)
tɔʻpa'-q·i- one (tooth, tree) comes loose	*tɔvι'tcai-* several come loose
tïʻpa'-q·i- one emerges	*tïv*^{w}*ι'tcaiŋu-* several emerge, come out (momentaneously)
tυʻpa'-q·i- one pulls out, comes through	*tuv*^{w}*a'x(a)itcaiŋu-* several pull out
-qap·i-n'na- to cut (trans.) in one cut; *-qavi-n·a-* to cut (trans.) duratively (for *-n'na-*, *-n·a-* see b below)	*qavι'tcaiŋu-* several (bows) snap
yι'a'q·a·- one goes in	*yι'a'χιtcaiŋu-* several go in
(*ïrï'q·ι-tcï* ledge)	*tavι'-ïrïγι-tcaai* there are spots of sunlight (poetic)

Observe that the momentaneous form of *-tcai-* is *tcai-ŋu-*.

(b) *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(c) *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(d) *-tca-* transitive with plural (chiefly inanimate) object; also used as transitive distributive.

These three elements are best treated together. *-n·a-* may be considered the transitive (inanimate) correspondent of *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-n'na-* of *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3); *-tca-* of *-tcai-* (a above), with which it is evidently connected (like *-tcai-*, *-tca-* is regularly accompanied by durative consonantism in the stem). Examples are:

ts·k̭a′p·in’ɴᴀ to cut in one cut: *ts·k̭a′vina-* to cut (one object): *ts·k̭a′vitca-* to cut several objects
qï‘qo′ï’naï‘ takes off (momentaneously) with the teeth: *tcᴀˣqo′inaï‘* takes off one article of clothing: *tcᴀˣqo′itcaï‘* takes off several articles of clothing
tᴀ‘qɔ′p·in’ɴᴀ to break an object by stepping on (cf. *qɔ‘pɔ′-q·wi-* to break, intr.)
tɔ‘to′p·in’ɴᴀ to pull out one (cf. *tᴜ‘pa′q·i-* one object pulls out): *tɔ‘to′vιtca-* to pull out several objects
wï‘pa′q·ιn’ɴᴀ to rip open (cf. *pᴀ‘qa′-q·i-* to tear intr.): *tɔ‘pa′γιtca-* to rip open in several places, *tcᴀ‘pa′γ(a)itca-* to tear (one) to pieces
mantcu′q·win’ɴᴀ to crush (an object) all at once: *mantcu′γwina-* to crush (an object)
s·kι′n’naï‘ turns (his) head to one side
narι′tsιn’aï‘ joins (one object to another)
wi’(y)α′ŋqï·n’a- to cut notches into (a piece of wood), to make a rasp
ts·qwï′rι’na- to rake out one with a stick: *ts·qwï′ritca-* to rake out several (animals or plants) with a stick
tsιya′ᴜqwa- to push one in with a point: *tsιya′uχwιtca-* to push many in with a point

A number of verbs in *-n’na-* are formed from noun and adjective-verb stems to express the idea of ʟᴀʏɪɴɢ ᴏɴ, ᴘᴀɪɴᴛɪɴɢ, e. g.:

aŋqa-	to be red	*aŋqa′n’ɴᴀ‘pïγa′aik·ᴡᴀ*	(he) painted it (primarily, but not necessarily, red)
saγwa-	to be blue	*saγwa′n’naï‘*	paints (it) blue
san·a-	gum	*san·a′n’naï‘*	smears on gum

§ 32. Temporal suffixes.

Not all verbs have a definite temporal form. The use of absolute or tenseless verb forms is discussed in § 51, 2. Besides the temporal suffixes here discussed, two of the enclitic elements express temporal relations (§ 19, 1).

(1) *-yï-* present tense. The great majority of verbs express a specific reference to present time by means of this suffix. Examples are:

qa·- to sing	*qa·i*ʿ sings (< *qa·yï-*); *qa·'yïamï* they 2 sing; *qa·'ʏïcampanɪ* even though I sing
tïʿqa- to eat	*tïʿqa'(i)yïnɪ* I eat
aiyaru- to make a turtle	*aiya'ruyunɪ* I make a turtle (< *-ruyï-*)
ivi- to drink	*ivi'yïro'ᵃ* dost thou drink?
pᴜʿtcu'tcuγwa- to know	*pᴜʿtcu'tcuγwa'yïq·ᴡᴀ* knows it

(2) *-q·a-* present and past tense. A number of verbs, some of them of extremely common occurrence, are used not with *-yï-*, but with *-q·a-*, which refers indifferently to present or past time. Perhaps the *-q·a-* forms are best considered as the equivalents of tenseless absolutes in other verbs. These verbs are *aι-* TO SAY, *an·ιa-* TO SAY WHAT?, verbs of doing in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3), and diminutive verbs in *-(n)tsι-* (§ 35, 2). Examples are:

ai- to say	*ʿani'αn ʿa'ik·ˣᴀ* what-I said?; *ta·'mpinia·ŋ a'ik·ˣᴀ* tired-of-what-he says; *qatc a'ik̭·anɪ* not I-said; *a'ik·ˣᴀcampan·ianɪ* say-only-like-I, I think so
an·ia- (to say) what?	*nï' anι'ᴀˣqanι*ʿ I say-what?-like, what do I care?; *anι'ᴀˣ-qa' nïru'x·ᴡᴀ* say-what?-thou me-to, what did you say to me?
an·i- to do so, be so	*ma'iχ̭ain ani'k·ˣᴀ* so-saying-I so-do, I do as I say; *na'a'int ur anι'k·ˣᴀ* burning it does-so, it is something burning
un·i- to do so, be so	*ιmp u̜nι'k·ˣᴀ nu'yu'xaxa*ʿ what does-so moving? what is it that moves?
aγan·i- to do what? to act how?	*aγa'n·ɪˣk̭a·ŋᴀ* what did he do?
qa·tsι- to sing (diminutive subject)	*qa·'ts·k̭a·ŋᴀ* a little fellow is singing
yaγaγarï- to sit and cry	*yaγa(·)'γarïtsιk·ˣᴀ* is sitting and crying, poor fellow

That this *-q·a-* is often equivalent to *-yï-* is shown clearly in such a sentence as *nï' nam·ï'xanintcu(i)ʏï, muri'ᴀ sa'aï*ʿ, *tïˣqa'(i)'yïq·ᴡᴀ, u̜nιts a'ik̭· u̜mu'rux·ᴡᴀ tïγι'aŋwïᴀ* I FIRST-HOUSE-BUILD, BEANS BOIL, EAT-THEM, THEN SAY TO-THEM DEER.

(3) *-q·ai-* perfective. This suffix is very frequently employed as a preterital element, its main point of difference from enclitic *-(n)tca-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1) being its emphasis on the idea of completion. Examples are:

ᴀʻpï′i-	to sleep	*ᴀʻpï′ɪk̯ai(y)aŋᴀ*	he slept, has been asleep
ivi′c·uaŋᴜtï·-	(water) is drunk up	*ivi′c·uaŋᴜtïɪ^{x}qaʻ*	(water) has been drunk up
na’a′it·ᴜʻp^{w}ik·u-	to burn up	*na’a′it·ᴜʻp^{w}ik·ᴜqwaʻ*	(it) has burnt up
aχa′n·iŋu-	to act how (momentaneously)? to have what happen to one?	*aχa′n·ɪŋuq·wai’^{i}*	what happened to you?
pᴀ^{x}qa′ŋu-	to kill	*pᴀ^{x}qa′ŋᴜqwa’aiŋwα’*	maybe you have killed him (*-qwa’ai-* broken from *-q·[w]ai-*)
yaa′iŋqw’ai-	to go out hunting	*yaa′iŋqw’aik̯·aʻ*	went out hunting.

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§55, 1, e), *-q·ai-* appears as *-q·a·-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 30, 9); e. g. *yaa′iŋqw’aik̯·a·q·oaŋᴀ* AFTER HE HAD GONE OUT HUNTING. For perfective participial *-q·antï-*, see § 25, 6, d. Though perfectly analogous in treatment to resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9) and perhaps etymologically related to it, it is in practice felt as a distinct element, as shown by the occurrence of *-q·aik̯·ai-* resultative-perfective, e. g.:

tɔγɔ′tsiáť·ui-	to cause to cover over on top	*tɔγɔ′tsiáť·uk̯·aik̯·aʻ*	had (evidently) been caused to cover over on top

The perfective idea frequently takes on an inferential implication. An explicit inferential present-perfect (HAS EVIDENTLY -ED) is formed by combining perfective *-q·ai-* with present *-yï-*: *-q·aiyï-*. In general it seems that perfective *-q·ai-* regularly implies lack of direct knowledge on the part of the speaker, differing in this respect from enclitic *-(n)tca-* (§ 19, 1, a). Examples of inferential *-q·ai(yï)-* are:

ivi-	to drink	*ivi′k̯·aip·ɪ*	what was evidently drunk (by someone)
qa·q·a-	several sing	*qa·′q·ᴀqaiyïamï*	maybe they *did* sing

qa·χw'ai to go to sing	*qa·'χw'aiḵ̑·aiyïaŋᴀ* he has evidently gone to sing (known from inferential evidence)
ᴀ'pï'iva(i)yɩ- to come back from sleeping, to have been sleeping (§ 18, 1, a)	*ᴀ'pï'ivai^{x}ḵ̑ai(y)aŋᴀ* he has evidently been sleeping

(4) *-va·-*^{n}, *-mpa·-*^{n} future, intentive. In ordinary indicative forms this element generally adds an intentive or hortatory force to its fundamental future significance (contrast *-va·n·ia-*, *-mpa·n·ia-* below, 5). In other forms, such as gerunds in *-tsɩ-* (§ 55, 1, a) and participles (§ 25, 6, b), it seems to indicate mere futurity. It is used also in simple future statements that are conditional on other acts. Examples of *-va·-*^{n} are:

qa·- to sing	*qa·'va·nɪ* I'll sing; *qa·'va·ŋᴀ* he'll sing, let him sing!
pï̜nɩ'ḵ̑·ai- to see	*pï̜nɩ'ḵ̑·aiva·ŋanɪ* I'll see him, let me see him!
u̜nɩt'·ua- some one does	*u̜nɩ't'·uava·q·ᴀ* let someone do it!
tï'qa- to eat	*tï'qa'va·p·ɪ* what will (always) be eaten
patcaq·wa·- to get wet	*patca'q·wa·^{a}va'* (if it rains, he) will get wet
tɔγɔq·wi- to run	*tɔγɔ'q·wɩva'* (if I hit him, he) will run
yaya'xa- to burst into tears	*ini't·uγwa'^{a} yaya'xava·n uru'ac·ᴜ* this-away-thou cry (momentaneous, § 58, 5, c)-will-I else (§ 60, 3); go away or I'll cry

Examples of *-mpa·-*^{n} are:

pᴀ'qa'ŋu-^{n} to kill	*pᴀ^{x}qa̜'umṗa·ŋwa'^{a}* you'll kill him; *pᴀ^{x}qa'ŋumpa·p·ɪ* who will be killed
aiŋu-^{n} to say (momentaneously)	*a'iŋumpaᴀcunɪ* let me say again!
ɔvaq·aŋu-^{n} several pull out	*ɔva'q·aŋ·umpa·c·ᴜ* (let us) pull (them) out again

These suffixes may be combined with narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (6 below) or dubitative *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* (see § 33, 2). The former, *-va·p·ïγai-* (*-mpa·p·ïγai-*), indicates an act in the past looking towards the future. Examples are:

qᴜ‘qwι-	to shoot	*qᴜ‘qwι'va·p·ïγain'nι'aŋᴡᴀ*	shoot-will-past-like-him, (acted) as though about to shoot him
pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋu-*^{n}	to kill	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋumpa·mpï·(*$^{\gamma}$*)aŋᴀ*	maybe (he) will kill him

(5) *-va·n·ia-*, *-mpa·n·ia-* future indicative. In contrast to *-va·-*^{n} (*-mpa·-*^{n}), from which it is evidently derived, this suffix indicates the simple future. Examples of *-va·n·ia-* are:

taŋa-	to kick	*taŋa'va·n·ι‘*	will kick
maai-	to find	*impï'αn maa'ivä·n·ι‘*	what-I find shall? what shall I find?

Of *-mpa·n·ia-*:

pᴀ‘qa'ŋu-^{n}	to kill	*pᴀ‘qa'ŋumpa·n·ι'αmɪ*	I'll kill you
ųnιm·ι-^{n}	to be wont to do	*ųnι'm·ιmpa·n·ιanɪ*	I shall always do
'i'ʏᴜṗa·-	to go through here	*'i'ʏᴜṗa·mpa·n·ι‘*	he will go through here
yɔɔ'iχ̯a-	to move, flutter	*yɔɔ'iχ̯ampa·n·ι‘*	(it)will move

(6) *-p·ïγai-* remote past, narrative past. This is the element regularly employed in mythical narrative. Narrative referring to a relatively recent past makes use of enclitic *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1, b). Without doubt *-p·ïγai-* is compounded of past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b) and verbalizing *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). This is shown partly by the fact that *-p·ïγai-* is treated analogously to *-γai-* (e. g. participial *-p·ïγantï-*, § 25, 6, e; negative *-p·ï'ai-*, § 57, 2, c), partly by the fact that *-p·ï-* and *-γai-* may become disconnected (e. g. *-p·ï-a-γai-*, see 8 below, diminutive *-p·ï-tsι-γai-*). Hence a form like *a'ip·ïγa‘* SAID is to be analyzed as SAY-PAST PASSIVE PARTIC.-HAVE, HAS SAID. In other words, Paiute *-p·ïγai-* forms are formally the synthetic analogues of English perfects; the functions do not quite correspond in the two languages, however.

Examples of *-p·ïγai-* are:

qarï-	to sit, dwell	*qarï'p·ïγa‘*	sat, dwelt, *qarï'p·ï-γ'aimï* they 2 dwelt
tɔna-	to strike	*tɔna'p·ïγainɪ*	struck me (long ago)
qanιχ̯ai-	to have a house	*nï' qanι'χ̯aip·ïγa‘*	I had a house

pᴀʽqa'ŋᴜtï·-	to be killed	*pᴀʽqa'ŋᴜtï'pïγaiχ̯ᴜ·aŋaχa'* *ʽɔq̯iʽ* kill-passive-past-irrealis-he-then! (§ 19, 2, b), I wish he had been killed

It may be combined with a preceding inferential perfective *-q·ai-*, e. g.

ya'ai-	to die	*ya'a'ik̯·aip·ïγaitcɔaŋaxain·ιʽ* die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-indeed, he seems to have (evidently) died (long ago)

Examples of diminutive *-p·ïtsιγai-* are:

qa·-	to sing	*qa·'p·ïtsιχ̯aʽ* a little fellow sang
wan·aru-	to make a rabbit-net	*wan·a'ʀᴜpïtsιγaic·ᴜ* (the boy) made a rabbit-net again

For *-mpïγai-* after usitative *-n·ï-*^{n}, see § 30, 11. Rarely *-mpïγai-* is found as sporadic variant instead of *-p·ïγai-*; e. g. *ɔ'a'x·avatcuγwampïγaʽ* WENT RIGHT INTO IT.

(7) *-p·ïayï-* HAS BEEN -ED. This passive narrative past is evidently compounded of past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a), and present *-yï-* (1 above). TO HAVE BEEN KILLED (BY ONE), therefore, as expressed by *-p·ïayï-*, seems literally to mean TO BE ONE'S KILLED ONE. It seems to differ from the normal passive narrative past (*-t·ï·p·ïγai-*) in more definitely implying an agent and perhaps also in referring to a continued state in the present. Examples are:

pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋu-*	to kill	*pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋᴜpïaiʽ* was killed (long ago by people and is now dead)
qwïγwïï-	several take (one person)	*qwïγï'x·pïa(i)yïaŋᴀ* he was taken (long ago by them and is there now)

(8) *-p·ï(a)γait'·uayï-* impersonal narrative past. Forms of this sort, compounded of narrative past *-p·ïγai-*, impersonal *-t'·ua-*, and present *-yï-*, have been already referred to (§ 29, 14). What difference there is between the *-p·ïγai-* and the *-p·ïaγai-* forms with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) is not clear. As for the use of the present *-yï-*, it is very likely that the *-γai-* of *-p·ïγai-*, when final, is to be understood as

including a reference to present time (cf. lack of *-yï-* after *-γai-* TO HAVE, § 26, 1, b, which implicitly refers to present time) and that this implied *-yï-* needs to be expressed after an inserted *-ť·ua-*. In other words, *-γai-* and *-γai-yï-* have fallen together to *-γai-*, but *-γaiť·uayï-* remains as such. Examples are:

pᴀˣqa'ŋu- to kill	*pᴀʿqa'p·ïγaɪʿťua(i)yïaŋᴀ* people (impers.) have him killed, he was killed (some time ago); *puŋqu'ᴀ pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïaγaɪʿťuaiʿ* horse (obj.) they (impers.)-killed
qam·ï'χanιχ̯ai- to have a jack-rabbit camp	*qam·ï'χanιχ̯aip·ïγaɪʿťuaiʿ* they (impers.) had a camp for hunting jack-rabbits
qᴜʿtcu'mpuŋquŋwïγai- buffalo-pet-animate plur.-have, to have cattle	*qᴜʿtcu'mpuŋquŋwïγaɪpïaγaɪʿťuaiʿ* people (impers.) had cattle

§ 33. Modal suffixes.

There are only two specifically modal verb suffixes. Most modal ideas, as we have seen, are expressed by the aid of enclitics (§ 19, 2). The indicative has no special modal suffix; for the imperative, see § 52. For perfective *-q·ai-* as inferential, see § 32, 3.

(1) *-γυ·-*, (*-q·υ·-*,) *-ŋqυ·-* irrealis. This element indicates that the activity expressed by the verb is unreal, i. e. either merely potential or contrary to fact (potential in past time). In the latter case it is preceded by perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3) or narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6). It is not used with present *-yï-* nor, it would seem, with future *-va·-ⁿ*, *-mpa·-ⁿ*. Optative examples (WOULD THAT . . . .!) involving enclitic *-γa'* followed by *ʿɔaiʿ* have been already given (§ 19, 2, b). Further examples of the irrealis are:

paγᵋi'k·wᵊ 'aiχ̯υ·aŋaχa' ʿɔaiʿ go-away-irrealis-he-then! he ought to go away!

nï' naŋa'ï'aik̯·a·ŋᴀ yaγa'x·ᴀqaiχ̯uʿ I anger-die-if-he cry (momentaneous) -perfective- irrealis; had he got angry, I would have cried

pᴀˣqa̧'ᴜpïγaiχ̯u'uŋwᴀ would have killed him

uŋwa'ŋuq·υ·'q·waχa' ʿɔaiʿ would that it might rain! (*-q·υ·-* perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqυ·*)

ᵃ'a'iyuŋqυ·n·ιχ̯a' ʿɔaiʿ would that I might get well!

The irrealis may be participialized by means of *-p·ï-*. Participial *-kʋ·p·ï-* is frequently used as a base in optative forms with enclitic *-c·uyaγwa . . . n·oa-* (§ 19, 2, h). Other examples of its use are:

*'a'iyuχʋ·p· ur uru''ai*ʿ good-would-participle it is, it would be good (somewhat as though one were to say HE IS A POSSIBLE SINGER instead of HE WOULD SING)
*uru''aχu*ʿ *sʋ·''aiyuχʋ·p·ï* be-would very-good-would-participle, (it) would be extremely good
piŋwa'roŋoq·o·p·ïnɪ (*-q·o·-* < *-ŋqo·-*?) my would-be-made-as-wife, I would take her as my wife (song form)

A past participial irrealis, *-kʋ·p·ïγantï-*, is also found, e. g.: *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'uŋqʋᴜ*^{x}*pïγantïnɪ* who would have killed me

(2) *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* dubitative. The dubitative verb suffix is frequently accompanied in the same or a preceding word by an enclitic -' (§ 19, 2, n). It may be rendered as PERHAPS, IT MAY (MIGHT) BE THAT . . . Future dubitatives in *-va·mpï·-* (*-mpa·mpï·-*) are common but, so far as known, the dubitative suffix is not employed with other tense suffixes. Examples of *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* are:

*ivi'vï*ʿ maybe (he) is drinking; *ivi'vï·'*^{i} maybe thou art drinking (didst drink); *ivi'k̯·avï·*^{i}*raŋwa'*^{a} maybe we did drink
*an·ɪ'aχwan a'ivï*ʿ *qa·'γa*ʿ what-preterit-I say-perhaps sing- subordinate? how did I sing (long ago)?
ya'a'ivï·ŋwa'^{a} maybe he is dead, he must be dead
aŋ aro''avï i'ŋᴀ who is-dubitative this? I wonder who this is!
*pa'x·ɪqwᵓ'aik̯·ant uru''avï*ʿ having-gone-away might-be, I wonder if (he) went away
ivi'ŋumpï·'^{i} maybe you did drink
pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋumpa·mpï·(*$^{\gamma}$*)aŋᴀ* maybe (he) will kill him
maa'iva·mpï·ŋwarami'^{i} he might find us 2 (inclusive)
qwa·'ŋᴜt'uava·mpïnɪ they (impers.) will perhaps beat me, it seems I shall get beaten

§ 34. Order of verbal elements.

At this point we may conveniently take up the question of the order in which occur the various elements that build up a verb form. Four main positions are to be recognized: prefix, verbal theme, suffix (prevailingly formal in character), and enclitic. Each of these positions may consist of more than one element. On the other hand, only the second position is necessarily filled, though ordinarily one or more elements of the third position follow. The order of elements within each of the four fundamental positions is, for the most part, rigorously determined. Fifteen positions may be recognized within the third, though, needless to say, only a limited number of combinations among these are intrinsically possible. The following scheme will be useful for reference (the letters and numbers indicate order of position):

A. Prefix
   1. Adverbial prefix (§ 20)
   2. Reflexive prefix (§ 22)
   3. Instrumental prefix (§ 21)

B. Verbal theme
   1. (a) Verb stem (*or* other stem if followed by B 2); *or* (b) combination of stems, last of which is necessarily verbal (unless B 2 follows) (§ 18, 2)[1]
   2. Verbalizing suffix (§ 26)

C. Suffix
   1. Suffixes of voice and aspect: *-γa-* (§ 30, 1); *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3); *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c); *-n·a-* (§ 31, 2, b); *-tca-* (§ 31, 2, d)
   2. *-tcai-* (§ 31, 2, a)
   3. Causative *-t'·ui-* (§ 29, 12)
   4. Indirective (or transitivizing) *-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 11)
   5. Pluralizing suffixes: *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); *-'ŋwa-* (§ 31, 1, a); *-t·ï-* (§ 31, 1, b)
   6. Suffixes of movement (§ 28); continuative *-n'ni-* (§ 30, 12)
   7. Momentaneous suffixes: *-ŋu-* (§ 30, 5); *-q·u-* (§ 30, 7)
   8. Resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9); passive *-t·ï·-* (§ 29, 13)
   9. Perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3); usitative *-m·ia-*, *-m·i-*^{n} (§ 30, 10); *-m·ï·-* (§ 30, 13). *-m·i-*^{n} precedes *-q·ai-*.
   10. Future *-pa·-* (§ 32, 4), *-pa·n·ia* (§ 32, 5; *-n·ia-* probably best considered as belonging to position 14)

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[1] A 2 (*or* A 3) + B 1 (a) + B 2 may, however, be taken as unit and compounded with preceding (non-verbal) or following (verbal) stem. Indeed, this extended verbal "theme" may also include elements (chiefly 1–4) belonging to position C. It is difficult to give rules, as composition takes place whenever two or more elements or groups of elements are felt as logically combinable or psychologically equivalent. Composition thus somewhat breaks in on our order scheme.

11. Usitative *-n·ï-*^{n} (§ 30, 11)
12. Narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6), which may be split into its component elements by possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) or diminutive *-tsι-* (§ 35)
13. Impersonal *-t'·ua-* (§ 29, 14)
14. Tense and modal elements: present *-yï-* (§ 32, 1); present *-q·a-* (§ 32, 2); modal *-kυ·-* (§ 33, 1); dubitative *-pï·-* (§ 33, 2)
15. Syntactic elements, embracing:
    (a) Nominalizing suffixes (§ 25); *or*
    (b) Subordinating suffixes (§ 55, 1)

D. Enclitic, occurring in nine positions, one of which, no. 7, may in turn be subdivided into three positions (see § 19, 4; § 41, 1 and 4)

There is some doubt as to the priority of certain positions in C; thus, it may be that 10 and 11 should be reversed or, as probably mutually exclusive elements, grouped together. Aside from doubts of this sort, there are a number of disturbances of the above scheme introduced by the impersonal *-t'·ua-* and the passive *-t·ï·-*. First of all, when *-t'·ua-* is used as indirect object of indirective *-ŋqï-*, it follows position 4 and precedes position 5 (see § 29, 14). Secondly, *-t'·ua-* regularly precedes future *-pa·-(n·ia-)* (position 10), yet follows position 12. Thirdly, the position of pluralizing *-q·a-* (no. 5), which regularly precedes e. g. momentaneous *-ŋu-* (position 7), is disturbed in impersonal and passive forms. In these cases it falls between positions 8 and 9, i. e. it follows passive *-t·ï·-* but precedes perfective *-q·ai-* and impersonal *-t'·ua-*. Thus, with normal *ivi'k̠·aŋuyï-* SEVERAL TAKE A DRINK, contrast *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋᴜt'ïïqaq·ai-* SEVERAL HAVE BEEN KILLED and *t'ïv*^{w}*i'ŋuq(w)at·u'ayï-* THEY (PLUR. IMPERS.) ASK. Lastly, impersonal *-t'·ua-* follows subordinating *-ku-* (see § 55, 1, e) in spite of the fact that subordinating suffixes (C, 15, b) regularly follow all other verbal suffixes.

It will not be necessary here to give examples testing out the order scheme, as they can be readily found by the reader among the numerous verb forms scattered in this paper. The positions assumed by diminutive *-tsι-*, which seems to be treated rather irregularly, will be referred to in § 35, 2.

§ 35. *The diminutive.*

The diminutive suffix *-tsι-*^{s}, evidently an old Uto-Aztekan element (cf. Nahuatl *-tzin-*), is found in both noun and verb forms. It seems to appear in three forms: *-tsι-*^{s}, *-t·sι-*^{s}, and *-ntsι-*^{s}, the last of these appearing both as nasalized form of "spirantal" *-tsι-* and after nasalizing stems.

(1) In noun forms. Examples of a properly diminutive use in nouns of this suffix are very common, e. g.:

qwa(·)n·a'nts· eagle	*qwa(·)na'tsιts·* chicken hawk (lit., little eagle)
aŋi'φɪ mosquito	*aŋi'vits·* flea (lit., little mosquito)
iyɔ'vιtcua- young of mourning-dove	*iyɔ'vιtcuʌtsιŋwï* little mourning-doves
o·- arrow	*υ·'ts·* little arrow
tɔʿca'p·a(i)ya·-γantï- white-breast-having	*tɔʿca'p·a(i)ya·tsιγantï-* little white breasted one, gull
(*pis·'ɔa-*)	*pis·'ɔ'atsιŋwï* children, *pis·'ɔ'atsιŋwïnɪ* my children
tü'mp(^{w}*)ɪ* stone	*tümp*^{w}*i'ts·* small stone
uγwι'φï grass	*uγwι'vïts·* little grass-stalk
tïŋqa'nιφï cave	*tïŋqa'nιvïatsiaφï* his own little cave (obj.)
(*na'ai-ntsι-*)	*na'a'intsιts·* little girl
mïa·'γantï divide (noun)	*mïa·'*^{a}*ntsιγantï* little divide
qa'nɪ house	*qani'nts·* little house

Examples of the diminutive in denominating terms other than true nouns (i. e. adjectives and adverbs) are:

tɔvι''ιts·	for a short distance
mi(y)a''p·ïts·	little
miα''αnts·	small, tiny
mi(y)ɔ''^{i}*tsιφʌ*	at a little distance

The diminutive frequently expresses affection rather than smallness. As such it is frequently used in terms of relationship, e. g.:

pavi'nɪ my older brother	*pavi'tsιnɪ* my (dear) older brother
patsi'nɪ my older sister	*patsi'tsιnɪ* my (dear) older sister
qaγu'nɪ my grandmother	*qaγu'tsιŋwïnɪ* my dear grandmothers
pi(y)a'nɪ my mother	*pi(y)a'tsιŋwïnɪ* my dear mothers; *navι''ʿtsιŋwï* mother and child (§ 22, 1)

In reciprocal terms of relationship (e. g. *qunu-* GREAT-GRANDFATHER, MAN'S GREAT-GRANDCHILD) the form with diminutive is regularly used for the younger generation,[1] though it may also be used to refer to the older generation (cf. GRANDMOTHER above). Thus,

qunu'nɪ my great-grandfather	*qunu'tsιnɪ* my great-grandchild (man speaking)

As regards its position relatively to other noun suffixes, *-tsι-* follows all noun suffixes enumerated in § 25, 1 and 2 (e. g. classificatory *-pï-*, possessive *-a-*). It is not clear, however, whether *-(n)tsι-tsι-* is to be analyzed as absolutive + diminutive or diminutive + absolutive. Such a form as *qwa(·)na'tsιts·* < *qwa(·)na'-nts·* (see above) suggests the latter analysis, which would correspond to Nahuatl *-tzin-tli.* As to nominalizing elements (§ 25), *-tsι* follows passive participial *-p·ï-* (probably also *-p·i-*) and instrumental *-n·ïmpï-* but precedes *-n·a-* and active participial *-tï-* (e. g. *qwιtcu'v*^{w}*atsιtcï* LITTLE KNOLL < *qwιtcu'v*^{w}*aʀï* KNOLL). Naturally it precedes animate plural *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1) and objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1).

(2) IN VERB FORMS. The diminutive is frequently used in verb forms, chiefly to indicate that the person spoken to or of is a child, also to indicate an affectionate or pleading attitude. Examples are:

qa·- to sing	*qa'ts·k̭a·ŋᴀ* a little fellow is singing (for *-k̭·a-* see § 32, 2); *qa·'tsι'*^{i} you, little fellow, sing! *qa·'tsιva·n·ιa·ŋᴀ* a little fellow will sing; *qa·'p·ïtsιχ̭a*ʽ a little fellow sang (< *-p·ïγa*ʽ)
o·'χwaivätcï wont to have an arrow	*o·'tsιχ̭aivätcï* dit. (referring to a child)
tïnι'aŋqïva'amɪ I shall tell you	*tïnι'aŋqïtsιva'amɪ* dit. (addressed to a child)
qa'yɔ'm'mιa- to hop along	*qa'yɔ'm'mιαntsιγ̭a*ʽ while hopping along, poor little fellow
*ɔ*ʽ*tca'n'ɔ·n·i·-* to be carrying a water-jar	*ɔ*ʽ*tca'n'ɔ·ntŋ̥ni·*^{i}*vä*ʽ will be carrying a water-jar, if you please
wan·aru- to make a rabbit-net	*wan·a'ʀᴜ*ʽ*pïtsιγ̭aic·ᴜ* again (the boy) made a rabbit-net

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[1] See Sapir, *A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America,* American Anthropologist, N.S., 1913, pp. 132–138.

For *-ŋu-ntsι-* and *-q·u-ntsι-* in a quasi-temporal sense, see § 30, 5 and 7.

The position of the diminutive in verb forms is not altogether easy to assign. It seems normally to fall between positions 9 and 10 of C. Thus, it has been found to follow indirective *-ŋqï-* (position 4), *-m'mia-* (position 6), momentaneous *-ŋu-* and *-q·u-* (position 7), usitative *-m·i-ⁿ* (position 10) and present *-q·a-* (position 14). However, it seems to precede continuative *-'ni·-* (position 6). Owing to its regularly following past passive participial *-p·ï-* (see 1 above), it cuts *-p·ïγai-* (position 12) in two: *-p·ïtsιγai-*. Moreover, it seems always to precede *-kai-* TO HAVE (position B 2); see *o·'tsιγwaivätcï* above (this may, however, be interpreted to mean WONT TO HAVE A LITTLE ARROW, *o·'tsιγwai-* being verbalized from *o·'tsι-*; yet cf. *tɔʿca'p·aiya·tsιγantï-*, 1 above, LITTLE ONE WHO HAS A WHITE BREAST, probably not HAVING A LITTLE WHITE BREAST).

§ 36. *Numeral suffixes.*

(1) *-yu-ⁿ* cardinal numeral suffix. *-yu* forms may be treated as verbs directly or by adding verbalizing *-ŋqai-* (§ 26, 1); without *-ŋqai-* they are frequently used attributively as true numerals. In objective forms *-yu-* is replaced by *-q·u-* (§ 49, 1). It is not used ordinarily in compounds (§ 18, 1, h), except in the case of *cυ·yu-* ANOTHER (see examples below). Examples of *-yu-* are:

cυ·'yuc·U nï'ŋwï one man; *cυ·'yuc·U tava'mA* one day-at, for one day; *nana'c·υ·yuŋqwaiyuc·U* reciprocal (reduplicated)-one-cardinal-verbalizing-subordinating (§ 55, 1, c)-also, being one to one another, one by one; *cυ·'YUqwaŋuc·U* several become one
co·'YU another; *cυ·'y aŋA* another he, another person; *cυ·'y aRï* another it, another thing; *cυ·'YUcinaŋwav aŋA* the other coyote (Same stem as *cυ·'yu-* ONE above, but without enclitic *-c·u-*.)
waa'iYU nï̥ŋwï'ntsιŋWï two men; *waa'iyuŋqïŋ'ųmʷïnI* two-cardinal-for-momentaneous-they-me, they become two for me
nava'iYU six

Combined with enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), *-yu-* is regularly employed in counting, including attributive usage where stress is laid on number as such. *-yu-n·ia-* may be rendered IN NUMBER; in animate forms above one, *-m·ï-* (§ 48, 1) is often inserted between *-yu-* and *-n·ia-*. Examples of *-yu(m·u)n·ia-* are:

cυ·'yun·ιʿ one (in counting; note that *-n·ia-* replaces *-c·u-*)

waa'iyumun·ɪ wɪʿtsɪ'tsɪŋwïaŋᴀ two-cardinal-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)-like great-grandson-diminutive-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)- her; her great-grandsons, two in number
pa'iyu̦nɪʿ three (in counting); *paa'iyom·un·ɪ a'iφᴀpïtsɪŋwï* three young men (in number)
ta'ŋ wᴀʿtcü'ŋwɪyum·un·ɪʿ we four
qan·i'nɪ man·ɪ'χɪyun·ɪʿ house-my five-cardinal-like, my five houses

(2) *-t·a-*, *-t·ca-* numeral adverbial suffixes. *-t·a-* is suffixed to *cʋ·-* ONE, *-t·ca-* to all the other numeral stems. These suffixes denote SO AND SO MANY TIMES. Examples are:

cʋ·'t·ac·ᴜ once
waa't·cᴀ twice (< *wa·-* two); *waa·'t·cᴀcuᴀ*^{x}*qan u̦ni'k·*^{x}*ᴀ* two-times-again-it-I did, I did it just twice; *nan·ɪ'ŋwaŋwaᴀtcatcaᴀ*^{x}*qa'm ʿu̦nɪ'k̯·aŋᴜ* separately-two (reduplicated)-times-preterit-it-they do-plural-momentaneous, they did it each twice
paa'it·cᴀ three times

§ 37. *Suffixes of quasi-pronominal force.*

Under this head are included a couple of suffixed elements that are not easily classified.

(1) *-rï-* (*-tcï-* after *i*) inanimate demonstrative suffix. It is appended to demonstrative stems, also to *qïma-*^{s}, to form independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, which may be used either substantively or attributively. These pronouns are *arï-* THAT (indefinitely); *marï-* (*m*^{w}*a'rï-*) THAT (visible); *urï-*, *uru-* (*'u'rï-*, *'u'ru-*) THAT (invisible); *itcï-* (*'i'tcï-*) THIS; and *qïmarï-* ANOTHER. See § 39, 1. This *-rï-* is possibly identical in origin with participial *-tï-* (§ 25, 6, a).

(2) *-p·a(n)tcï-*^{n} KINDS OF. So far as known, this element occurs only after *man·ɔ'q·u-* ALL (obj.; see § 59, 3, a), e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·^{x}*ᴜpantcï pa'a'vɪŋw αmï* all-kinds-of animals they, all kinds of animals

man·ɔ'q·ᴜpa(n)tcï-^{n} can also be used as the first element of noun compounds, e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·^{x}*ᴜpantciŋqava·'ŋwï* all kinds of horses
man·ɔ'q·ᴜpatciniŋwïntsɪŋwï all kinds of persons

This suffix is possibly related to participialized postpositive *-vatcï-*^{n}, *-p·atcï-*^{n} BEING AT (§ 50, 1, 37).

PRONOUNS (§ § 38–46).

§ 38. *Classification of pronouns.*

Paiute pronouns may be divided into six classes: personal pronouns (in part of demonstrative force); postnominal pronouns (closely related to personal pronouns but used practically as articles); demonstrative pronouns (in large part identical with independent third personal pronouns); interrogative pronouns; relative pronoun; and reflexive pronouns. All of these occur as independent stems. The personal pronouns also appear in an enclitic form.

The independent personal pronouns are either subjective or objective. The enclitic series, however, makes the distinction only for the second person and for one or two other forms that will be specified later. The objective forms include possessive functions. The classification of pronouns as to person is as follows:

1st person singular
1st person dual (inclusive)
1st person plural (inclusive)
1st person plural (exclusive)
2nd person singular
2nd person plural
3rd person singular animate visible
3rd person singular animate invisible
3rd person plural animate visible
3rd person plural animate invisible
3rd person inanimate visible
3rd person inanimate invisible

It will be observed that the only specifically dual form is that of the 1st person inclusive. Aside from the first person plural inclusive, all the plural pronominal elements include dual functions; the verb, however, in the latter case is singular in form (cf. § 31). The inanimate third person makes no distinction for number; cf. the lack of plural suffixes for inanimate nouns (§ 48). The classification into visible and invisible in the third person applies particularly to the enclitic series. Independent pronouns of the third person are formed from four distinct demonstrative stems, only one of which implies invisibility (see § 39).

Personal pronouns (§ § 39–41).

§ 39. Independent personal pronouns.

The independent personal pronouns are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	*nï', nï-*	*nïn·ia-*
dual (inclusive)	*tam·i-*	*tam·ia-*
plural		
(inclusive)	*taŋwa-*	*taŋwaia-*
(exclusive)	*nïm·*^{w}*i-*	*nïm·*^{w}*ia-*
2 sing.	*im·i-*	*im·ia-*
plural	*m*^{w}*ïm·*^{w}*i-*	*m*^{w}*ïm·*^{w}*ia-*
3 a sing. anim.	*aŋa-(c·u-)* he, that one (indef.)	*aŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*am·ï-, am·u-c·u-*	*am·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*arï-(c·u-)* *aq·a-*	*arïa-(c·u-)* *aq·aia-*
b sing. anim.	*maŋa-(c·u-)*; *m*^{w}*a'ŋa-* he, that one (visible)	*maŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*mam·ï-, mam·u-c·u-*	*mam·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*marï-(c·u-)*; *m*^{w}*a'rï-* *maq·a-*	*marïa-(c·u-)*; *m*^{w}*a'rïa-* *maq·aia-*
c sing. anim.	*iŋa-*; ^{i}*'i'ŋa-* he here, this one	*iŋaia-*
plural anim.	*im·ï-*; ^{i}*'i'm·ï-*	*im·ïa-*, ^{i}*'i'm·ïa-*
inanimate	*itcï-*; ^{i}*'i'tcï-* *ik̯·a-*	*itcïa-*; ^{i}*'i'tcïa-* *ik̯·aia-*
d sing. anim.	*uŋwa-(c·u-)*; ^{u}*'u'ŋwa-* he, that one (invisible)	*uŋwaia-(c·u-)*; ^{u}*'u'ŋwaia-*
plural anim.	*um·*^{w}*ï-, um·u-c·u-*; ^{u}*'u'm·*^{w}*ï-*	*um·*^{w}*ïa-(c·u-)*; ^{u}*'u'm·*^{w}*ïa-*
inanimate	*uru-(c·u-)*; ^{u}*'u'rï-* *uq·wa-*	*urua-(c·u-)*; ^{u}*'u'rïa-* *uq·waia-*

(1) FORMATION OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL (AND DEMONSTRATIVE) PRONOUNS. The objectives are formed from the subjectives by the suffixing of *-a-* after all vowels but *a*, after which *-ia-*, *-ya-* is sub-

stituted. This is precisely as with nouns (§ 49, 1). The first person singular, however, has a peculiar objective form, *nïn·ia-*, based on an otherwise non-occurring *nïn·i-* instead of *nï-*. Both subjective and objective pronouns spirantize following elements (note that *-r-* becomes *-tc-* after *i*, *-ntc-* after nasal + *i*).

The first person singular is *nï'* or *nï'*^{i} when used absolutely, *nï-* when followed by another element (e. g. postposition or modal enclitic). The two inclusive pronouns are evidently based on a common stem *ta-*, which does not occur uncompounded in Paiute; but cf. Nahuatl *tè* WE, *to-* OUR. The *-m·i-* of *tam·i-* is probably identical with that of *nïm·*^{w}*i-* WE (EXCLUSIVE) and *m*^{w}*ïm·*^{w}*i-* YE; *nï-m·*^{w}*i-* is probably based on *nï-* I. The inclusive plural *taŋwa-* probably goes back to **tama-* (§ 16, 1), perhaps assimilated from **tamï-* (cf. Hopi *itamö* WE); if this is correct, *-ŋwa-* is probably ultimately identical with animate plural *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1).

The four sets of third personal and demonstrative pronouns are based on the demonstrative stems *a-* THAT (indefinite); *ma-*, *m*^{w}*a'-* THAT (visible *or* referred to); *i-*, ^{i}*'i'-* THIS; and *u-*, ^{u}*'u'-* THAT (invisible). The doublets with two moras (*m*^{w}*a'-*, ^{i}*'i'-*, ^{u}*'u'-*) do not seem to differ in meaning from one-moraed forms (*ma-*, *i-*, *u-*); both types are doubtless found in all animate (singular and plural) and inanimate subjective and objective forms. The two-moraed forms seem to be favored when the pronoun is used without suffix, the one-moraed when used with postpositions. The second element in the third personal pronouns is pronominal: *-ŋa-* for the animate singular; *-m·ï-* (sometimes assimilated to *-m·u-*) for the animate plural (doubtless identical in origin with animate plural suffix *-m·ï-* in nouns, § 48, 1); and *-q·a-* or quasi-pronominal *-rï-* (*-tcï-*) for the inanimate. In the inanimate forms the more properly pronominal *-q·a-* series is far less common than the demonstrative *-rï-* series; *-q·a-* forms seem to be in common use in certain other dialects of Southern Paiute. When used attributively, they follow the noun, while *-rï-* forms precede. An enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) is very frequently attached to third personal pronouns, probably to all except inanimates in *-q·a-* and forms with two-moraed demonstrative stem. The chief characteristic of *-c·u-* forms is apparently their more frequent substantive use as true personal pronouns, other forms being employed with more clearly demonstrative force, hence often attributively; nevertheless, *-c·u-* forms are also found used in a demonstrative (and attributive) sense. In general, it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between independent third personal pronouns and demonstratives, as they are all in structure demonstrative-personals. On the whole, the purely demonstrative value is strongest in *ma-* (*mʷa'-*) and *i* (*ⁱ'i'-*) forms, the personal in *a-* and *u-* (*ᵘ'u'-*) forms.

(2) *qïma-* OTHER, STRANGER. From this stem is formed a set of forms which closely parallel the independent third personal pronouns. These forms are:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sing. anim.	*qïma'ŋa-(c·u-)* (the) other one	*qïma'ŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*qïma'm·ï-*, *qïma'm·u-(c·u-)*	*qïma'm·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*qïma'rï-(c·u-)*	*qïma'rïa-(c·u-)*

For non-pronominal objective *qïma'q·u-*, see § 59, 3, d.

(3) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as subjects of verbs, unless these are subordinate; as objects of imperatives (for examples see § 52); and, without *-c·u-*, as bases for attached postpositions (§ 50, 3). Examples of independent subjective personal pronouns (including pronoun and postposition) are:

nï' qa·'iʽ I sing
nï'ntca' pɪʽpi'tcï I-preterit arrive, I arrived
nï'c·amp an·i'k·ˣᴀ I-only do-so, it is only I
nïru'x·ᴡᴀ to me

ta'mɪ qa·'va·n·ιʽ we two (inclus.) shall sing
tami'ntcuq·ᴡᴀ under us two (inclus.)

ta'ŋᴡᴀ qa·'q·aiʽ we (inclus.) sing
taŋwa'rux·ᴡᴀ to us (inclus.)

nï̜mʷi'ntcux·ᴡᴀ to us (exclus.)

imi'ntcu'ᵅ tümpa'γaʽ thou-interrogative mouth-have, have you a mouth?
imi' ιχ̯ïr(§ 60, 3) *uŋwaro''ᵅ* thou indeed art

mʷïmɪ qa·'q·aiʽ ye sing

aŋa'vιnaŋqwac·ᴜ he-after-again, after him again (*-c·ᴜ* AGAIN does not function here as pronominal element) *aŋac·U qanι'va·v u̧ni'n'nintcï* he house-at-own do-continuative-participle, he stays in hishouse (for finite use of participle, see § 55, 4, e)

am·ï'rux·WA to them (animate)

arï'rux·WA it-to (rarely used; generally, for inanimate pronoun + postposition, bare demonstrative stem, except in case of *itcï-*, is used, e. g. *aru'x·WA*, see § 43, 1)
arï'c·U qu(·)'n ARÏ that fire it, that fire (for postnominal *ARÏ* see § 42, 6)

Aˣqa'naŋqwɔp·A near it

mαŋ ᵃ'a'iyïi' he is good
mʷa'ŋantca' pI'pi'tcï he-preterit arrive, he arrived
maŋa'ruq·WA under him
maŋa'c·uya' ya'a'iva·n·ι' he, it is said, will die

ma'mï qa·'va·n·ι' they (two) will sing; *ma'mï qa·'q·ava·n·ι'* they will sing
mam·ï'ŋwa'ᵃ with them
mam·u'c·U nan·a'ŋqAtca'q·aiva' they will listen

ma'RÏ qwau' that off, in that direction
imp aro''avï mʷa'RÏ what would-be that? I wonder what that is!
marï'c·U piya'I'pïγa' qWA'cι'(y)aŋ ARÏ that was-left-over his-tail it; that tail of his was left; it was left, his tail

tümpʷi'ts· ma'q·A rock that (uncommon)

aŋ aro''avï i'ŋA who would-be this? I wonder who this one is!
iŋa'rux·WA to him here
ⁱ'iŋ ovʷι't·U'pïγa' he here sang a song

im·u'rux·WA to these (animate)

itcï'' 'aru'αm·ι' this is wont to be
itcï'rux·WA to it here
ⁱ'i'tcï this (thing)

tümpʷi'ts i'k·ˣA rock this (uncommon)

uŋwα'vatcï to him (invisible)
uŋwa'c·U tïvʷa'ts aŋA he (inv.) wolf he; that (inv.) wolf; he, the wolf

u̧mu'vʷιnaŋqwɔp·A behind them (inv.)

uru'rux·WA to it (inv.; assimilated from *urï-*; *uru'x·WA* is more common, cf. under *arï-* above)

ʷ'u'ʀɪ̈ that (inv. thing)
uru'c· ᴜˣqwɩ'v·nɩʽ na(i)ya'p̓·a·ŋˣᴜpïγaʽ those (sticks) like-arrows became, they (inv.) turned into arrows

ᴜˣqwa'naŋqwɔp·ᴀ near it (inv.)

qïma'ŋac·ᴜ another one, stranger
qïma'm·uc·ᴜ others, strangers
qïmarïc·ᴜ qa'nɪ another house, foreign house

(4) Use of objective forms. The objective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as objects (direct or indirect) of transitive verbs; as subjects of subordinate verbs (§ 55, 1); and as genitives. Examples of independent objective personal pronouns are:

nï̜'nɩ a·'γawantciŋqïmʷɩ̜ʽ me is-wont-to-hide-from, (he) is wont-to hide from me
nï̜'niᴀ naγu'q·wɩŋqït̓·u'a(u)x·ᴜ me when-fighting, when I fight
nï̜'ni 'u̜waru''ᵅ me he-is, he is mine

taŋwa'i aʀï us (inclus.) it; ours, the (thing) belonging to us

imi'ᴀ pᴀˣqa'q·ainᴀ thee having-killed, your having killed

mʷï̜mɩ'ᴀcampᴀ except you (plur. obj.)

nï'aq·ᴀ tav aŋa'iac·ᴜ tɔʽtsɩ'ᴀ I-it hit him head (obj.), I hit his head (note that *aŋa-* and *aŋaia-* are rarely, if ever, used without *-c·u-*, except for *aŋa-* with postpositions; this is probably to prevent confusion with interrogative *aŋa-*, § 44, 1, a)

ʽam·ï'vʷ'antux·ᴡᴀ kᴡɪʽpa'p·ïγa ʽam·ï'ac·ᴜ wa·'ma·ᵃ'caγwɔitsɩŋwïᴀ onto-them (anim.) fell them two-old-women (obj.); (it) fell on them, the two old women

ʽava ʽarï'ac·ᴜ it-at that (obj.), there (at) that (place)

imp aro'' ᴀˣqa'iᴀ what is it (obj.)? what is thereof? what is it (selected from several)?

maŋa'iᴀcampᴀ pïni'k̯·aip·ïγai(y)aŋᴀ him-only saw-him, only him (he) saw

mʷa'rïar'ua·ŋᴀ that (obj.)-interrogative-he, (it is) that that he (has been hiding) *ᴍᴀ‘tca'iaŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·ᴀ marï'ac·ᴜ wια'mpιᴀ* reached-for-it that berry

ⁱ'i'm·ïar'ua·m·ïram a·'χaŋwantciŋqïmɪk̯a‘ these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they-us 2 (inclus.) hide-to-always-perfective, these (animate beings) they seem to have been hiding from us 2

ⁱ'i'tcï ι·'tcuq·ᴜ this (obj.) when-(it)-is-morning, this morning

'ų'wayac·ampᴀ sa'a'ŋqïqava‘ him (inv.)-only make-mush-for-plural-will, (they) will make mush only for him

yaγa'ŋqïq̓wɔik̯·ava·'am ᵘ'u'mʷïᴀ tcaŋwï'k·ɪkwa'itcįmʷįᴀ let (us) cry for those (who are) dying off

pᴜ‘tcu'tcuγwar uru'ac·ᴜ tïvʷι'p·ïᴀ knowing that (inv.) land

In certain sporadic cases that are not clearly understood objective forms seem to be employed subjectively, e. g.:

nį'nιaχwa'axain·ι qarï'i‘ I too was sitting down

(5) Use of subjective and objective pronouns. An independent subjective pronoun may be combined with an independent objective one, the former apparently preceding, e. g.:

imɪ nį'niᴀ pᴀˣqą'umpa·n·ιᴀ thou me wilt-kill
nï' pᴀˣqa'ŋuŋumᵂɪ mʷįmʷι'ᴀ I kill-you (plur.) you (plur. obj.)

As a rule, however, only one of the pronouns is independent, the other being attached as an enclitic (see § 40, 6).

§ 40. Enclitic personal pronouns.

The enclitic pronominal forms are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE		OBJECTIVE
1 sing.		*-n·i-*	
dual		*-ram·i-*	
(inclus.)		*(-tcam·i-)*	
plural		*-raŋwa-*	
(inclus.)		*(-tcaŋwa-)*	
plural		*-nïm·ʷi-*	
(exclus.)			
2 sing.	*-'*		*-' . . .m·i-*
plur.	*-ŋwï-*		*-ŋum·i-*

3 sing.	
anim. vis	*-aŋa-*
anim. inv.	*-' . . .ŋwa-*
plural	
anim. vis.	*-am·ï-*
anim. inv.	*-' . . .m·ï-*
3 inanimate	
vis.	*-aq·a-*
inv.	*-' . . .q·wa-*
dual anim.	*-' . . .m·ï-*
reflexive possessive	*-vï-*

(1) FORMATION OF PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. Most of the enclitic pronouns may be used either subjectively or objectively. The objective forms of the second person are formed from the corresponding subjective forms by the addition of *-m·i-*, perhaps identical with the *-m·i-* of independent *ïm·i-* THOU; *-ŋum·i-* < *-ŋwïm·i-* (§ 3, 3, d). The dual animate enclitic *-' . . .m·ï-* is a subjective element; it is outwardly identical with *-' . . .m·ï-*, the third person plural animate invisible element, but, though in certain cases very difficult to keep apart from the latter (which, when the verb is singular in form, necessarily has a dual reference), is clearly distinct from it, as it may refer to all animate persons, including the third person animate visible. *-vï-* is only used in a possessive sense and is evidently somewhat in a class by itself. The position of the pronominal enclitics with reference to other enclitic elements has been already spoken of (see § 19, 4).

The enclitic pronouns are closely related, for the greater part, to the corresponding independent pronouns. The first person singular *-n·i-* is connected with, though not identical with, the independent *nï'*, *nï-*; this vocalic alternation is probably an old Uto-Aztekan feature, cf. Nahuatl independent *nè* I with proclitic *ni-* I, ME. The other enclitics of the first person are identical with the corresponding independent pronouns, *t-* becoming spirantized to *-r-* (*-tc-* after *-i-*). The *-'* of the second person singular is entirely peculiar to the enclitic series; *-ŋwï-* and *-ŋum·i-* of the plural are doubtless spirantized from **mï(m·i)-*, cf. independent *m*^{w}*ïm·*^{w}*i-*. The visible forms of the third person are compounded of demonstrative *-a-* and the pronominal elements *-ŋa-*, *-m·ï-*, and *-q·a-* already discussed in § 39, 1. The invisible forms are compounded of an accessory *-'-* and the same pronominal elements, a *-w-* being inserted in the animate singular and the inanimate. This -' . . . .*-w-* may be a specialized form of demonstrative *ᵘ'u'-* THAT (invisible). The reflexive possessive *-vï-* seems to have no independent analogue, unless, indeed, it be connected with relative *pï-* (§ 45); cf. probably also Shoshonean **pï-* HE, HIS (Cahuilla *pe* HE, *pehe-* HIS; San Juan Capistrano *po-* HIS).

(2) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective enclitics may be used as the subject of a non-subordinate verb or as the object of an imperative (§ 52). The animate dual -' . . .*m·ï-*, however, of which examples will be given separately, functions only as a subject, sometimes also as a possessive. Subjective examples of enclitic pronouns, attached both to verbs and to other parts of speech, are:

ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔanɪ did I take a drink?
ya'a'iχ̭υ·n·iχ̭a' ʿɔaiʿ would that I might die!
a'ïvʷιnɪ pị̈ni'k̭·aivaʿ now-I shall-see
qa·'yïrαmɪ we 2 (inclus.) sing.
qa·'q·a(i)yïrαŋᴡᴀ we (inclus.) sing
p̓ɔ''aq·aχaitcaŋᴡᴀ we (inclus.) have lice
qa·'yïnïmʷɪ we 2 (exclus.) sing
qa·'yï'ⁱ thou singest
aŋa'm·ïantca' pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜ whom-plur.-preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?
pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜtï·vʷa·ᵃnιaŋᴡï you 2 will get killed
impï'aŋw an·i'k̭·arïiʿ what-obj.-you (plur.) do-sit-present? what do you 2 do as (you) sit?
ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔa·ŋᴀ did he take a drink?
qanι'a·ŋᴀ pïn·ι'k̭·aʿ house-obj.-he see, he see(s) (the) house
pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïay'ïŋᴡᴀ he (inv.) was killed (long ago)
uŋwa'iˣk̭aiyïaq·ᴀ it (vis.) hangs
tcaχι'p̓·aq·w aïvʷ uru''ᵃ near-it (inv.) now is
qa·'q·a(i)yïamï they (vis.) sing
aχα'n·iχ̭aiam ʿanι'm·ïʿ what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? why do they always do so?
ᵃ'a'(i)ʏᴜqwa(i)'yïmʷï they (inv.) are good
mʷα'va'amï qarï'p·ïγaʿ there-they (inv.) dwelt

In connection with the use of second person singular -' certain peculiar contraction phenomena are to be noted. Ordinarily the pronominal -' does not amalgamate with a ' in the last syllable of the word to which it is attached (e. g. from *-γwa'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO is formed *na'u'ŋwaiχ̭wa'ai'ⁱ* GO THOU AND HANG THYSELF!), but in other cases such amalgamation takes place, so that no specific pronominal element is apparent at all. This is notably the case with interrogative *-ru'a-*, e. g.:

ivi'yïro'$^{\alpha}$ art thou drinking? (< *-ro'α-* + -'; not *-ro'α'*)
cu(w)a'ru' nɔ̨n·ɔ'c·ι' maybe you'll dream

Probably this difference of treatment has something to do with the difference between inherent and accessory ' (§ 15, 1). Furthermore, the pronominal -' is lost in certain cases, notably after *qatcu-* NOT, after demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5), and before *ai-* TO SAY and *an·i-* TO DO; a final *-a* is then elided before following *a-*. Examples are:

qatcu' n·a·'n·ιa'ap·ᴀ not-thou say-negative, do not say anything
a'i(y) ιgïr a'imιᴀ that-obj.-thou indeed say-usitative, you are indeed wont to say (= *ai-a-' ïγïr*, cf. *a'ian ïγïr* that-I indeed)
^{u}*m*^{w}*α'nɪk̯aim·ι aik·*^{x}ᴀ that-do-resultative-usitative-thou said; remains like that, you said (= *-m·ιa-' ai-*)
ï'tï'a·n·ι aik·^{x}ᴀ too-bad-thou say, (it is) too bad (that) you say (= *-n·ιa-' ai-*, cf. *ï'tï'a·n·ιan aik·*^{x}ᴀ it is too bad that I say)
man·ι'ŋumpa·ntï'ŋw aik·^{x}ᴀ that-do-momentaneous-future-participle-him (inv.)-thou say; being about to do thus to him, you say (= *-'ŋwa-' ai-*; for combination of enclitic pronouns, see § 41, 2, a, end)
aχa'n·iχ̯ai 'anik·^{x}ᴀ what-do-subordinating-thou do? why do you do so? (= *-χ̯ai' 'ani-*)

The third person inanimate enclitic pronouns (*-aq·a-* and -' . . .*q·wa-*) are very often used, as in English, in an impersonal sense, particularly in references to the weather. Examples are:

uŋwa'(i)yïaq·ᴀ it is raining (said by one who sees it raining)
uŋwa'(i)'yïq·wᴀ it is raining (said by one who does not see it rain)
nïa'va·n·ι'aq·wᴀ it will blow
aŋa''q· uv^{w}*ai'* who-it (inv.) then? who is it, then?

Subjective examples of animate dual -' . . .*m·ï-* are:

mamï qa·'y'ïmï they 2 (vis.) sing (not equivalent to *qa·'y'ïmï* they 2 inv. sing, as *ma'mï* implies visibility, but to *qa·'yïamï* they 2 sing; in *mamï qa·'y'ïmï* duality is expressly indicated by -' . . .*mï-*, in *qa·'yïamï* merely implied because of singular form of verb)
mamï'ntca' pɪ'pi'tci'ïmï they 2 (vis.) arrived
tami'ntca' pɪ'pi'tci'ïmï we 2 (inclus.) arrived
tamɪ qanι'va·'m u̧ni'n'ni' we-2 (inclus.) house-at-dual do-continuative-present, we 2 stay at (the) house (= *qanι'va·ram u̧ni'n'ni'*)

mï̯mʷɪ qa·'xai'imï tïʻqa'iʻ we (exclus.) sing-subordinating-dual eat-present, we 2 (excl.) eat while singing

mʷïmï qa·'y'ïmï you 2 sing (contrast *mʷïmï qa·'q·aiʻ* you [plur.] sing)

(3) Use of objective forms. Objective forms are used as objects of transitive verbs, as subjects of subordinate verbs, and as possessives. For their use in subordinate verb forms, see § 55, 1. Possessives, exemplified only in noun forms, are treated below (4). Examples of enclitic pronouns in a properly objective sense are:

qᴜʻqwi't·u'ac·uyaγwanoanɪ would that they (indef.) would shoot me! I wish I would get shot!

uvʷa·'ᵃntïnɪ ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ there-being-me fetch-to-hither, bring (it) there to me

u̯ŋwa'rïram aʀï tcuχwι'yïramɪ rain-us 2 (inclus.) it approaches-us 2, the rain approaches us 2 (inclus.) (note that *aʀï*, § 42, 6, refers to *u̯ŋwa'rï-*, while *-ram*, which comes in between, anticipates *-ramɪ* of following verb)

qwι'aγantïraŋ u̯ni'vitciyïraŋᴡᴀ bear-us (inclus.) comes-to-attack-us (inclus.)

qᴜʻqwi't·u'ac·uyaγwanïminoᴀ would that we (exclus.) would get shot!

pa'iy'ïmɪ calls for thee

'u'r'um· u̯ni'ts· maxa'rïvʷa·ntï'mɪ that (invis. inan.)-thee then protect-future-participle-thee, that will (be) protecting you

ava'ŋwiŋumɪ yuα'm'miavaʻ it-in-you (plur.) carry-along-will, (he) will carry you (plur.) along in it

nɔ·'n'nintcïaŋᴀ carry-continuative-participle-him (vis.), who carries him around

nï' qatcu'aŋᴀ qa·'t·uiŋwa'ᵃ I not-him (vis.) sing-causative-negative, I do not let him sing

cina'ŋwavι'ιŋᴡᴀ pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ coyote-him (inv.) killed-him (inv.)

man·ɔ'q·oαq·ᴀ pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwaʀï all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all

nï' tavι'aq·ᴀ tɔʻtsi'a·ŋᴀ I hit-it (vis.) head-obj.-his (vis.), I hit his head

i'mɪ pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwa'yïq·ᴡᴀ thou knowest it (inv.)

tu'u'mᴀpïγa'aik·w uru'vʷιᴀ (he) picked-them (invis. inan.)-up arrow-sticks (obj.), he picked up arrow-sticks

qatcu''uq·ᴡᴀ naŋqa'p·ïγaʻ not-it (inv.) (he)-heard

nï' mari'n·a(i)yïamï I chase them (vis.)

nï' pᴀʻqa'ŋ'umʷɪ I kill them (inv.)

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS AS POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. In a possessive sense enclitic pronouns can be used only with nouns. Inasmuch, however, as such an enclitic, even when appended to a noun, can have objective (or, in most cases, also subjective) significance, a theoretical ambiguity sometimes results. Thus, a form like *qanɪ'anɪ* HOUSE-OBJ.-I (or ME, MY) may be interpreted as signifying either MY HOUSE (obj.) or I (DO SO AND SO TO) A HOUSE. The form of the whole sentence or the context generally removes the ambiguity. In practice a noun with possessive enclitic is generally followed by a postnominal article-pronoun, e. g. *qanɪ'an aʀï* MY-HOUSE (OBJ.) IT, in which case no ambiguity is possible. Examples of possessive enclitics are:

puŋqu'nɪ my horse; *qᴜ'tcu'mpuŋquŋwïnɪ* my cattle (lit., buffalo-pets)
ɪtcï'nɪ pᴀ'tca'n· α'ʀï tɔ'tɔ'q·wa'aŋqï this-me mocasin-my it patch (distributively)- for, patch these moccasins of mine for me
tïγï'vïramɪ friend-our (dual inclusive); you and I who are friends (song form)
pivi'araŋᴡᴀ mother (distributively)-our (inclus.), our (inclus.) mothers
paa''amɪ thy aunt; *paa'(i)'yamɪ* thy aunt (obj.)
pia'ru'a'm aro''ᵃ mother-interrogative- thy is, is it your mother?
pɪ(y)a'ŋum u'ŋᴡᴀ mother-your (plur.) she, your (plur.) mother
taŋa'n·a·x·ɪtuγwa·ŋᴀ knee-in-to-his (vis.), into his knee
pavɪ''ɪŋᴡᴀ his (inv.) elder brother
aru''ana'ŋᴡᴀ be-verbal noun-his (inv.), his being, his property
arï'c·ᴜ taŋwa·'q· aʀï that (inan.) tooth-its (vis.) it, that tooth of it
yaγa·'ma·q·ᴀ end-at-its, at its end
ᴀ'sɪ''a·(i)ya'q·ᴡᴀ its surface, bark (obj.)
nɪa·'vɪŋ'wa·m· aŋᴀ chief-possessed-their (vis.) he, their chief
pi(y)a''amï their (inv.) mother

Instead of *-am·ï-* THEIR (vis.) and -' . . *.m·ï-* THEIR (inv.) are sometimes found the corresponding singular forms *-aŋa-*, -' . . *.ŋwa-*. This takes place, though not always, when the person referred to by the enclitic pronoun precedes with the plural animate suffix *-ŋwï-* (*-m·ï-*; § 48, 1), evidently in order to avoid a double plural. Analogous phenomena will meet us again (§ 41, 1, e; § 42, 2 and 5). Examples of this "number dissimilation" in possessive forms are:

qum·a'ŋwïa·m· aŋᴀ nɪa·'ᵃvɪ'ŋᴡᴀ husband-plural-objective-their he (= them; § 42, 2, end) chief-his (inv.; = their inv.); their-husbands (obj.) their-chief, chief of their husbands (for possessive use of noun objectives see § 49,2; for pleonastic use of possessive pronoun, below)

^{a}*’a′t·ïŋwaŋwïa’aŋwᴀ* good-possessed-plural-obj.-his (inv.), their (inv.) good ones (anim. obj.), good ones (anim. obj.)

The reflexive possessive *-vï-* occurs only in objective forms, i. e. after objective *-a-*, *-ya-* (§ 49, 1); after nominalizing *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3); and after postpositions, which are syntactically equivalent to the objective (§ 50, 3). The reflexive possessive indicates that the possessor is the same person as the subject of the sentence. Ordinarily it refers to the third person, but it may also be employed in first and second personal references. Examples of its use are:

qanι ’u′raʿ paa′iav uŋwᴀ house (obj.) it-towards aunt-obj.- own she (= her; § 42, 4), (he went) towards the house of his aunt
o·′αφï maŋa′c·ᴜ qwïï′iʿ he takes his own arrow
puŋqu′ŋwïaφï qɔγɔ′′iʿ kills his own horses
qanι′va·φï pιʿpi′tcïpïγaʿ house-at-own arrived, (he) arrived at his own house
patcι′ŋw’aiφï tɔγɔ′q·ᴡɪpïγaʿ ran off with his own daughter
ya’a′iq̇·wɔ’aiväʿ yaγa′n·av umʷa′naŋqwᴀ let-(him)-die crying-own therewith, let him die with his crying
tïvʷι′p·ïaq·ayav ^{u}*’u′raʿ* land-possessed-plural (§ 48, 2)-obj.-own it-toward, towards their own lands
i′mɪ pu’(ʷ)ι′yaφï wïtu′vʷuaq·aivaʿ thou eye-obj.-own cover-shall, you shall cover your eyes
nï’ mava·′ac· arï′ᴀ tiŋqa′nιvïatsiaφï pa(i)yü′ŋᴜpïγaʿ I there-again that (inan. obj.) cave-owned-little-obj.-own returned, I returned there in that same little cave of mine

Explicitly plural (or dual) forms of the third person reflexive possessive are also found; they are compounded of *-am·ï-* THEIR (vis.) or -’ . . .*m·ï-* THEIR (inv.) and *-vï-*, theoretical -’ . . .*m·ïvï-* appearing, however, as -’ . . .*m·ovï-*, -’ . . .*m·auvï-*. Examples are:

qanι′vä·ntuχwa·^{a}*mïφï* to their own house
puŋqu′tsια·mïφï their (2) own dear horse (obj.)
pɔrɔ′m’amauφï, -moφï with their (2) own canes (cf. *pɔrɔ′ma(u)φï* with his own cane); *pɔrɔ′q̇·(w)ama(·*^{a}*)mauφï* with their own canes (for *-q·a-* see § 48, 2)

Explicitly dual forms of the reflexive possessive are made by compounding *-vï-* with animate dual -' . . *.m·ï-*: *-vï'ïm·ï-* THEIR 2 OWN. This form, as contrasted with -' . . *.m·ovï-* discussed above, shows clearly that third person animate plural invisible -' . . *.m·ï-* is not identical with animate dual -' . . *.m·ï-*, though it seems sometimes to intercross it in usage. Examples of *-vï'ïm·ï-* are:

nava'φɪtsιŋw αmï yu'a'p·ïγaiᴀ^x*qa'mï tᴜ‘cu'n·a·ŋᴀ pi(y)a'(i)yavï'ïmï*
two-brothers they carried-it (vis.)-dual grinding-her mother-obj.-own-dual; the two brothers carried what she, their (2) mother, ground
uv^w*a''a·mï qarï'p·ïγa'aimï qanι''aŋᴡᴀ pi(y)a'(i)yavï'ïmï qani'vä‘*
there-they (inv.) stayed-dual house-objective-her mother-obj.-own-dual house-at; there they 2 stayed (at) her house, at their (2) mother's house

(5) PLEONASTIC FORMS. Double (or even more frequent) expression of pronominal elements is very common in Paiute. Examples of the repetition of the subjective or objective pronoun, both pronouns enclitic or one enclitic and the other independent, have occurred in preceding lists. There is a marked tendency for the objective enclitic pronoun to attach itself to the verb even if it is elsewhere expressed in the sentence; in transitive sentences the enclitic subject seems to be normally attached to the verb only in combination with the enclitic object (§ 41, 2, a). Particularly characteristic is the employment of enclitic possessives together with genitives (i. e. objectives) of the corresponding independent pronoun, e. g.:

nï̧'nιᴀ pavi'tsιnɪ	me my-elder brother
maŋa'iᴀ paa'aŋᴀ	him his-aunt
pi·'χ̧ιtsιŋ'wïm imi'ᴀ	pigs-thy thee, thy pigs
imi'ᴀ paa'i'amɪ	thee aunt-obj.-thy, thy aunt (obj.)

Pleonasm is abundantly illustrated also in nouns, which are often anticipated or redundantly referred to by pronouns, independent or enclitic. Of such usages also examples have already been given. Particularly frequent is the occurrence of an objective enclitic pronoun of the third person with an objective noun, e. g. I SEE-IT HOUSE (OBJ.) as equivalent of I SEE HOUSE (OBJ.). In genitive constructions this is almost the rule, e. g. *paa'ia·ŋᴀ qanι'aŋᴀ* AUNT-OBJ.-HIS HOUSE-HER, HIS AUNT'S HOUSE; also *paa'ia·ŋᴀ qanɪ*.

(6) COMBINATIONS OF INDEPENDENT AND ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

Independent and enclitic pronouns are often combined into a single phonetic group or “word,” the independent or enclitic element being either subjective or objective. Thus, instead of saying *i'mɪ pᴀˣqa'ŋumpa·n·ιa·ŋᴀ* THOU KILL-WILL-HIM, one can attach objective *-aŋᴀ* to *imi-*: *imi'aŋᴀ pᴀˣqa'ŋumpa·n·ι'* THOU-HIM KILL-WILL. The following types of combination occur:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object*, e. g.:

nï''ïmɪ pᴀ'qa'ŋumpa·n·ι' I-thee kill-shall

nï'ŋumɪ mǫi̜'mpa·ŋumɪ I-you (plur.) lead-will-you

nï'aŋᴀ pᴜ'tcu'tcuγwaï' I-him (vis.) know

nï'χwa'aŋwᴀ pᴀ'qa'ŋᴜ I-preterit-him (inv.) kill, I killed him

nï'aq· ivi'ŋᴜ I-it (vis.) drink, I've drunk it

nï'amï qɔχɔ''iva' I-them (vis.) will kill

tamι'aŋᴀ pᴀˣq̨a'umpa' we 2 (inclus.)-him (vis.) will kill

taŋwa''aŋwa'ᵃ mama'iva·mpï' we (inclus.)-him (inv.)-perhaps (§ 19, 2, n) find (distributively)-future-dubitative, we (inclus.) might find him

iminɪ pᴀˣq̨a'umpa' thou-me wilt kill

imi''ιŋwᴀ pᴀˣq̨a'umpa' you will kill him (inv.)

mi̜mʷι'ya·ŋᴀ tɔ'nᴀ you (plur.)-dual imperative (§ 52)-him (vis.) punch! you 2 punch him!

u'u'ŋwani'amɪ tïnι'aŋqïq·a'aimɪ he (inv.)-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee, it seems that he has been telling you

uŋwa'c·'uq·wᴀ qatcu''ᵘq·wᴀ pi̜ni'n·aip·ï'a'ᵃ he (inv.)-it (inv.) not-it (inv.) see-negative-past, he did not see it

mam·ï'ntca·q·ᴀ ɴᴀ'cï'mʷïaq·ᴀ they (vis.)-preterit-it (vis.) forget-it (vis.), they forgot it

A variant of this type is that in which the independent and enclitic pronouns are both subjective, the independent pronoun being used predicatively, e. g.:

imi'ntcu'a·q·ᴀ ni̜'niᴀ pi̜ŋwa'ntuγwaq·ainan·ιanɪ thou-interrogative-it (vis.) me (= my) whom-depending-on-perfective-verbal noun-like-my, it is not you on whom I have been depending (for use of "it" as equivalent of substantive verb, see § 56, 3)

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject*, e. g.:

ni̜'nia' pιŋwa'ruvʷa·n·ιanɪ me-thou wife-make-will-me, you will marry me

nį'nιa·ŋ ampa'xananɪ naŋqa'q·aʽ me (= my)-he (vis.) talking-my hear; he hears my talking, me talking
imi'αnɪ nam·ï'nι·aŋwιc·ava'amι thee-I first-shove-will-thee, I'll shove you (in) first
imi'åŋᴡᴀ pᴀ^{x}qą'umpaʽ thee-he (inv.) will kill
aŋa'iᴀcuanɪ pį̈nι'k̭·aʽ him-*a*- (§ 19, 3, a)-I see, I saw him
man·ɔ'q· ųm^{w}ï''amï qw^ɔ'ɔ'ip·ïγaʽ all (obj.) them (invis.)-they (inv.) killed, they killed all of them

A special variety of this type is that in which the independent objective functions as the subject of a subordinate clause, the enclitic subject as the subject of the main clause, e. g.:

nï'niantca·ŋᴀ tïʽqa'χunɪ yaya'x·ᴀ me-preterit-he eat-while-me cry (momentaneously); while I was eating, he began to cry (*-ntca·ŋᴀ* is logically cut loose from *yaya'x·ᴀ*, while *nï'nia-* anticipates *-nɪ* of *tïʽqa'χunɪ*)
imi''aq·ᴡᴀ naŋa'ï'aik̭·amι aχa'n'ɴɪ tïv^{w}ι'p·ï tï^{x}qa'ŋ'wιχ̭oʽ thee-it (inv.) get-angry- when-thee how earth appear-would? if you get angry, how would (the) earth appear? (*imia-* anticipates -' . . .*m*, -' . . .*q·ᴡᴀ* anticipates *tïv^{w}ιp·ï*)

(c) *Independent object + enclitic object.* The first object may be the subject of a subordinate clause, the second its object, e. g.:

taŋwa'(i)'yaq·ᴡᴀ mama'aik·^{x}ᴀ us (inclus.)-it (inv.) find (distributively)-when, when we find it
uŋwa'iᴀcu'q·ᴡᴀ m^{w}α'nɪ^{x}tïik̭·aq̇·uŋᴡᴀ him (inv.)-it (inv.) that-do-causative-perfective-when-him (inv.), when he has caused to do it (*uŋwa'iᴀ-cu-* anticipates -' . . .*ŋᴡᴀ*)
mam·ï'ᴀcuaq·ᴀ nɔvι'k̭·a(u)x·ᴜ them (vis.)-it (vis.) cover (with bark)-plural-when, when they covered it with bark

Or, conversely, the first object may be the logical object, the second the logical subject of the subordinate clause, e. g.:

'i'tciaraŋᴡᴀ mam·a'aik·^{x}ᴀ this (inan. obj.)-us (inclus.) find-when, when we find this

Still other combinations are possible, e. g. independent possessive + object:

imi''αŋwa' a'ik̭·ainᴀ thee (= thy)-him (inv.) having-said, thy having said (about) him

§ 41. Combinations of enclitic pronouns.

Enclitic pronouns are often combined, the union of two such pronouns being extremely common, that of three not at all rare. The order of elements is rigidly determined by form, not by function (e. g. *-aŋan·i-* HE-ME, I-HIM, I-HIS, HIS-ME, MY-HIM, HE-MY). The resulting theoretical ambiguities are generally resolved by the context, particularly as the pleonastic usages already referred to (§ 40, 5) give opportunity for further limitation of the syntactical possibilities. Thus, *nï' -aŋanɪ* can only mean I-HIM or I-HIS; *-aŋanɪ -nɪ* (verb form) can hardly mean anything but HE-ME. The following table gives a survey of combinations of two enclitic pronouns; the horizontal entries are subjective, the vertical objective. As a rule the pronominal elements are preserved intact, but certain modifications need to be noted.

The combined forms listed in the table apply not only to combinations of subject and object of the same verb but to all other combinations of subjective and objective, including possessive, forms. The table also includes combinations of objective + objective enclitics, insofar as objective forms are identical with subjective forms; e. g. *-aŋa'ami-* HE-THEE, HE-THY applies also to HIM-THEE, HIM-THY, HIS-THEE. Special double objective forms are:

-'mini- thee-me, me-thee
-ŋumini- you (obj.)-me, me-you (obj.)
-'minïmʷi- thee-us (also us-thee, we-thee)
-ŋuminïmʷi- you (obj.)-us (also us-you, we-you)

(1) MORPHOLOGY OF COMBINED FORMS. The following rules are followed in the combination of enclitic pronouns:

(a) The combination of the first person singular subject and the second person object, which should theoretically result in *-'mini-* and *-ŋumini-*, is simplified to *-'mi-* and *-ŋumi-* (properly THEE and YOU OBJ.), the first person being thus merely implied.

(b) The second person singular subjective element (-') always follows an element of the first or third person, also the objective form of the second person.

(c) In all combinations of the first and second persons but those coming under (b), the second personal element precedes (e. g. *-ŋwïni-* YE-ME, *-'mini-* THEE-ME).

(d) In combinations of the third person with either the first or second person, the element referring to the third person precedes. Note, however, *-ŋwï'ïmï-* YE-THEM (INV.).

	1 sing.	1 dual incl.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 sing. subj.	2 plur. subj.
1 sing.					-ni'	-ŋwïni-
dual incl.						
pl. incl.						
pl. excl.					-nïmʷi'	-ŋwïnïmʷi-
2 sing. obj.	-'mi-			-'minïmʷi-	-'mi'	
pl. obj.	-ŋumi-			-ŋuminïmʷi-		
3 sing. an. vis	-aŋani-	-aŋarami-	-aŋaraŋwa-	-aŋanïmʷi-	-aŋa'	-aŋaŋwï-
sing. an. invis.	-'ŋwani-	-'ŋwarami-	-'ŋwaraŋwa-	-ŋwanïmʷi-	-'ŋwa'	-'ŋwaŋwï-
plur. an. vis.	-amïni-	-amïrami-	-amïraŋwa-	-amïnïmʷi-	-amï'	
plur. an. invis.	-'mïni-	-'mïrami-	-'mïraŋwa-	-'mïnïmʷi-	-'mï'	-ŋwï'ïmï-
inan. vis.	-aq·ani-	-aq·arami-	-aq·araŋwa-	-aq·anïmʷi-	-aq·a'	-aq·aŋwï-
inan. inv.	-'q·wani-	-'q·warami-	-'q·waraŋwa-	-'q·wanïmʷi-	-'q·wa'	-'q·waŋwï-

	3 sing. an. vis.	3 sing. an. inv.	3 plur. an. vis.	3 plur. an. inv.	3 inan. vis.	3 inan. inv.	an. dual
1 sing.	-aŋani-	-'ŋwani-	-amïni-	-'mïni-	-aq·ani-	-'q·wani-	-'mïni-
dual incl.	-aŋarami-	-'ŋwarami-	-amïrami-	-'mïrami-	-aq·arami-	-'q·warami-	-'mïrami-
pl. incl.	-aŋaraŋwa-	-'ŋwaraŋwa-	-amïraŋwa-	-'mïraŋwa-	-aq·araŋwa-	-'q·waraŋwa-	-'mïraŋwa-
pl. excl..	-aŋanïmʷi-	-'ŋwanïmʷi-	-amïnïmʷi-	-'mïnïmʷi-	-aq·anïmʷi-	-'q·wanïmʷi-	-'mïnïmʷi-
2 sing. obj.	-aŋa'ami-	-'ŋwa'ami-	-amï'ïmi-	-'mï'ïmi-	-aq̇·ami-	-'q·wa'mi-	-'mï'ïmi-
pl. obj.	-aŋaŋumi-	-'ŋwaŋumi-	-amïŋumi-	-'mïŋumi-	-aq·aŋumi-	-'q·waŋumi-	-'mïŋumi-
3 sing. an. vis.	-aŋa'ŋa-		-aŋ'amï-		-aq̇·aŋa-		-aŋ'amï-
sing. an. invis.		-'ŋwa'ŋwa-		-'ŋw'amï-		-'q·wa'ŋwa-	-'ŋw'amï-
plur. an. vis.	-aŋ'amï-		-aŋ'amï-		-aq̇·amï-		-am'ïmï-
plur. an. invis.		-'ŋw'amï-		-'ŋw'amï-		-'q·wamï-	-'mï'ïmï-
inan. vis.	-aq̇·aŋa-		-aq̇·amï-		-aq̇·aq·a-		-aq̇·amï-
inan. inv.		-'q·wa'ŋwa-		-'q·wamï-		-'q·waq̇·wa-	-'q·wa'mï-

(e) In combinations of the third person, the singular animate precedes the plural animate, while the animate is always preceded by the inanimate. Furthermore, two *a-* vowels coming together in composition do not contract to *a·* but to *a'* (or *'a*); e. g. *-aŋa'ŋa-* < *-aŋa-* + *-aŋa-*, *-aq̇·aŋa-* < *-aq·a-* + *-aŋa-*. "Number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4) takes place when two animate plurals are combined, the first enclitic becoming singular in form; hence *-aŋ'amï-* < *-amï-amï-* as well as *-aŋa-amï-*, *-'ŋwa'mï-* < *-'mï-'mï-* as well as *-'ŋwa-'mï-*. Such a form as *-amï'mï-* THEY 2-THEM (VIS.) is compounded of *-amï-* and animate dual *-' . . .mï-*. A visible enclitic element is never combined with an invisible one (e. g. *-aŋa'ŋwa-* is impossible). Should it be necessary to contrast a visible subject or object with an invisible one, recourse must be had to the separation of the subject and object, e. g. *uŋwa'c·'uq·w ivi'va·n·ιa·q·ᴀ* HE (INV.)-IT (INV.) DRINK-WILL-IT (VIS.), HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.); in combined form only *ivi'va·n·ιaᴀ^{x}qa'aŋᴀ* HE (VIS.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.) or *ivi'va·n·ιaq̇·wa'aŋᴡᴀ* HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (INV.) are possible.

(f) The objective reflexive possessive *-vï-* has not been included in the table. It does not seem to combine with elements of the first and second persons. It is very frequently combined with enclitic elements of the third person, which it follows: *-aŋavï-*, *-'ŋwavï-*, *-am·ïvï-*, *-'mïvï-*, *-aq·avï-*, *-'q·wavï-*. It precedes the animate dual, however: *-vï'ïmï-*.

(g) The animate dual, which is regularly subjective, follows all third personal elements, including *-vï-* (see f above), but apparently precedes the enclitics of the first and second persons. Data, however, are quite imperfect for the latter cases. It may be noted once more that subjective animate plurals of the third person function as duals if the verb is singular in form.

(2) USES OF TWO COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The relations entered into by the two pronominal enclitics are of various sorts. The following are the main types that have been observed:

(a) *Subject and object of main verb.* Examples of this most frequently represented of types are:

a·'χawantcïv^{w}a·^{a}nι'amɪ I shall hide thee
p̯ïnι'k̯·aiva·^{a}ŋum^{w}ɪ I will see you (plur.)
um·a·'ŋanɪ pᴀ^{x}qa'ŋᴜpïγai(y)aŋᴀ it-with-him (vis.)-I killed-him (vis.), I killed him with it

man·ɔ'q·ɔaq·anɪ nɔ·'ïʿ all (obj.)-it (vis.)-I carry-present, I carry them (inan.) all on (my) back

ïvʷï'q̇·wanɪ tɔna'va·'q·ᴡᴀ let-it (inv.)-I stab-shall -it (inv.), let me stab it

nɩa'(i)yï(ˠ)αmïnɪ I call them (vis.) by name

ïvʷï''q·waramɪ sɔtsɩ'k̯·aivaʿ let-it (inv.)- we 2 (inclus.) peep-shall, let us 2 peep at it

ïvʷɩ''yaŋwaraŋᴡᴀ pᴀʿpa'q·qumṗa·ŋᴡᴀ let-plural imperative (§ 52) -him (inv.)-we (inclus.) kill (distributively)- shall-him (inv.), let us all kill him

uvʷa·'ntux·ᴡᴀcutca·ŋanïmɪ cï̧m·i̧'αk·ɪ it-at-to-same-preterit-him (vis.)-we (excl.) leave-hither, at that same place we (excl.) left him and came away

tᴜˣqwɩ''aiŋqïr'ɔnɩ'ⁱ shame-die-to-interrogative-me-thou, are you ashamed of me?

axa'n·intca·ᵃŋa'ᵃ pᴀˣqa'ŋoaŋᴀ how-preterit-him (vis.)-thou kill-him (vis.)? how did you kill him?

nana'ŋqˣᴀqaitcu'a·q·aŋᴡï hear (distributively)-perfective-interrogative-it (vis.)-ye, did you (plur.) hear it?

ʿan·ɔ'q·ɔχwaŋ'wan u̧ni'k·ˣᴀ when-preterit-he (inv.)-me so-do? when did he do so to me?

maa'iva·mṗï·ŋwarami'ⁱ find-will-dubitative-he (inv.)-us 2 (inclus.)-perhaps, he might find us 2 (inclus.).

tïvʷɩ'tsɩχ̯atsa·ŋani̧mɪ he (vis.) obeyed us (excl.); we 2 (excl.) obeyed him (vis.)

tɔna'va·n·ɩar'ɔa·ŋa'ŋᴀ will he (vis.) punch him (vis.)?

niŋwï'ŋwa·ᵃq̇·aŋᴀ mɔ'ɔ'aφï pï̧nɩ't·uk̯·aʿ person-plural-obj.-it (vis.)-he hand-obj.- own see-cause-perfective; he let people see it, his hand

ava'ŋwɩtca·ŋ'amï watcü'ŋᴜ it-in-preterit-he (vis.)-them (vis.) put, he put them 2 in; *also* they 2 put them 2 (*or* him) in

ava'ŋwɩtca·ŋ'amï watci'q·aŋᴜ they (more than 2) put them 2 (*or* him) in (note plural *-q·a-* of verb); *ava'ŋwɩtca·ŋ'amï yu̧n·a'ŋᴜ* he (*or* they 2) put them (more than 2) in (singular-dual or plural nature of object determined by verb stem: *watcï-* to put 1 or 2, *yun·a-* to put more than 2)

pa·''aγavatcuγwaŋw'αmï qwïï'p·ïγaʿ water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual subject and object), they 2 took them 2 into (the) water

man·ɔ'q·uaq̇·amï nava'ɪʿpïγaiᴀʿqa'amï all (obj.)-it (vis.)- they (vis.) divided (sing.-dual)-it (vis.)-they (vis.), all of it they 2 divided *pa(i)yu'ʼaŋqïq·ιv'a·mʷïnɪ* water-bring-for-hither-shall-dual-me, (ye) 2 shall bring water for me

man·ɔ'q·oαm·'ïmï niŋwï'm·aŋ'wïp·ïγai(y)am'ïmï all (obj.)-them (vis.)-dual people-cause-past-them (vis.)-dual, (they) 2 caused them all to be people

As a variant of this type may be considered that in which the objective element functions as the object not of the main verb, but of a subordinate form, say a gerund in *-tsι-* (§ 55, 1, a), e. g.:

tavι'tsιtca·ŋanɪ qᴀʽqa'ʀï hit-gerund-preterit-he-me run; having hit me, he ran off (note that *-nɪ* serves as object of *tavι'tsι-*, while *-tca-aŋa-* belong to following *qᴀʽqa'ʀï*)

(b) *Subject (objective form) of subordinate clause and subject of main clause.* Examples are:

pι'tcïqa'ŋwαnɪ nï̜' cu'a'ivaʽ arrive-if-him (inv.)-I I be-glad-shall; if he arrives, I shall be glad

tïʽqa'xutca·ŋ'aŋᴀ qaχa'ʽ eat-when-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.) sing (momentaneously); while he ate, he (another) sang

u̜ŋwa'ŋᴜq̇wa'q·wa' patca'q·wa·ᵃvaʽ rain-momentaneous-if-it (inv.)-thou get-wet-future; if it rains, you'll get wet

ya'a'ik·ˣ̣ᴀˣqa·m·ïn nï' paγᵋi'q·w'aivaʽ die-plur.-when-them (vis.)-I I go-off-shall; when they die, I shall go off

ιvä·''amïn· aik̯· avι'χ̯'umï navι''ᵃtsιŋwï̜ᴀ here-them (inv.)-I say lie (sing.-dual)-as-them (vis.) reciprocal-mother-diminutive-plural-obj.; here, I say, as they 2, mother and son, were lying

(c) *Subject (objective form) and object of subordinate clause.* Examples are:

tïˣqa'q·aχuᴀˣqaraŋᴡᴀ eat-plur.-when-it (vis.)-us (inclus.), when we eat it

u̜ni'χ̯u(w)aq̇·aŋᴀ while he (vis.) was doing it (vis.)

u̜nι'ŋumιŋqᴜcamṗa·q·amï do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.), even though they did it customarily

In such cases, however, the objective form of the second person plural is replaced by the subjective, *-ŋwï-* (§ 40), e. g.:

pï̜ŋqa'u̜niχ̯aiŋwï'ïmï continuously-do-as-ye-them (inv.), as you (plur.) kept doing so to them

(d) *Subject of main verb and possessive* (*of nominal object or noun with postposition*). Examples are:

i·′p·iŋwaiarủamι′ ųnι′k·^{x}ᴀ old-husband-obj.- interrogative-thy-thou do, are you doing so to your old husband?

o·′αtca·ŋ′aŋᴀ qwï′ï arrow-obj.-preterit-his (vis.)-he (vis.) take, he took his (another's) arrow

o·′αtca·ŋaφï qwï′ï arrow-obj.-preterit-he (vis.)-own take, he took his own arrow

*qwιvu′a·m·a·q̇·aŋᴀ qarï′i*ʿ top-on-its (vis.)-he (vis.) sits, he sits on top of it

*qan·ι′va·ŋ′amï pitcï′χwa′aip·ïγa*ʿ house-at-his-they (vis.) arrive (sing.-dual)-go-past, at his house they 2 went and arrived

(e) *Possessive and object.* In most of the examples obtained the possessive is attached to a noun + postposition or to a verbal noun in *-n·a-* (of objective force). The enclitic object is either the (direct or indirect) object of the main verb or of a verbal noun (as in relative constructions in *pï-*, see § 45). Examples are:

qᴜʿqwa′m·antï′ïminɪ ma(·)′x·ᴀ wood-at-being-thy-me give, give me some of (§ 50, 4, 7) your wood

pïm·a·′ŋa′m uʀ qwaa·′ŋumpa·nᴀ which-with-him (vis.)-thy it win-momentaneous-future-verbal noun, the wherewith thy being about to beat him, with which you will beat him

pïm·α′ŋwïnɪ qwaγwa·′ŋumpa·n·aŋwïm·inɪ which-with-ye-me win (distributively)-momentaneous-future-verbal noun-your (plur.)-me, with which you (plur.) will beat me (note use of subjective *-ŋwι-* after *pïm·a-* as equivalent to objective *-ŋwïm·i-*; cf. c. above)

*pïv^{w}a′′aŋwaφï watci′k·ain ^{w}′u′raip·ïγa*ʿ which-at-him (inv.)- own having-put it-toward-went, (he) went to where he had put him

*atcι′m·′aq·uq·wαφï yaŋwι′ŋwį̈nιχ̱a*ʿ bow-with-obj. (§ 49, 1)-it (inv.)-own hold-stand-while, while standing and holding it together with his own bow

*taŋa′na·χ′ιk·waφï mara′ŋιḵava*ʿ knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-shall, (ye) shall put it in (your) own knees

This type of construction can be used in relative clauses even with primarily passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), e. g.:

pïm^{w}a′x·qa′am a′ʀï tᴜʿtu′tcu(w)αp·ï which-with-it (vis.)-their (vis.) it set-as-landmark (distributively)-past passive partic., the (tree) wherewith they had marked it

(f) *Object and object.* Two objects may be employed either when the verb is doubly transitive, as with causatives of transitives, or when it possesses a direct and indirect object. Examples are:

pï̜ni't̓·ïik̯·aiq·wanɪ (he) let me see it (inv.)
qatcu'ᴀˣqan·u(w)ɑnɪ yu'ɑ'ŋqïqaɪ‘t̓uava·ŋwa'ᵃ not-it (vis.)-indefinite-me carry-for-resultative-impersonal-shall-negative, let no one hold it for me!
nï̜' maχa'(i)yïaq̇·amï I give it (vis.) to them (vis.)
pᴜ‘tcu'tcuγwat̓·uiq̇·wamï know-causative-it (inv.)-them (inv.), cause them to know it, teach them how to do it

(3) TWO ENCLITIC PRONOUNS COMBINED WITH INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS. Many combinations are theoretically possible. The following have been noted:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object + enclitic object*, e. g.:

nï'aq̇·aŋᴀ pï̜nɪ't̓·uk̯·a‘ I-it (vis.)-him (vis.) see-cause, I let him see it
maŋa''am·ɪnɪ pᴀˣqa'ŋqïqw'aiŋumpa‘ he-thee-me kill-for-go-momentaneous-shall, he'll kill you "for" me; he'll kill you, my dear

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject and object*, e. g.:

nï̜'niantca·ŋa'ᵃ nïo'ṗ·at·uγw u̜ni'ŋ'uŋᴡᴀ me-past-him (vis.)- thou I-through do-him (inv.), you did so to him through my help
ⁱ'i'm·ïar'ua·m·ïram a·'χaŋwantciŋqïmɪk̯a‘ these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they (anim.)-us 2 (inclus.) hide-from-usitative-perfective, they 2 have always been hiding these (people) from us 2

(4) USES OF THREE COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The rules of combination can be easily formulated from those already given (see 1 above); e. g. *-aŋ'am·ini-* HE (VIS.)-THEE-ME like *-aŋ'am·i-* and -' . . *.mini-*. The following types of combination have been noted:

(a) *Enclitic subject, first object, and second object*, e. g.:

pᴀˣqa'ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ'am·inɪ he will kill thee for me
maa'intca·ŋa'ŋan nï'nia·ŋᴀ pᴀ‘qa'(u)x·ᴜ find-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.)-me me-him (vis.) kill-subordinating, he found him killing me
a·'χawantciŋqï'yïq̇·wamɪ I hide it (inv.) from thee

(b) *Enclitic subject, object, and possessive.* The possessive enclitic generally relates to a second object or to a noun with postposition. Examples are:

pinä'sɪ·ɪχavaa(i)yuaŋ'am·ïφï crotch-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-him (vis.; = them)-they (vis.)-own, from between their own legs they (looked at) them

pɔ·'^{ɔ}v^{w}a·q̇·aŋanɪ watcï'iʻ trail-at-it (vis.)-his-I put, I put it at his trail

qwaia'ŋqᴡᴀpatcuγwa'q·waŋwïnɪ opposite-at-to-its (inv.)-ye-me, on the other side of it you (plur.) (throw) me

(c) *Enclitic possessive (of subject) and two objects*, e. g.:

pɪŋwa'ᴀ^{x}qa·ŋ'aŋᴀ tɔʻtɔ'p·ᴀ^{x}qa·ŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq̇·aŋᴀ wife-it (vis.)-his (vis.)-him (vis.) patch (distributively)-for-past-it (vis.)- him (vis.), his wife patched them (inan.) for him

§ 42. *Post-nominal pronouns.*

Post-nominal pronouns (or article-pronouns) are identical in form with the shorter forms of certain of the independent third personal pronouns (or demonstratives). They are closely attached, though not as phonetically amalgamated enclitics, to preceding nouns, participles, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns, which they serve to make clearly denominating terms. Frequently they hold together a group of two or more words as a denominative unit, in which case they may stand after the first word of the group instead of at the end. They are practically equivalent to postposed articles and are differentiated according to number, visibility and invisibility, animate and inanimate, and, to some extent, case. On the whole, case distinctions are neglected and primarily subjective forms often function also as objectives. This seems to indicate a tendency towards development into true articles. Ordinarily an article-pronoun follows immediately upon the denominating term, but sometimes an intervening enclitic (pronominal or other) element separates the two, e. g. *qana'rïtsɪŋwï'aq· umï* KANAB-PEOPLE-OBJ.-IT (INV.) THEY (INV.), THE KANAB INDIANS (OBJ.)-IT. The following post-nominal pronouns are in use:

(1) *aŋᴀ* HE: animate visible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

yu'o'ʀᴀ^{x}qɔp·ɪ'naq·aina·ŋ aŋᴀ leg-break-perfective-verbal noun-his (vis.) he (vis.), he whose leg has been broken, the one with a broken leg

nɪa·'vɪŋ'wa·m· aŋᴀ their (vis.)-chief he (vis.), their chief

tïγï'v^{w}'ïŋw aŋᴀ friend-his (inv.) he (vis.), his (inv.) friend (vis.)

cina'ŋwavιt̓cua'm· aŋᴀ tᴜʿcu't̓·uiy'ïmɪ coyote-interrogative-thee he (vis.) grind-causative-present-thee, does (the) Coyote cause you to grind (seeds)?

yu'a'rïaq· aŋᴀ carry-participle-it (vis.) he (vis.), who carries it away, the carrier of it
am·ï'ŋwant aŋᴀ cυ·'yuc·ᴜ they (vis.)-from-participle he (vis.) one, one of them

The corresponding objective form is also regularly *aŋᴀ*, which replaces theoretical *aŋa'iᴀ*. Examples are:

pi(y)a'(i)yav aŋ aŋa'ŋwa'^{a} mother-obj.-own she (vis.; = her) she-with, with his own mother
wantsι' aŋ aŋa''uraʿ antelope (obj.) he (vis.; = him) he-toward, toward the antelope
marï'c·amp aŋqa'q·wa·^{a}*naŋ'wantsι aŋᴀ ᴡïʿcι'yaa·ŋᴀ piya'ɪpïγaʿ* that (inan.)-only robin (obj.) he (vis.; = him, his) feathers-his (vis.) remained, only those feathers of the robin were left over

For *aŋᴀ* = *amï*, see 2 below.

An unexplained variant of *aŋᴀ is aŋᴡᴀ*, apparently used only after objective forms, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavι(y) aŋᴡᴀ coyote (obj.) he (= him)
pavi'av aŋᴡᴀ piŋwa'iᴀ elder brother-obj.-own he (= him, his) wife (obj.), his own elder brother's wife (obj.)

(2) *amï* THEY: animate visible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ɔva'n'naŋqaŋw amï geese they (vis.), the geese
nava'tsιŋw amï reciprocal-sister-plural they (vis.), the 2 sisters
qanι'χ̯antïm^{w} *amï* house-having-plural they (vis.), the villagers
a'iva(i)yaŋwïn amï companion-plural-my they (vis.), my companions
am·u'c·ᴜ waa'(i)y amï to(w)a'tsιŋwïaŋᴀ they two they (vis.) children-his (vis.); they, his two children

The objective form, theoretically *amï'ᴀ*, appears regularly as *amï*, e. g.:

mam·ï'ac·ᴜ tïγι'aŋwï amï qanι'n·a·χι(y)am ᴀ^{x}*qɔ''ix̯·ᴜ* them (vis.) deer (plur. obj.) they (vis.; = them) house-in-them (vis.) sleep-subordinating; while they, the deer, were sleeping in (the) house
qava·'ŋwï amï horses (obj.) they (vis.; = them), the horses (obj.)

Instead of *amï* (subjective or objective) is sometimes found, by "number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4; § 41, 1, e), the corresponding singular *aŋᴀ*. This dissimilation takes place after (sometimes before) animate plural *-m·ï-* or *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1) + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, e. g.:

patcü'ŋwïaŋ aŋᴀ daughters-his (vis.) she (vis.; = they), his daughters
piŋwa'ŋwïam· aŋᴀ wives-their (vis.) she (vis.; = they), their wives
taŋwa'(i)y aŋᴀ niŋwï'a·ŋwïraŋᴡᴀ us (inclus.) he (vis.; = they) people-our (inclus.), our people
mam·u'c·ᴜ mam·a'rinarïm^{w}*ïam aŋᴀ* they (vis.) chasing (distributively)-plural-them (vis.) he (vis.; = they), they who chase them
amï may be optionally employed in these cases.

(3) *iŋᴀ* THIS (ANIM.), HE HERE: animate singular subjective, e. g.:
qwiyα'tsim·a(u)ma'ts ɩŋᴀ bear-woman she-here, the bear-woman here
cina'ŋwav iŋᴀ coyote he-here, coyote here

The objective form, *iŋa'iᴀ*, is also found as article-pronoun, e. g.:
cu(w)a'riγɩk·^{x}*ᴀpïγa'aiŋw a'iφᴀpïtsɩ iŋa'iᴀ* nearly-miss-plural-past-him (inv.) youth (obj.) him-here, (they) commenced to miss the youth here (inv.)

(4) *uŋᴡᴀ* (*'uŋᴡᴀ*) HE: animate invisible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

pavi'n uŋᴡᴀ elder brother-my he (inv.), my (absent) elder brother
nï'ni uŋᴡᴀ pi(y)a'nɪ me she (inv.) mother-my, my (absent) mother
narï'v^{w}*ɩyan 'aro''avatcï cᴜ'q·ᴜcamp̀ uŋwᴀ* customarily-I wont-to-have one-obj.-only he (inv.), I am he who is wont to have only one (arrow)
aŋa'v'a·xïaŋ 'uŋᴡᴀ tᴀ'pu'q·wɩtcï he-over-he (vis.; subject of sentence) he (inv.) jumping; he, the one who jumps over him, (will have it). Note that *-aŋ* summarizes, as enclitic subject, *aŋa'v'a·xï- 'uŋᴡᴀ tᴀ'pu'q·wɩtcï*; *'uŋᴡᴀ* serves as article pronoun of *aŋa'v'a·xï- tᴀ'pu'q·wɩtcï*

As objective form of *uŋᴡᴀ* is generally found *uŋᴡᴀ*, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavɩ(y)an uŋw a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* coyote-obj.-I he (inv.; = him) say, I say (that) coyote (obj.)
nia·'^{a}*vɩ uŋᴡᴀ qanɩ'vaa(u)ŋᴡɪ* chief (obj.) he (inv.; = him, his) house-in, in the chief's house

pᴀ'qa'ŋuntca·ŋanɪ qᴜ'tu'c·ι uŋᴡᴀ kill-preterit-him (vis.)-I giant (obj.) he (inv.;-him), I have killed the giant

Less frequently the properly objective form, *uŋwa'iᴀ*, is used as article pronoun, e. g.:

tïγï'vʷïav uŋwa'i a'ip·ïᵞa'aŋᴡᴀ friend-obj.-own him (inv.; = his) say-past passive partic.-obj.-his (inv.), what (obj.) his own friend had said

For *uŋᴡᴀ* as equivalent of plural *umï*, see 5 below.

(5) *umï* THEY: animate invisible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

mom·ǫ'αŋųm ïχïr umï fathers-your (plur.) indeed they (inv.), your fathers indeed

It is also used objectively instead of theoretical *umï'ᴀ*, e. g.:

qana'rï·tsιŋwï'aq· umï mam·a'q·ɔ·'mɪpïᴀ pᴜ'pu'tcutcuγwαp·ï Kanab-people-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) bear-dance (obj.) having-learned (distributively), the Kanab Indians' having learned (the) bear dance

"Number dissimilation" frequently takes place here also; *uŋᴡᴀ* is used instead of *umï* after animate plural *-ŋwï-* + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, also sometimes after plural *-ŋwï-* alone. Examples are:

ini'a·ŋwïγaɪpïa'am· uŋᴡᴀ relations-past-objective-thy he (inv.; = them), of your dead relations
piŋwa'ŋwïaraŋw uŋᴡᴀ wives-obj.-our she (inv.; = them), our wives (obj.)
sï'ra·m·am·a'ɔtsιŋwïχ'a·m· uŋᴡᴀ Cedar City-women-ṭhen-them (vis.) she (inv.; = they); the Cedar City women, then,-them
ma·'ᵃ'caγwɔitsιŋw uŋᴡᴀ old-women she (inv.; = they), the old women

(6) *aʀï* IT: inanimate visible subjective, e. g.:

qᴡᴀ'cι'(y)aŋ aʀï piya'ɪpïγa' tail-his (vis.) it (vis.) was-left, his tail was left
pa·' aʀï water it (vis.), the water
pï̹nι'k̯·aiaq·ᴀ tümp a'ʀï look at-it (vis.) rock it (vis.), look at the rock (objects of imperatives are subjective)
taŋwa'i aʀï na'a'it·uik̯·anaraŋᴡᴀ us (inclus.) it (vis.) burn-causative-plural-verbal noun-our (inclus.), the fire that we built

'i'vä·nt aʀï here-being it (vis.), what is here
yu'u'n· aʀï leg-my it (vis.), my leg

(7) *‘a'iᴀ* ɪᴛ: inanimate visible objective. The corresponding objective form of *aʀï* is not ordinarily *aʀï* or *arï'ᴀ*, as one would have expected, but *‘a'iᴀ*, a true demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). Examples are:

quna'i ‘aiᴀ fire (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the fire (obj.)
paγa'ŋ'wɩa·m ‘ai‘ bowstring-obj.-their (vis.) it (vis. obj.), their bowstrings (obj.)
tïvʷi'p·ï ‘aiᴀ man·ɔ'q·oaq·ᴀ pᴜ‘ca'γaip·ïγai(y)aq·ᴀ land (obj.) it (vis. obj.) all (obj.)-it (vis.) looked-around-it (vis.), (he) looked around all the land

Far less often *ᴀ‘qa'iᴀ*, a more properly pronominal form, is used as objective inanimate visible article-pronoun, e.g.:
‘atcï'ᴀˣqaiᴀ bow (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the bow (obj.)

(8) *uʀï, uʀᴜ ('uʀï)* ɪᴛ: inanimate invisible, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ma·'ᵃv'ïŋw uʀ thing(s)-his (inv.) it (inv.), his things
na'a'int̓ ur anɩ'k·ˣᴀ burning it (inv.) does, there is something burning
qan·ɩ'p·ïvʷa·ᵃnt uʀ camp-past-at-being it (inv.), what is at an abandoned camp, the abandoned camp

It may also be used objectively, instead of theoretical *urï'ᴀ, uru'ᴀ*, e. g.:

niŋwï'mpɩᴀ tï‘qa'va·n'aŋʷ uʀ liver (obj.) eat-will-verbal noun-his (inv.) it (inv.); liver (obj.), the one he will eat; the liver which he is to eat

(9) *‘ɔa'iᴀ* ɪᴛ: inanimate invisible objective. The exact invisible correspondent of *‘aiᴀ* (7 above) is *‘ɔa'iᴀ, ‘wa'iᴀ*, a properly demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). It seems to be more frequently used than objective *uʀï*. Examples are:

qanɩ'va'aŋ‘w ɔa'i‘ house-at-his (inv.) it (inv. obj.), at his house
pᴜ‘tcu'tcuγwap·ïγa'aik·w aŋqa'q·wɪcarï ‘ɔa'iᴀ understood-it (inv.) lightning (obj.) it (inv. obj.), (he) knew about the lightning
quna'ian ‘ɔai uvʷa''a·χ ᵃ'a'p·ɪ‘qovʷa‘ fire-obj.-I it (inv. obj.) it-over will-lean-back-and-forth, I will lean back and forth over the fire

Related to *ʻɔa′iᴀ* as *ᴀ^{x}qa′iᴀ* is to *ʻa′iᴀ* (7 above) is *ᴜ^{x}qwa′iᴀ*, which is also not infrequently used as inanimate invisible objective article-pronoun. Examples are:

niŋwï′mpι ᴜ^{x}qwa′iʻ tï^{x}qa′p·ïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ	liver (obj.) it (inv. obj.) ate-it (inv.), (he) ate the liver
ᴀʻsι′a(i)ya'q·ᴡ ᴜʻqwa′iʻ maru′'^{u}miŋᴜpïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ	bark-obj.-its (inv.) it (inv. obj.) pulled-it (inv.)-off, (he) pulled off its bark

§ 43. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

There are four demonstrative stems, as already noted (§ 39, 1): *a-* THAT (indefinite); *i-*, *^{i}'i-* THIS; *ma-*, *m^{w}a′-* THAT (visible; referred to); and *u-*, *^{u}'u′-* that (invisible). These stems are not directly used as independent demonstratives (except for rather infrequently employed adverbs: *a·*, *ma·ʻ*; see § 60, 2, d; 3), but need to be combined with other elements. The following types of demonstrative usage may be recognized:

(1) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS FOLLOWED BY POSTPOSITIONS. These are extremely common and correspond, in function, to inanimate demonstrative pronoun + postposition. Examples are:

ava′ʻ	that-at, there (indefinite)
aru′q·ᴡᴀ	that-under, under it
maru′x·ᴡᴀ	that (vis.)-to, to it
mava′'anᴀ	that (vis.)-on, on it
m^{w}a′vaʻ	that-at, there (not far away)
ι(y)ε′nᴜ	this-at, here, present (< *i- a′n·u-*)
'i′väʻ	this-at, here
'i′ᴜpa'^{a}	this-through, in this direction
uv^{w}a′ʻ, *'u′v^{w}aʻ*	that (inv.)-at, there (inv.)
o·′p·a'^{a} (< *u-u′p·a'^{a}*), *^{o}'o′x·pa'^{a}* (< *'u′-up·a'^{a}*)	that (inv.)-through, in yonder direction

(2) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS + THIRD PERSON PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS. These forms function as independent third personal pronouns (§ 39, 1); as article-pronouns (§ 42); and as enclitic third personal pronouns (§ 40, 1). There is nothing further to be said about them here except to note once more that these personal demonstratives often preserve their proper demonstrative force.

(3) VERBS OF DOING. These are nothing but derivatives in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b) of the demonstrative stems. The idea of DOING, ACTING fre-

quently passes over into that of HAVING SOMETHING HAPPEN TO ONE, BEING. The verbs of doing are: *an·i-* TO DO (indefinitely); *man·i'-*, *mʷa'n·i-* TO DO (as indicated); *in·i'-*, *'i'n·i-* TO DO IN THIS MANNER; *un·i-'*, *'u'n·i-* TO DO IN THAT (narrated, unseen) MANNER. Examples of these verbs are:

ani'χ̯w'aip·ïγaʻ do-went, went in order to do
i(y)ɛ'nuan ʻanι'n'nιʻ here-I do-continuative-present, here I am
aχa'n·iχ̯ai ʻani'k·ˣᴀ tᴜʻcu'xwaʻ how-act-subordinating-thou so-do grinding? why are you doing so, grinding? why are you engaged in grinding?
man·i'k̯·aŋuya·q·ᴀ do-plural-momentaneous-plural imperative-it (vis.), do (plur.) it in that way (as described)!
manι'mɪkup·ïγaʻ do-moving-inceptive-past, (he) started to do that while in motion
qatcu'aq· ᵘmʷα'n·ιa'ap·ᴀ not-it (vis.) do-negative, don't do that!
ᵘmʷα'nιva·nt u̧waru''ᵅ that-do-future-participle he-is, he is about to act in that manner, he'll be doing so
in·i'ŋuya·q·ᴀ this-do-momentaneous-dual imperative-it (vis.); do it this way, you 2!
'i'nimiᴀcampanïmʷɪ this-do-travel (plur.)-only-we (exclus.), only this we do when traveling
u̧nι'm·ιmpa·n·ιanɪ do-usitative-future-I, I shall be wont to do
tcaγι'p· u̧nι'ŋᴜpïγaʻ near did, (it) got near
'u'n·ιvä·p·ɪ do-future-passive partic., about to be done to

In their absolute form verbs of doing frequently function as adverbs of manner. In this capacity they may be combined with forms of similar morphology that serve as verbs of doing. Examples are:

a'n·ɪ in that (indef.) way
man·i'ntca·ŋan u̧ni'ŋᴜ thus-preterit-him- I do-momentaneous, I did so (as described) to him
ᵘmʷα'n·ιaŋ ʻa'ik·ˣᴀ in that way he said
i'n·ɪ in this way
u̧nι'c·un·ιᴀ thus-again-like, just as before
u̧nic· an·ι'p·ïγaʻ thus-again did, acted in the same way, did the same thing
ᵘ'u'n'ɴɪ in that (inv.) way

(4) SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. From the demonstrative stems *a-* and

u- are formed the verbs of being: *aro'a-* TO BE (VIS.) and *uru'a-* TO BE (INV.). See § 56, 1.

(5) *ai-*, *mai-*. These are extended forms of demonstrative *a-* and *ma-*. They are used as independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, particularly with verbs of saying, (talking, hearing). However, they are not ordinarily found except followed by pronominal enclitics. Their objective forms are *aia-*, *maia-* (probably < *a-ya-*, *ma-ya-*). As to usage, *ai-* is best translated as THAT (indefinite), *mai-* as THAT (quoted, referred to).

Examples of subjective *ai-* are:

a'inɪ naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ that-my heard (partic.)-my, that (is) what I heard

a'i(y)aq·ᴀ qᴜ'qo'q·wɪk̯anaŋum aʀï that-it (vis.) shoot (distributively)-plural-verbal noun-your (plur.) it (vis.), that (is) it which you (plur.) shoot at

Examples of objective *aia-* are:

a'ian 'a'imι' that (obj.)-I say- usitative, that's what I always say

a'ia·ŋ ġïr 'a'imι' that (obj.)-he (vis.) indeed say-usitative, that's what he indeed always says

'a'i ïγïr 'aik·^{x}ᴀ that (obj.)-thou indeed said, that indeed you said (for *'ai* < *'aia'*, see § 40, 2)

Curiously enough, objective *aia-* becomes *ai-* before the interrogative, the two elements combining as *aitcu'a-*, *aintcu'a-*, e. g.:

a'itcuan (or *a'intcuan*) *a'ik·^{x}ᴀ* that (obj.)-interrogative-I said, did I say that?

a'intcua·ŋ 'a'imι' that (obj.)-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is he wont to say that? does he really mean that?

Subjective *mai-* is illustrated in:

ma'in nï̯ni naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ that (quoted)-my me heard (partic.)-my, that's what I heard

maï'm imi naŋqa'q·ainᴀ that-thy thee hearing, that's what you hear

Examples of objective *maia-* are:

ma'ian 'aik·^{x}ᴀ that I say

ma'i(y) ïγïr 'a'ik·^{x}ᴀ that indeed thou sayest (*mai* < *maia'* as above)

Parallel to *maia-* is *m^{w}a'ia-*, e. g.:

m^{w}a'iᴀcampa·^{a}ŋ 'aik·^{x}ᴀ that (obj.)-only-he say, that's all he says
^{u}m^{w}a'iᴀcampan niruγw ampa'x·ᴀ that -(obj.)-only-me I-to talk, that only talk to me! stop talking to me!

As we have already seen, *aia-* is also used as inanimate visible objective article-pronoun: *'a'iᴀ* (§ 42, 7). Its parallel invisible *'ɔa'iᴀ* (probably < *u-a-ya-*) is not used as independent demonstrative, though it must be such in origin. For adverbial-connective use of *ai-*, see § 60, 2, a; for *'ɔa'iᴀ* as modal adverb, see § 60, 3.

(6) VERBS OF SAYING. Parallel to the demonstratives *ai-* and *mai-* are the verbs of saying: *ai-* TO SAY (indefinitely) and *mai-* (*m^{w}a'ia-*) TO SAY THAT (which has been quoted); e. g. *qatc ^{u}m^{w}a'iaŋwai'yuc·ampᴀ* NOT SAY-THAT-NEGATIVE-SUBORDINATING-ONLY, ALTHOUGH NOT SAYING THAT. Either these verbs result from composition with demonstrative *a-*, *ma-* (*m^{w}a'-*); or they are merely verbified forms of demonstrative *ai-* and *mai-*.

Note on § § 39–43.

The three classes of pronouns already discussed observe the distinction in the third person between visible (or present) and invisible (or absent) forms. Nevertheless sentences occur, as may have been noticed, in which the same person or object is designated now as visible, now as invisible. To a large extent this seems to be due to a desire to prevent the same phonetic group ("word") from containing both a visible and an invisible element (see, for combinations of two enclitics, § 41, 1, e), but not entirely. Apparently the difference between the two sets of forms tends to become a formal rather than a strictly functional matter. Examples of such contradictory sentences are:

imi'ntcu'a·ŋᴀ pïni'k̥·ai'iŋᴡᴀ tïγï'v^{w}ïa'm u'ŋᴡᴀ thou-interrogative-him (vis.) see-him (inv.) friend-obj.-thy he (inv.; = him), did you see your friend (inv.)?
tɔγ^{w}ɔ'ɪᴍᴜ^{x}taq·aŋ'waŋq̇uŋᴡᴀ qᴜ'qwɪ't·ua·ŋᴀ right-forehead-on-obj.-his (inv.) shoot-impersonal-him (vis.), (if) anybody shoots him right on his forehead
tava'iᴀ m^{w}α'va·q·ᴀ qarï'q̇·uq·ᴡᴀ sun (obj.) there-it (vis.) sit-when-it (inv.), when the sun sets there

§ 44. *Interrogative pronouns.*

Interrogative stems may be divided into two groups, those employed denominatively (interrogative pronouns proper) and those employed adverbially or serving as base for adverbial forms. They are not accompanied by the interrogative enclitic *-ru'a-* (§ 19, 2, f).

(1) DENOMINATIVE FORMS. Four or five denominative stems are found: *aŋa-*, *in·i-*, *impï-*, and *an·ɪa-*; further *aγa-*, which is always verbalized or adverbialized by suffixed elements.

(a) *aŋa-* WHO? This interrogative refers to persons only. Its objective form is *aŋaia-*; its subjective plural is *aŋam·ï-* (see § 48, 1), objective *aŋam·ïa-*. It must not be confused with *aŋa-* HE, THAT ONE (§ 39). It is perhaps to avoid this confusion that interrogative *aŋa-* is apparently never used with postpositions; e. g. *aŋa'rux·ᴡᴀ* denotes TO HIM, not TO WHOM?. The latter idea would have to be expressed periphrastically (see § 50, 3). Examples of *aŋa-* are:

aŋ aru''^{a} who is? who is it?
aŋ aro''avï iŋᴀ who would-be this-one? I wonder who this is!
'aŋ an·i'k·^{x}*ᴀ* who does-so? who is it that does so?
aŋ aiḳ· ampa'χaχa' who says talking? who is that talking? (referring to one who is heard but not seen)
aŋa'i aro''^{a} whom (= whose) is? whose is it? (contrast *aŋa'iac· aro''*^{a} it is his)
aŋai uŋwa'rux·ᴡᴀ whom he (inv.)-to? to whom?
aŋam· aro''^{a} who (plur.) are? who are they?
aŋa'm·ïantca' pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜ* whom (plur.)- preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?

(b) *in·i-*^{s} WHO? WHAT? OF WHAT SORT? This is a generalized animate interrogative pronoun, referring to an animal, an animate being not known to be definitely human or animal, or a person of undefined characteristics. Subjective *in·i-* sometimes appears as unelided *in·ɪ* before *aro'a-* TO BE. Its objective singular is *in·ɪa-*; subjective plural *in·iŋwï-* (see § 48, 1), objective *in·iŋwïa-*. Examples are:

in· aro' i'ŋᴀ what is this (anim.)?
in·ɪ aro''^{a} what is it (anim.)?
in·i'ntcan nïŋwu'runɪ who-preterit-me person-make-me? who ever made me a peron? who ever respected me?
in·iŋw aro''^{a} what (plur.) are? what are they (animals)?
ini'ŋwï aro''^{a} what (plur. obj.) are? to what (animals) does it belong?

(c) *impï-*^{s} WHAT (inanimate); objective *impïa-*. In all probability *impï-* is connected with *in·i-*; for *-pï-* see nominalizing suffix *-p·ï-*, § 25, 5, b? *impï-* may be used with at least certain postpositions (e. g. *-m·a-* WITH); it may also be used as a nominal base for verbal derivatives, e. g. *impï'γai-* TO HAVE WHAT? *impuru-* TO MAKE WHAT? Examples of *impï-* are:

imp aro''^{a} what is it (vis.)?
imp̓ uru''^{a} what is it (inv.)?
impï'a·ŋᴀ tïʽqa'vaʽ what (obj.)-he (vis.) eat-shall? what will he eat
impï'maʼ tïγa'n·ιva·n·ιʽ what-with-thou butcher-will? what will you butcher with?
impï'xaiʼ what hast thou?
impu'ruyïaŋᴀ what is he making?

(d) *an·ia-* WHAT? This interrogative is used only as the object of verbs of saying or mental activity, e. g.:

ʽani'αn ʽaik·^{x}*ᴀ* what-I say? what did I say?
im an·ι'ᴀ nɔn·ɔ'c·ιvätcï thou what being-wont-to-dream? what have you ever dreamt?
anι'aʼ cu̯ma·'iʽ what-thou think-present? what are you thinking of?

Aside from its use as an interrogative pronoun, *an·ia-* frequently appears as a verb, TO SAY WHAT? As such it is treated analogously to *ai-* TO SAY. Examples are:

im ʽani'avatcï thou wont-to-say-what? what are you accustomed to say?
an·ι'ᴀ^{x}*qa·ŋᴀ* what did he (vis.) say? (for *-q·a-* see § 32, 2)
ʽan·ι'axaiʼ a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* say-what-subordinating-thou say-so? for what reason do you say so?
anι'aŋuntcαʼ nïru'x·ᴡᴀ say-what-momentaneous-preterit-thou I-to? what did you say to me?

With enclitic *-n·ia-* LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) this verb means TO CARE FOR WHAT? e. g. *nïʼ anι'ᴀ*^{x}*qanιʽ* WHAT DO I CARE? With enclitic *-c·u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k) and followed by *ai-* TO SAY, pronominal *ʽan·ia-* denotes TO TEASE, e. g. *ʽani'ᴀcu̯ŋwïn a'ik̯·amιʽ* WHAT-AGAIN-YE-ME SAY-PLURAL-USITATIVE? YE ARE WONT TO TEASE ME.

(2) ADVERBIAL FORMS. Three interrogative stems are included under this head: *aγa-*, *ʽan·ɔq·ɔ-*, and *ai-*.

(a) *aγa-* HOW? WHAT? This is properly a denominating stem meaning WHAT? but it occurs only with postpositions or as verbified *aγan·i-* TO ACT HOW? parallel to other verbs of doing in *-n·i-* (§ 43, 3). Examples of *aγa-* with postpositions are:

*aγa'va*ʽ what-at? where?
axa'va·ntux·ᴡᴀ where to?
aγa'ᴜp̓a'^{a} in which direction? in what way?

Verbal examples of *aγa'n·i-* TO ACT HOW? TO DO WHAT? are:

axa'n·ɩva·ŋanɪ how shall I act with him (vis.)? what shall I do to him?
aγa'n·ɪ^{x}*k̭a·ŋᴀ* what did he (vis.) do?
aγa'n·ɩŋutsɩŋw' a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* what-do-momentaneous-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-he (inv.) say-so? having done what, he says so? what happened to him that he says so?

Analogously to other forms in *-n·i-*, *aγan·i-* is often in use as an adverb of manner, HOW? e. g.:

^{u}*m*^{w}*a'r aro''avï aγa'n ani'ntcï* that (inan. vis.) would-be how doing? I wonder what that means!
axa'n·intca·ŋa'^{a} *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'ŋoaŋᴀ* how-preterit-him-thou kill-him? how did you kill him?

Subordinates in *-γai-* (§ 55, 1, b) of verbal *aγan·i-* are equivalent to WHY? e. g.:

*aχa'n·iχ̯aiam ʽan·ɩ'm·i*ʽ what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? acting how, are they wont to do so? why do they do so?
axa'n·ɩχ̯ain·ɩ' a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* what-do-subordinating-me-thou say? why do you say so to me?

(b) *ʽan·ɔq·ɔ-* WHEN? e. g.:

ʽan·ɔ'q·ɔχwaŋ'wan ųni'k·^{x}*ᴀ* when-preterit-he (inv.)-me do so? when did he do so to me?
ʽan·ɔ'q·ɔχwan·ɩ' ųnɩ'k·^{x}*ᴀ* when didst thou do so to me?

(c) *ai-* (TO BE) WHERE? (TO DO) WHAT? This verbal interrogative is perhaps a specialized form of adverbial *ai-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a), itself of demonstrative origin. It is always followed by preterital *-tca-*, even when reference is had to present time. Examples are:

a'itcaŋᴡᴀ where is he (inv.)?
a'itcaram v·'v^{w}*ai*ʽ where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) then? where have we 2 got now?
a'itcaŋwa' ïŋa·''p·ɩtsɩ uŋᴡᴀ what-preterit-him (inv.)-thou baby (obj.) he (inv.; = him)? what did you do to the baby?

§ 45. *The relative pronoun.*

The Paiute relative pronoun, *pï-*, can be used only with postpositions; e. g. *pïma-* WITH WHICH, *pu'urai-* WHERETO, WHITHER, *pïvʷa·-* IN WHICH, WHERE. The equivalent of our own subjective and objective relative clauses is afforded by participles and verbal nouns in *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3). Properly speaking, *pï-* is a noun, as is shown by the fact that it is frequently followed by an inanimate article-pronoun. The verb following the relative is generally in the form of a verbal noun in *-n·a-*, less frequently in the form of a participle in *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), rarely a non-participial absolute; hence the logical subject of a relative clause is always objective (i. e. possessive) in form. A sentence like THIS IS THE STICK THAT I HIT HIM WITH is rendered by THIS IS THE STICK WITH WHICH (IS) MY HITTING (OR HAVING HIT) HIM. Examples of relative clauses are:

itcï'a·q·ᴀ nį'nɩ pïvʷaʻ qarï'n·anɪ this (inan. obj.)-it (vis.) me which-in sitting-my, this is where I stay

pïma'(u)φï na'uq·wɩŋqut'·u'ava·nᴀ which-with-own fight-future-verbal noun, (he made many shirts) with which he was to fight

pu'u'rainɪ nį'ni ųni'nanɪ which-toward-my me doing-my, to where I am going

marï'c·ᴜ pïvʷa.iyuam aʀ kia'q·ᴀqainᴀ that (inan.) which-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-their (vis.) it (vis.) dance-plural-perfective-verbal noun, that (is) the (place) where they danced

ᵘ'u'rï'a·q·ᴀ pïvʷa·'ntïmʷanaŋqwan anɩ'p·ïnɪ that (inan. inv. obj.)-it (vis.) which-at-participle-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where I came from

ya·'c·pïγaʻ pu'u'raiv ųnɩŋ ᵘ'u'raʻ flew-off which-toward-own do-momentaneous it (inv.)-toward, (they) flew off to where they go to

Note that in the last example the absolute verb form *ųnɩŋu-* is treated as a noun, as shown by the possessive *-v(ï)-* preceding it.

§ 46. *Reflexive pronouns.*

The reflexive stem in Paiute is *na-ˢ*. This never occurs alone, but is always either compounded with a following stem (see § 22) or followed by a postposition, e. g.:

na'up̓·aya·ŋᴀ mam·a'ʻ self-like-plural imperative-him (vis.) change (distributively), do ye change him into your own appearance

naŋwa'ntux·wᴀ pa'iχaʻ self-on-to call-subordinating, while calling (them) on to himself

na'u(w)a'mek· ųnιŋuts· watcι'm'mιap·ïγaʿ self-in front of-them (inan. inv.) then put-moving-past, then (he) put them in front of himself while moving along
navι'naŋqwɔp̓·aq·WA yuna'p·ïγaʿ self-behind-them (inan. inv.) put down-past, (he) put them down behind himself
a'ip·ïγa a'ip·ats an (= *aŋA*) *naru'x·WA* said boy he (vis.) self-to, said the boy to himself

As in compounds, so also with postpositions, *na-* may have a reciprocal significance, e. g.:

navι'n·aŋqWA self-after, one after another
naŋwa''ai- self-with, with each other, both (§ 50, 4, 11)

An independent reflexive or emphatic pronoun, related to *na-*, also occurs: *nan·ɔ·'-c·u-* (subjective); objective apparently *nan·ɔ·'rïa-c·u-* (cf. perhaps *nį̈niac·u-* MYSELF obj.). An example of *nan·ɔ·'c·u-* is:

nan·ɔ·'^{ɔ}*c·o'oq·w ųwa'ruγwap·ïγa'aik·WA* self-it (inv.) him-to-past-it (inv.), he himself gave it to him

An indirect reflexive *nan·ɔ·'φ* SELF (compounded probably of *nan·ɔ·-* and *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37) also occurs, e. g.:

nan·ɔ'ɔv ųni'ŋkïpïγaʿ self-at (?) make-for-past, (he) made (it) for himself

Noun Morphology (§ § 47–50).

§ 47. *Noun and verb stem.*

All Paiute stems end in a vowel or diphthong. A peculiarity of the great majority of noun and verb stems is that they are primarily disyllabic, e. g. *qan·i-*^{s} HOUSE; *tïv*^{w}*i-*^{g} EARTH; *at·a-*^{s} SAND; *paγ(a)i-*^{n} TO GO; *qarï-*^{s} TO SIT; *paq·a-*^{s} TO KILL. The typical monosyllabic stem (or radical) of so many languages is conspicuous by its comparative infrequency; moreover, practically all monosyllabic stems have two moras, e. g. *qa·-*^{s} TO SING, *pai-*^{s} TO CALL *to·-*^{g} BLACK, *o·-*^{s} ARROW, *paï-*^{g} BLOOD. If expressed in terms of moras, the typical Paiute stem would probably be found to have two moras, i. e. to consist of a monosyllable with a long vowel or diphthong, or, far more frequently, of two short-voweled syllables. However, disyllabic stems of three moras (e. g. *tuγυ·-* TO CACHE, *tïna·-* BOTTOM) are not at all rare. Trisyllabic stems, of three or more moras (e. g. *as·ia·-* SURFACE, *tɔγɔq·wi-* TO RUN), are also fairly common; stems of four or more syllables are rare (e. g. *tïv*^{w}*itsiγa-* TO OBEY). Were extended comparative Uto-Aztekan material available, it would no doubt be possible to show that many of these trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems are capable of analysis. The two-moraed stem ending in a vowel, of both monosyllabic and disyllabic structure, is clearly the characteristic type of stem for all Uto-Aztekan languages.

Noun and verb stems are kept clearly distinct, the use of the same stem now as noun, now as verb, being exceedingly uncommon. An example is *quq·wa-* WOOD, also TO GATHER WOOD (cf. English BERRY and TO BERRY); note also *ni(y)a-* (two-moraed) TO CALL BY NAME, but *ni(y)a·-* (three-moraed) NAME (it is quite possible, however, that *niya·-* really consists of *niya-* + possessive *-a-*, § 24, 2, a so that *niya-* would be another example of a stem capable of being used either as noun or verb).

From a strictly formal standpoint, noun and verb are, as we have seen, carefully distinguished, there being very few grammatical elements which are appended to both types of stem (e. g. diminutive *-tsι-*, § 35; plural *-q·a-*, § 31, 1, c and § 48, 2). However, there is a slight tendency for verbs to be nominalized, without nominalizing suffix, by means of nominal postpositions, but forms of this sort are far from common (e. g. *pïv*^{w}*a wïnι'k̬·aip·a·ntux·WA* WHICH-IN STAND-PERFECTIVE-TO, TO WHERE (HE) HAD STOOD); see § 55, 2. The clearest syntactic indication of a feeling for nominal form is the presence of article-pronouns (§ 42).

§ 48. *Plurality of nouns.*

There are two types of noun plurals: the reduplicated form, which is more properly distributive in function, for both animate and inanimate nouns (see § 58, 2 for these forms); and properly plural suffixes, which can, for the most part, be appended only to noun stems referring to animate beings (cf. the presence of singular and plural animate forms and the lack of distinctively plural inanimate forms in the third personal pronouns).

(1) ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIXES. Two animate plural suffixes exist, *-ŋwï-*^{s} and *-m·ï-*^{s}, with exactly parallel functions and differentiated merely according to the preceding stem. These elements apply to duals also. *-ŋwï-* is evidently spirantized from an older *-mï-* (§ 16, 1); *-m·ï-* is the corresponding geminated (and nasalized) form. Their Uto-Aztekan prototype **-me* actually occurs as an animate plural in Nahuatl (*-mè*). In actual practice it seems hardly

feasible to assign *-ŋwï-* to spirantizing stems alone, *-m·ï-* definitely to all geminating (and nasalizing) stems, as their range of usage seems to intercross with that of types of stem; thus, nominal *-tsι-*^{n} (§ 24, 1, f) forms plural *-tsιŋwï-*, while participial *-tï-*^{n} (§ 25, 6) forms *-tïm·ï-*. No simple rules can therefore be given for the use of *-ŋwï-* or *-m·ï-*.

(a) *-m·ï-* (subjective); *-m·ïa-* (objective). Examples are:

naγa'mï mountain sheep (sing. *na'x·ɪ*)
qᴀ^{x}*qa'ramï* quails (sing. *qᴀ*^{x}*qa'ʀï*)
tcïγa'mï ducks (sing. *tcï'x·ᴀ*)
a(i)ya'mï turtles (sing. *a'iᴀ*)
ᴡɪ'tca'mï roadrunners (sing. *wï't·cᴀ*)
a'ivam·ïraŋᴡᴀ our (inclus.) young men (sing. *a'iφᴀpïts·* young man)
yu·'t·a·mï Utes (sing. *yu·'t·a·ts·*; plur. also *yu·'t·a·tsιŋᴡï*)

In the last two examples a nominalizing suffix of the singular (*-p·ïtsι-*, *-tsι-*) has been dropped before the plural suffix. This is not common; but cf., further, *sari·'t·ï'qamï* Arapaho Indians (lit. DOG-EAT-PLURAL, noun-verb compound noun; sing. *sari·'t·ï'qats·*).

Animate plural *-m·ï-* is also appended to cardinal *-yu-* of numerals for TWO and above, when used attributively with enclitic *-n·ιa-*, before animate nouns, e. g.:

waa'(i)yumun·ι ᴡɪ'tsι'tsιŋwïaŋᴀ two-cardinal-animate plur.-like great-grandchildren-plural-her (vis.), her two great-grandchildren.

(b) *-ŋwï-* (subjective); *-ŋwïa-*, *ŋwa(·)-* (objective). The objective in *-ŋwa(·)-* is very common; it is merely a phonetic variant of *-ŋwïa-* (see § 4, 1, a). Examples of subjective *-ŋwï-* are:

nava'vιŋᴡï reciprocal-elder brother-plural, two brothers (sing. *pavi'nɪ* my elder brother)
paa'ŋᴡï aunts; *paa'ŋwïnɪ* my aunts (sing. *paa'nɪ* my aunt)
qava·'ŋᴡï horses (sing. *qava'*')
qam·ï'ŋᴡï jack-rabbits (sing. *qa'mï*)
tïγι'aŋᴡï deer (sing. *tïγi'ᴀ*)
aiä't·aŋᴡï Coconino Indians (sing. *aiä't·ᴀ*)
mǫ·'munιŋᴡï Mormons (sing. *mǫ·'munɪ*)

Examples of objective forms are:

nï' puŋqu'ŋwïanɪ qɔγɔ''^{i} I horses-obj.-my kill (plur. obj.), I kill my horses

nï' ᴍᴜ^{x}qwɩ'χaγw'aivä·nɪ nï'ni tu(w)a'tsɩŋwα' I call-for-help-go-will-I me children-obj., I will go to call my children for help
patci'ŋwa·v ųmu'ʀᴜx·ᴡᴀ daughter-obj.-own they (inv.)-to, to his own daughters

The use of animate plurals for singulars conceived of as singled out from a group has been already discussed in connection with participles in *-tï-m·ï-* (§ 25, 6, f). This same usage applies to many animate plurals in *-ŋwï-* as well, e. g.:

pina'p·ïtsɩŋw αŋᴀ smallest-plur. he (vis.), the smallest (boy) of all
nï' ɔvi'mpimpin·ara'pïtsɩŋwï I very-least-plur., I (am the) very least in size (of my family)
qam·ï' ɔvɩ'ntuαq·wɔip·ɩŋwï' jack-rabbit (obj.) (hair)-having-come-off-moving-plur. (obj.), jack-rabbit (obj.) with hair having come off from dragging along (referring to one particular animal out of several)

(2) Pʟᴜʀᴀʟ *-q·a-*. This suffix has been already discussed as a verb element defining plurality of the subject (§ 31, 1, c). It occurs, though not frequently, also in the inanimate noun before objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1), postpositive *-ma-* ᴡɪᴛʜ (§ 50, 4, 9), and possibly other post-positions to emphasize the plurality (as contrasted with duality) of an attached enclitic possessive pronoun. It does not, therefore, primarily indicate plurality of the noun itself, though this may be implied. Examples are:

tïv^{w}ɩ'p·ïαq·a(i)yaŋumɪ country-possessive-plural-objective-your (plur.), your (plur.) country (obj.) that (you) own
tïγa'n·ïmpïq·ama·mï seed-beater-plural-with-their (vis.), with their (plur.) seed-beater(s)

§ 49. *Syntactical cases.*

Paiute recognizes two fundamental syntactical cases, the subjective and objective. The former of these is in use as the subject of a non-subordinate verb; the object of an imperative (see § 52); and as a base for the affixing of postpositions (see § 50). The objective is the case of the object of a transitive verb; the subject of a subordinate verb (see § 55, 1); the genitive (possessive); and the apposition to a noun with postposition (see § 50, 3).

(1) Fᴏʀᴍᴀᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ sʏɴᴛᴀᴄᴛɪᴄᴀʟ ᴄᴀsᴇs. The subjective case is simply the absolutive, the unmodified noun with no specific case

suffix. The objective is formed by suffixing *-a-* to the final vowel of the noun, if this vowel is *i*, *ï*, *ɔ*, or *u* (*o*); *-ya-* (*-ia-*) if the final vowel is *a*. Examples are:

SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sari·'ts· dog (< *-tsι-*)	*sari·'tsιʿ* (< *-tsιa-*)
aŋqa'q·ᴡɪcaʀï lightning	*aŋqa'q·ᴡɪcarïᴀ*
ᴜ^{x}qwι'yuʿ arrow (< *ᴜ^{x}qwι'yυ·-*)	*ᴜ^{x}qwι'yuuʿ* (< *ᴜ^{x}qwι'yυ·a-*)
qanι'nɪ my house	*qanι'anɪ*
qanι'aŋᴀ his (vis.) house	*qanι'a·ŋᴀ*
quna'vï'ïmɪ thy sack	*quna'vïa'amɪ*
pa·ʿ water	*paa'iᴀ*
paa'ramɪ our (2 inclus.) aunt	*paa'iaramɪ*
nampa·'ŋᴀ his (vis.) leg (stem *nampa-*)	*nampa'ia·ŋᴀ*

Another objective suffix, *-q·u-*, *-ŋqu-*, is used after numeral stems (see § 59, 2, a) and after certain postpositions (e. g. *-ma-*, *-ŋwa-* ON; *-ŋwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH; *-mpa·*-AT; *-uṗ·a-* THROUGH; see § 50, 4); cf. also adverbial *tï·ŋqu-* (§ 30, 2, b).

(2) USE OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective as a subject and the objective as a transitive object are so plentifully illustrated in the course of this paper that no further examples need be given here. The other uses of the subjective will be illustrated below (§ 52; § 50), also the use of the object as the subject of a subordinate verb (§ 55, 1).

The genitive function of the objective is seen, e. g., in:

tïv^{w}ι'p·ïʿ qïŋwa·'^{a}va·^{a}ntïʿ land (obj.) edge-at-participle (obj.), being (obj.) at (the) edge of (the) land
ŋ̥wa'rïʿ tu(w)a'tsιŋwï rain (obj.) children, Rain's children

Often with pleonastic use of a pronominal enclitic, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavι ŋ̥ntu'q̇·uŋᴡᴀ coyote (obj.) back-flesh-his (inv.), Coyote's back flesh
qanι''aŋw u'u'raʿ paa'(i)yaφï (he went) house-obj.-her it-toward aunt-obj.-own, (he went) toward his aunt's house

While the subjective form is used as a base for the suffixing of a postposition, the form is felt as the equivalent of an objective, as appositions to such nouns or pronouns are regularly put in the objective, e. g. *wantsι' aŋ aŋa''uraʿ* ANTELOPE (OBJ.) HE (VIS.; = HIM) HE-

TOWARD, TOWARD THE ANTELOPE. Such periphrastic forms are extremely common (see § 50, 3).

The sporadic subjective use of objective forms of independent personal pronouns in certain not clearly understood cases has been already mentioned (§ 39, 4, end).

§ 50. *Postpositions.*

Paiute possesses a large number of postpositions or, as one might prefer to call them, non-syntactical case suffixes. They are chiefly, but not entirely, of local reference. They are true suffixes (or compounded stems that have practically become suffixes), as shown by the fact that they precede all enclitics and that, under appropriate consonantal conditions, they are subject to the phonetic processes of spirantization, gemination, and nasalization (e. g. *-ruγwa-*, *-tcuγwa-*, *-ntcuγwa-*, *-t·uγwa-*, *-ntuγwa-* TO). The position of the postposition thus corresponds to that of the objective (§ 49). Postpositions are suffixed to nouns, pronouns (except, of course, enclitic pronouns and postnominal pronouns), and demonstrative stems (treated as the equivalent of inanimate third personal pronouns).

(1) TYPES OF POSTPOSITIONS. Etymologically, three types may be recognized. A considerable number consist of simple elements that cannot be brought into connection with other Paiute elements, e. g. *-va·-*, *-va-* AT; *-up̓·a-* THROUGH, IN — DIRECTION; *-ma-* WITH. Some of these seem to go back to Uto-Aztekan prototypes; with *-va-* cf., e. g., Nahuatl *-pa*. A number of simple postpositions seem to occur only or chiefly as compounded with others, e. g. *-γi-*, *-ŋwi-*, *-'aγa-*.

A second type of postposition is that compounded of two (or more) postpositional elements. These may either be independently occurring elements (e. g. *-vaŋwit·uγwa-* INTO < *-vaŋwi-*^{g} IN plus *-tuγwa-* TO) or an independently occurring postposition preceded or followed by one not so occurring (e. g. *-ŋwi-t·uγwa-* INTO; *-'aγa-va-tcuγwa-* RIGHT INTO; *-ruq·wa·-γi-* MOVING UNDER). Several postpositions that now appear primitive are quite probably really compounded of simpler elements, e. g. *-vaŋwi-* IN < *-va-* AT + *-ŋwi-*.

A third type consists of originally independent stems, chiefly adverbial and nominal, that are compounded in a postpositional sense with preceding stems (cf. English AROUND, ASIDE FROM, APART FROM, ALONG). Such compounds are often followed by a primitive postposition, e. g. *nï-γa''nιγ̣a·-va·-* I-SIDE-AT, AT MY SIDE < *qa'nι'γ̣a·-* SIDE. That *-γa'nιγ̣a·-va·-* is a true compound postposition is shown by its employment with a pronominal stem like *nï-*^{s}; a noun compound *nï-γa'nιγa·-* is impossible. This type of postposition raises the question whether all postpositions as a class are not in origin stereotyped compounded nouns (e. g. HOUSE- UNDER < HOUSE-UNDERNESS; UNDER MY HOUSE = MY HOUSE-UNDERNESS).

(2) VERBAL USE OF POSTPOSITIONS. All postpositions indicating movement, also some indicating presence, may be and frequently are verbified without further change in form. Formal verbal suffixes (e. g. momentaneous *-ŋu-* and tense elements) are directly suffixed to the postposition. Examples of such verbified uses are:

avι'mιtuγwa'^{a}	it-back-from-thou! go out (of it)!
^{u}*'u'x·ᴜp̓a·*^{a}*p·ïγa'*ʿ	it (inv.)-through (*-up̓·a-*)-past; (he) went off through it (inv.), in yonder direction
*uŋwa''vantuγwaŋᴜpïγa'*ʿ	he (inv.)-on-to-momentaneous-past, (he) got on top of him
axa'va·ntuχwa'^{a}	what-at-to-thou? where are you going to?
naŋwa''aimιk·ụpïγa'aimï	self-with-movement-inceptive-past-dual, (they) 2 started to go along together
qa'tcᴜ maa'nųŋwa'aik·ᴡᴀ	not that (vis.)-at-negative-it (inv.), was not there

All postpositions may be participialized by means of *-tï-*^{n} (§ 25, 6, a); e. g. *-va·ntï-*, obj. *-va·ntïa-*, BEING AT (*-va·-*^{n} AT). Such participialized postpositions are often employed where simple local phrases or adverbs would appear in English, e. g. HE GATHERED STICKS THAT-AT-BEING-OBJ. (*uv*^{w}*a·'ntïᴀ*) instead of simply THAT-AT, THERE (*uv*^{w}*a'*ʿ). Sometimes the participial form takes on a specialized significance; e. g. *u'mᴀ* IT-ON, THEREON, THEREAT, but *um*^{w}*a'ntï* (obj. *um*^{w}*a'ntïᴀ*) BEING THEREAT, i. e. SOME OF IT. Participialized postpositions may be followed by other postpositions, e. g. *-va·ntï-m·a-naŋqwa-* AT-BEING-ON-FROM, AWAY FROM.

(3) PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH POSTPOSITIONS. While postpositions may be used with noun stems (e. g. *qanι'ntcuq·ᴡᴀ* HOUSE-UNDER), there is a tendency for postpositions to attach themselves by preference to pronouns and demonstrative stems. Hence the type noun + postposition is often replaced by its periphrastic equivalent: noun (obj.), pronoun (or demonstrative stem) + postposition; the noun may follow. An independent objective pronoun may also be thus periphrastically used with a pronominal or demonstrative stem.

paa'iaram uŋwα'vatcï aunt-obj.-our 2 (inclus.) she-at-being, to our (2) aunt
aru'q·WA qanι'A it-under house (obj.), under the house
tia'vï ųm^{u}α'ntïA service-berry-bush (obj.) it (inv.) -at-being-obj., (he took) from the bush, (he took) some of the bush
pa.i u'a'xaφA water (obj.) it-into, right into the water
^{i}'i'tci a'up·ac·U this (inan. obj.) it-in way-again, again in this way
nį'niαntcax·qa'ŋA niŋwα'ntuγw ïyï'ŋqaŋU me-preterit-it (vis.)-he (vis.) I-from steal-momentaneous, he stole it from me
maŋa'iac· aŋa'rux·WA him (vis.) he-to, to him

(4) LIST OF POSTPOSITIONS. The following list of postpositions includes all elements that have been found on analysis. The entries are made for simple postpositions, compounded forms coming under the first element; cross references make clear the relationship of the various elements.

1. *-a-*^{g} PRESENT AT; occurs only as participialized *-at·ï-* BEING PRESENT AT and compounded: *-an·u-* (cf. 25) PRESENT AT; *-an·u-yu-* (cf. 25, 49) MOVEMENT FROM; *-at·uγwa-* (cf. 30) ALONG TOWARD. These elements occur only after demonstrative stems, e. g.:

i(y)ε'nuan 'anι'n'nι' this-at-I do-continuative-present, here I am
u(w)a'n·oyuntcA pa(i)yü'ŋU that (inv.)-at-from-preterit return, (he) has been at and returned from there
ua't· aRÏ that (inv.)-at-being it (vis.), the (thing) yonder, what is over there
i(y)ä't·uγwam'mιa(i)yïaŋA this-at-to-moving-present-he (vis.), he walks along over here

2. *-'aγa-*^{s} RIGHT IN, AMONG; occurs only compounded: *-'aγaruγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, IN AMONG; *-'aγava-* (cf. 37) RIGHT IN; *-'aγavayu-* (cf. 37, 49) ACTING RIGHT IN; *-'aγavatcuγwa-* (cf. 37, 30) RIGHT INTO; *-'aγavatcum·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 37, 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM AMONG. Examples are:

qanι u'a'xarux·WA house (obj.) it-through, right through the house
pa.i u'a'xaφA water (obj.) it-in, right in the water
u'a'xava(i)YU yaχa'va·ntï it-in cry-future-participle, being about to cry while right in it
pa·'^{a}γavatcuγwaŋw'αmï qwïï'p·ïγa' water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual object), they 2 took them 2 right into (the) water

'a'xavatcumanaŋqwᴀ tɔ'ɔ'ivïʿ (< *a'a'xa-*) it-in-from bulrushes (obj.), out from among the bulrushes

3. *-γa'niγ̯a·-* ALONG, BESIDE (cf. independent stem *qa'nιγ̯a·-* SIDE, PROXIMITY); occurs only compounded: *-γa'niγ̯a·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING BESIDE; *-γa'niγ̯a·va·-* (cf. 38) AT SIDE OF; *-γa'niγ̯a·va·yu-* (cf. 38, 49) ACTING AT SIDE OF. Examples are:

qanι'an uχwa'n'nιχ̯a·x·ɪ paγ(a)'iʿ house-obj.-I it-beside-moving walk, I walk along the house
nïχa''nιχ̯a·ᵃvaʿ at my side (at rest like a tree)
nïχa''nιχ̯a·ᵃva.iʏᴜ at my side (something going on)

4. *-γa·va'-*; occurs only as participialized *-γa·va't·ï-* BEING—ER THAN, e. g.:

nïχa·'ᵃvat·ïm pa'a'(i)yïaŋᴀ I-greater-plur. tall-present-he (vis.), he is taller than I
niŋwï'xa·ᵃva't·ïm·ʷ αŋᴀ person-greater- plur. he (vis.), the one greater than anybody else, the greatest one

5. *-γi-ᵍ* MOVING THROUGH; common in compounded forms, but rare as simple postposition, e. g.:

tï'ra(i)yua·x·ɪ desert-plain-through, through the open plain.

For compounded forms, see 3, 7, 17, 21, 26, 31, 45; also 15, 48. *-γi-* regularly lengthens preceding short vowels.

6. *-γïm·a-* OTHER THAN (cf. independent stem *qïm·a-* OTHER, STRANGER; § 39, 2); occurs only compounded: *-γïm·aŋwantï-* (cf. 8) BEING OTHER THAN, NOT RELATED TO; *-γïm·aŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 14) MOVING AWAY FROM. Examples are:

imι'χ̯ïmaŋwαntï thou-other-at-being, not related to you
qan·ι'γïmaŋwɪtux·wᴀ away from (the) house
uγu'm·aŋwιt·ux·wᴀ away from it (inv.)

7. *-ma-ⁿ* RESTING ON, AT, FOR (of time); obj. *-maŋqu-* (see § 49, 1; apparently only with enclitic possessive pronoun, while *-ma-* seems to occur only without such pronoun); *-manaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM ON, BECAUSE OF; *-manaŋqwap·a-* ON OTHER SIDE OF (cf. 18, 37); *-man·ia-* NEAR (cf. enclitic *-n·ia-*; § 19, 2, d);- *mantï-* BEING ON, AT, SOME OF, BELONGING TO; *-mantïm·anaŋqwa-* FROM ON, FROM ONE OF (here *-ma-* occurs twice); *-mantïŋwa'ai-* WITH SOME OF (cf. 11); *-mantuγwa-* (cf.

30) UP TO, AGAINST, DURING; *-mayu-* (cf. 49) FROM ON, AT; perhaps also *-ma·γi-* (cf. 5) AROUND, CIRCLING. Examples are:

qanι'mᴀ on, at a house (e. g. vine)
wa·'t·ɔmɔmᴀ two-year-on, for two years
tca'a'ik̯·aiyoaŋ aŋa'vïmaŋqoaŋᴀ hold-resultative-when-him arm-at-obj.-his (vis.), when holding him by his arm
cï'ra·m·anaŋqᴡᴀ qana'rï uv^w*a ï̜mï''*^{i} Cedar City-from Kanab (obj.) there arrive (plur.), (they) arrive at Kanab from Cedar City
ya'a'ik̄·wɔ'aiväʿ yaγa'n·av um^w*a'naŋqᴡᴀ* die-off-shall crying-own it-from, let him die from his crying
qan·ι'm·anaŋqwɔp·ᴀ house-from at, on other side of (his) camp
qanι'an um^w*α'nιʿ paγ(a)'iʿ* house-obj.-I it-at-like walk, I walk near the house
na'a'intï u̜mantï burning (obj.) it-at-being, from fire, something burning (subj.)
cυ·'q·uc· uv^w*ι'amantïaφï qaχa'ʿpïγaʿ* one (obj.) song-at-being-obj.-own sang (momentaneously), sang one of his own songs
cu(w)a'rɔχw^ɔ*it·uγwan·um·antux·ᴡᴀ* nearly-right-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight
tïn·a·'ma(i)yuaq·ᴀ from its base
mι(y)ɔ'm·a·x·ɪ very far around

For compounded forms, see 10, 25; also 2, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 38, 43, 45.

8. *-ŋwa-*^{n} RESTING ON, AT (spirantized form of 7; *-ŋwa-* and its compounds are used instead of *-ma-* after personal, relative, and reflexive pronouns; also after animate nouns in *-tsι-*, § 24, 1, f); obj. *-ŋwaŋqu-* (apparently used when followed by enclitic possessive pronoun); *-ŋwanaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM, BY; participialized *-ŋwantï-* BEING AT, ONE OF; *-ŋwantïŋwa'ai-* (cf. 11) WITH SOME OF; *-ŋwantuγwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, FROM. Examples are:

nï̜'ŋᴡᴀ (hanging) on me
tɔγɔ'iᴍᴜ^x*taq·aŋ'wαŋqunɪ* right on my forehead
pᴀʿqa'ŋᴜtï·tca·ŋᴀ qwiya'tsιŋwanaŋqᴡᴀ kill-passive-preterit-he (vis.) bear-by, he was killed by (the) bear (such agentive constructions with passives, however, are not common)
u̜m^w*u'ŋwant aip·ïγaʿ* they (inv.)- from- being said, one of them said
tï·'ntï^x*qap·ïγa u̜wα'ŋwantïʿ* well-ate she-from-being-obj., (he) enjoyed himself well from her

aivam um·u'ŋwantïŋwa'^{a} youths they (inv.)-from-being-with, with some of the young men

naŋwα'ntux·WA pa'iχ̯a' self-on-to calling, calling on to himself

For compounded forms, see 6, 11, 12; also 7.

9. *-ma-* WITH (as instrumental), e. g.:

impï'ma' tïγa'n·ιwa·n·ι' what-with-thou butcher-will? with what will you butcher?

tümp^{w}*ι'mA nara'φɪk̯ap·ïγa'* rock-with reciprocal-throw-plural-past, (they) bethrew each other with rocks, (they) threw rocks at each other

pɔrɔ'q̇·wama(·^{a}*)mauφï* cane-plural-with-their (inv.)-own, (they hit it) with their canes

10. *-ma'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (used with inanimate forms); obj. *-ma'q·u-*. This is related either to instrumental *-ma-* (9) or, more probably, to local *-ma-* (7), as indicated by its parallelism to *-ŋwa'ai-* (11). Objective *-ma'q·u-* is used when coupled with an objective noun. Examples are:

'am·a''aic·U nan·a'p·ïγa' it-with-again grew, (he) grew simultaneously with it

atcι'm·'aq·uq·waφï bow-with-obj.-it (inv.)-own, (while holding) it together with his bow

11. *-ŋwa'ai-*^{n} TOGETHER WITH (spirantized form of 10; used with animate forms), obj. *-ŋwa'q·u-*. It is doubtless related to *-ŋwa-* (8). Examples are:

sari'vuŋquŋw'aimI with your dog

nï' qanι'χ̯a imiŋwa'^{a} I house-have thou-with, I live with you

imi'ŋw'aimpa' shall go with you

to·'q̇·wap·ïγa' piŋwa'ŋw'aq·uφï bet-past wife-with-obj.-own, (he) bet (it) together with his wife (i.e. staked his wife too)

For compounded forms, see 7, 8.

12. *-minaŋwa-* WITH (instrumental); probably compounded with *-ŋwa-* (8). It is found only suffixed to objective *naŋwa'q·u-* BOTH (§ 59, 3, c), e. g.:

naŋwa''q·um·ιnaŋWA pu'ι'm·anI both-obj.-with eye-with-my, with both my eyes

It is not certain that this interpretation of *-minaŋwa-* is correct.

13. *-mi-*; found only compounded: *-mitˑuγwa-* (cf. 30) IN — DIRECTION, e. g.:

pimi'tˑuxˑᴡᴀ tɔγɔ'qˑᴡɪ	backward run!
qwiˑ'mɪtuxˑᴡᴀ	to the left

For compounded forms, see 48.

14. *-ŋwi-*^{g} IN, ON (of time; infrequent); chiefly compounded: *-ŋwitˑuγwa-* (cf. 30) IN DIRECTION OF (spirantized form of 13; used after non-geminating stems, including all pronouns); participialized *-ŋwitˑuγwanti-*. Examples are:

'i'tcïᴀ tava'ŋwɪ	this (obj.) day-on, on this day
nanɩ'n'naŋᴡɪtuxˑᴡᴀ	in different directions
qïma'ŋᴡɪtuxˑᴡᴀ	in another direction
iŋwɩ'tˑuxˑᴡᴀ	in this direction
^{i}'i'ŋᴡɪtuγwant uru''avïʻ	this-toward-participle be-irrealis, I wonder if (he) is coming this way

For compounded forms, see 20; also 6.

15. *-mi(y)u-* AT A DISTANCE FROM (cf. independent stem *mi(y)ɔ-* AT A DISTANCE, FAR); diminutive *-mi'ɔitsiva-* (cf. 37) AT A LITTLE DISTANCE FROM; *-mi(y)umaˑγi-*^{g} (cf. 7, 5), participialized *-mi(y)umaˑγitˑï-* BEING FURTHER AWAY. Examples are:

nïmˑ^{w}i'(ʏ)ᴜ	at a distance from me
ųmɩ''ɔɔitsɩφᴀ	at a little distance from it (inv.)
ųmį'yumaˑxˑɪtïʻ	being (obj.) a little further away from it (inv.)

16. *-ŋqwa-*^{g} DIRECTION, used only after *qwaia-*^{n} BEYOND, OPPOSITE; occurs only compounded: *-ŋqwapˑa-* (cf. 37) BEYOND; participialized *-ŋqwapˑatcï-* BEING BEYOND; *-ŋqwapˑatcuγwa-* (cf. 37, 30) TO BEYOND. Examples are:

qwaia'ŋqᴡᴀpaˑqˑᴀ	opposite-direction-at-its (vis.), beyond it
qwaia'ŋqᴡᴀpatcï	being beyond, on the other side
qwaia'ŋqᴡᴀpatcuxˑᴡᴀ	to the other side

Generally *-ŋqwa-* occurs as compounded *-naŋqwa-* (18). For compounded forms, see 33.

17. *-nˑaˑγi-*^{g} IN, INTO (perhaps compounded of older *-na-*, cf. 18, 21, 47, and *-γi-*^{g}, 5); participialized *-nˑaˑγitˑï-* BEING IN; *-nˑaˑγitˑuγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING INTO; *-nˑaˑγitˑumanaŋqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) FROM INSIDE OF; *-nˑaˑγiyu-* ACTING IN (cf. 49). Examples are:

imi'n·a·x·ɪ in thee
taŋa'na·χ'ιk·waφï mara'ŋɪk̯ava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-will, (you) will put it in (your) own knees
ɔra'va' tïvʷi'p·ï ųna·'ᵃγιt·ï' dig-shall earth (obj.) it (inv.) -in-participle, (you) shall dig the earth being in, (you) shall dig into the earth
ųna·'ᵃγιt·uγwap·ïγa' went into it (inv.)
'an·a·'γιt·um·aŋqᴡᴀ from inside of it
aγa'n·ιχ̯ai' aik̯· ųn·a·'ᵃγιʏᴜ how-act-subordinate-thou say it (inv.)-in-acting? what are you doing in there (that accounts for your noise)?

For compounded forms, see 48.

18. *-naŋqwa-* (probably compounded of non-independent *-na-*, cf. 17, and *-ŋqwa-*, cf. 16) DIRECTION, occurring in adverbs; participialized *-naŋqwat·ï-* (*-naŋqwantï-*); *-naŋqwat·ïmanaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM — DIRECTION (note that *-naŋqwa-* occurs twice); *-naŋqwap·a-* (cf. 37) IN — DIRECTION, NEAR; participial *-naŋqwap·atcï-* BEING IN — DIRECTION. Examples are:

tïna'ŋqwa(i)yïaŋᴀ he (vis.) is coming up
pana'ŋqᴡᴀtïm·anaŋqᴡᴀ down-being-from, from north (*pana'ŋqᴡᴀ* down < water-ward)
imi'n·aŋqwɔp·ᴀ thou-direction-at, in your direction, near you
ina'ŋqᴡᴀpatcïᴀ this-direction-at-being (obj.), (he shot) on the other end

For compounded forms, see 7, 8, 31, 40, 48; also 2, 17, 18, 38, 43, 45.

19. *-naŋwï·n·a'mi-* IN SIGHT OF (cf. *-u(w)a-'mi* IN FRONT OF, 32), e. g.:

ųn·a'ŋwï·n·am'ᴍɪ seen from it (inv.)

20. *-nap̓·aŋwi-* MOVING DOWN (perhaps contains *-ŋwi-*, 14), e. g.:

qa'ivanap̓·aŋᴡɪ moving down (the) mountain

21. *-narï(i)ya-* BETWEEN, distributive *-nanarï(i)ya-* (cf. independent noun *narï(i)ya-* BETWEENNESS with reciprocal prefix *na-ˢ*; e. g. *narï'(i)yava·nïmɪ* AT OUR (EXCL.) BETWEENNESS, BETWEEN US) occurs only compounded: *-narï(i)yava·-*, *-narï(i)yap·a·-* (cf. 38) BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yaγï-* (cf. 5) THROUGH BETWEEN, STUCK BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yana-* (cf. 17, 18, 47) ON BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yava·ntuγwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO BETWEEN. Examples are:

qanι'n·arïiavaʿ between (2) houses
qanι'n·anarïiavaʿ among (several) houses (outside)
pu'ι'n·arïyap·a·ŋA between his (vis.) eyes
taŋwa'n·arïyaχïaŋA between his (vis.) (2) teeth (stuck like tooth-pick)
taŋwa'n·arïyana·ŋA between his (vis.) teeth (on outside)
tana'c·ιχ̬a(i)ya·ŋA narï'yava·ntux·WA foot-cleft-obj.-his (vis.) betweenness-at-to, to between his hoofs

22. *-nauq·wa-* DISTRIBUTED AMONG, THROUGHOUT (probably old noun stem with reciprocal prefix *na-*^{s}), e. g.:

taŋwa'n·auq·WA we (inclus.)-among; distributed among us, each to each
tïv^{w}*ι'p·ï an·a'uq·WA* country (obj.) it-among, throughout the country

23. *-navas·u-* FOLLOWING, IMITATING (perhaps analyzable into reflexive *na-* + *va-* AT, cf. 37, + enclitic *-c·u-* ALSO), e. g.

ųmu'n·avas· an·ι'p·ïγaʿ they (inv.)-following did, (he) did as they did

24. *-ni-*^{g} AWAY FROM; occurs only compounded: *-nit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING AWAY FROM, e. g.:

ini't·uγwa'^{a} this-away-to-thou! go away (from here)!

25. *-n·u-*; occurs only with stem *tuγwa-* DARK, NIGHT, which it nominalizes; also compounded: *-num·a-* (cf. 7) FOR (of time); *-num·antuγwa-* (cf. 7, 30) UP TO e. g.:

tuγwa'nU night
cᴜ·'it·uγwanU one night; *cᴜ·'it·oγwanumac·U* for just one night
cu(w)a'rɔχw^{ɔ}*it·uγwan·um·antux·WA* nearly-middle-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

For compounded *-an·u-*, see 1.

26. *-ɔa-* AROUND; seems to occur only compounded: *-ɔaγit·uγwa-* (cf. 5, 30) (CIRCLING) AROUND; participialized *-ɔaγit·uγwantï-*. Examples are:

qanι ɔɔ'aχιt·ux·WA house (obj.) it (inv.; *ɔɔa-* assimilated from *u-ɔa-*)-around-to, (placed) around the house
aŋa'ɔax·ɪtux·WA circling around him
uŋwa'ɔax·ɪtuγwantïʿ qaŋqa'nιA he (inv.)-around-being (obj.) houses (distributive)-obj., houses (obj.) that (were) round about him

27. *-q·waia-*^{n} OPPOSITE (cf. independent *qwaia-*^{n} OPPOSITE, BEYOND, § 60, 2, b); only compounded: *-q·waiantuγwa-* (cf. 30) TO OPPOSITE, ACROSS, e. g.:

pa·'q·waiäntux·WA	water-opposite-to, across (the) water

28. *-tïraγua-* CENTER, MIDDLE (cf. independent noun stem *tïraγua-* CENTER); only compounded: *-tïraγuap·a·-*, *-tïraγuava·-* (cf. 38) IN CENTER OF, RIGHT AMONG; participialized *-tïraγuava·ntï-* BEING IN CENTER OF; *-tïraγuava·ntuγwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO CENTER OF. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

niŋwï'rïraxuɔp·aʿ	people-center-at, right among (the) people
qanι'ntciraχɔava·ntï	house-center-at-being, being in the middle of (the) house
tɔγɔ't·iraχɔava·ntuχwa·q·A	right-center-at-to-its (vis.), right into the middle of it

29. *-rïc·u'ai-na'ai-* NOT HEEDING, PAYING NO ATTENTION TO; always verbal in form, *-na'ai-* being negative verb suffix (see § 57, 2, d), e. g.:

aŋa'RÏcu'ain·a'^{a}	paying no attention to him

For another explanation of these forms, see § 18 2, c.

30. *-tuγwa-*^{n} TO, TOWARD, often verbalized TO GIVE TO; participialized *-tuγwantï-*;*- tuγwantïm·ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM —WARDS. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. This common postposition is probably compounded of non-independent *-tu-* and *-γwa-* (or *-γa-*; cf. perhaps *-γa-* of *-'aγa-*, 2), as is shown by dropping of *-γwa-* before *-manaŋqwa-* (7, 37; also 2, 17, 43) and one or two other elements, e. g. *-n·a·γιt·u-m·anaŋqwa-* (17), *-vatcum·anaŋqwa-* (2, 37). Examples are:

ųwa'ruγwap·ïγa'aik·WA	gave it (inv.) to him (inv.)
aruγw a'ip·ïγaʿ	it-to said
pa·χïŋwa·'^{a}*rux·WApïγaʿ*	water-edge-to-past, went along (the) river shore
qatcu'aŋanɪ nį' imi'ntcuχwava·ŋ'wain·ιa·ŋA	not-him (vis.)-I I thou-to-will-negative-indicative-him (vis.), I shall not give him to you
qwa'ut·uγwac·U	off-to-also, facing the other way
tuγu'ntux·WA	upward
tïv^{w}*a'ɪʿtuγwantï*	west-to-being, (the) west
tuχu'ntuχwantim^{w}*q̨(i)YU*	from upward

For compounded forms, see 1, 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47; also 6, 16, 25, 48.

Verbalized *-tuγwa-* TO GO TO may even be compounded with another verb stem, e. g. *tïna'ʻtuγwan'ni-* TO BE OUT ON A HUNTING TRIP (cf. *tïna·-* TO HUNT).

31. *-tuq·wa-*^{g} UNDER; participialized *-tuq·wat·ï-* BEING UNDER; *-tuq·wa·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING UNDER; participialized *-tuq·wa·γit·ï-* MOVING UNDER; *-tuq·wa·γiyu-* (cf. 5, 49) ACTING WHILE MOVING UNDER; *-tuq·waip·a·-* UNDER SIDE OF (perhaps misheard for *-γip·a·-*, cf. 5, 38); *-tuq·wanaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) CLIMBING (TREE); *-tuq·wat·uγwa-* (cf. 30) TOWARDS UNDER; *-tuq·wayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING UNDER. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

naru'q·WA under (him)self
tAʻci'antï uru'q·WA dawn-being (obj.) it (inv.)-under, under the dawn, just before daybreak
tava'tcuq·WA sun-under, during the day
qanɪ'ntcuq·WA under (the) house
tümp^{w}*ɪ't·uq·WA* under a stone
aru'q·WAtïaq·A it-under-being-its (vis.), its bottom
pa·ru'q·wa·x·I moving under (the) water
qani'ntcUqwa·^{a}*χɪt·Ï* moving under (the) house
aru'q·wa·^{a}*χeYU yaχa'vurup·ïγaʻ* it-under-moving-acting cry-go about-past, went about under it while crying
ava·'^{a}*ruq·waip·a·'q·WA* under side of its (inv.) shade
aru'q·wanaŋqWApïγaʻ climbed up it
qa'ivaŋ uru'q·WAtux·WA mountain (obj.) it (inv.)-under-to, towards under the mountain, to the base of the mountain
an·ɪ'antca' aiŋ uru'q·wa(i)YU what-preterit-thou say-momentaneous it (inv.)-under acting? what did you say under there?

For compounded forms, see 45.

32. *-u(w)a'mi-* IN FRONT OF (evidently compounded; for *-'mi-*, cf. 19); *-u(w)it·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING IN FRONT OF, BEFORE (of time). Examples are:

mamï̧'u(w)a'mI in front of them (vis.)
niŋwʊ·'^{u}*(w)α'mI* (< *nïŋwï-uwa'mi-*) in front of (the) person
tamɪ'u(w)ɪt·ux·WA moving in front of us 2 (inclus.)
nïu'(W)Ituχwatca·ŋA pi'tcï I-before-preterit-he (vis.) arrive, he arrived before me

33. *-un·a-*^{n}; only compounded: *-un·aŋqwap·a-* (cf. 16, 37) OUTSIDE OF, BACK BEHIND; *-un·antuγwa-* (cf. 30) OPPOSITE TO. Examples are:

qan·ι'on·aŋqwɔp·A	outside of (the) house
nïu̧'n·aŋqwɔp·A	back behind me (at rest)
nï'u'nantux·WA	opposite to me

34. *-o·n·a·p·ï-* BEHIND (probably related to 33; cf. also *-vi·na·p·ï-*, 48), e. g.:

qanι'o·na·^{a}*p·ï*	behind (the) house

35. *-up̓·a(·)-*$^{n,\,g}$ THROUGH, BY, IN — DIRECTION; IN — MANNER (employed both locally and, no doubt secondarily, modally); obj. *-up̓·a(·)q·u-*; with enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d) *-up̓·an·ia-* (TO ACT) LIKE; with enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-up̓·a(·)c·u-* IN THE SAME WAY, DIRECTION AS; participialized *-up̓·at·ï-* BEING THROUGH, AMONG, AROUND; *-up̓·antuγwa-* (cf. 30) TOGETHER WITH; *-up̓·a(·)t·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG, BY MEANS OF. Examples are:

nïo'p̓·aŋU	I-by-momentaneous, pass by me
tümp^{w}*a'Up̓a'amï*	through their (inv.) mouths
'ï'Upa·'^{a}*p·ïγa‘*	went this way, in this direction
a'up̓·aŋqɪpïγa‘	it-through-come-past, came along through it (referring to trail, tracks)
ma'up̓·a'^{a}	in that way, thus
tɔγɔ'n·^{y}*op·a'*	just-I-in manner (= *tɔγɔin·ï-op̓·a-*), equally to me
kWɪ‘tu'x·p̓a·q·oaŋA	anus-through-obj.-his (vis.), through his anus (he bit him)
nï' imi'(Y)Upa'anι naya'ϕA^{x}*qa‘*	I thou-in-manner-like look, I look like you
o·'p̓·ac·U	in the same direction, in the same manner
qaŋqa'nι o·'p̓·at·ï	houses (distributively)-obj. it (inv.)- through-being (fires) distributed among the houses
na·'p̓·antux·WA	(< *na-up̓·a-*^{n}; see § 4, 1, a) reciprocal-in-manner-to, all together
o·'p̓·at·uγwap·ïγa‘	went along on it
imi'Upa't·ux·WA	through you, by means of you

36. *-'urai-*^{n} TOWARD, AFTER; participialized *-'uraintï-* GOING TOWARD. Examples are:

qanι'u'ra‘	towards (the) house
^{u}*'u'raimpa·n·ιanɪ*	I shall go toward, after it
tï 'a'uraintï‘	up it-toward-being-obj., up towards it

Unlike other postpositions, *'urai-* seems often to occur as a phonetically independent word, an adverb with prepositional function, e. g.:

qanι''an u'raʽ paγ(ε)'iʽ house-obj.-I towards go-present (= *qanι'an 'u'raʽ*, perhaps *qanι'an u'u'raʽ*, it-toward), I go towards the house
NU^{x}qwι'm'mιan 'u'raʽ run-moving-me towards, comes running toward me

37. *-pa-^{s}* AT (spirantized form *-va-* used with personal pronominal stems—not including demonstrative stems, which are followed by *-va·-^{n}*, 38 —. after diminutive *-tsι-*, and rarely after verbs, see § 55, 2; geminated form *-p·a-* occurs less frequently, with certain adverbs and compounded, 16, 18); with enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-vac·u-* (JOINTED) IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES (after numeral stems); participialized *-vatcï-* BEING AT, TO, ABOUT; *-patcuγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TO (*-vatcuγwa-* with pronouns and personal nouns, *-p·atcuγwa-* with certain adverbs); *-vatcuq·u-* (cf. 30, 41) DURING (of time); *-vayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM; DURING, THROUGH (of time). Curiously enough, *-pa-^{s}* is treated as though ending in *i*, hence followed by *-tc-* instead of *-r-*. Examples are:

aŋa'φA he-at, where he is
pi'tcïRï nï'^{u}φ^{w}A arriving I-at, arriving at my place
mi(y)ɔ''^{i}tsιφA tïʽqa'ŋ'WIpïγaʽ far-little-at became, got a little way off
wa'ix̯Apïγa ųn·i'φA deliberated do-at, (they) deliberated as to (what they were) to do
tcaγι'p·A near (= proximity-at)
paa'iväc·U (jointed) in three places

am·ï'v^{w}atcïA tɔŋwa'q·ιŋumpaʽ they-at-being-obj. shoot-momentaneous-shall, shall shoot at them
nï' ʽaŋa'vatcïA pUʽtcu'tcuγwaiʽ I he-at-being-obj. know-present, I know about him
uŋwa'vatcuγwaŋqw'aip·ïγaʽ he-at-to-go-past, went to him
pi(y)a'vatcuχwaφï (he went) to his own mother
tcaγι'p·atcux·WA near-to, (they fought) close together
tuγwa'vatcuq·U during (the) night
tuχwα'va(i)YU through, during (the) night
mava'(i)^{x}tïγan·ιʽ (probably = *-vaYU-*) that-at-acting-become (§ 60, 2, b)- like; at, to a certain distance

For compounded forms, see 2, 15, 16, 18, 23; also 7, 33, 48.

38. *-pa·-*^{n} AT (parallel to 37, but freely suffixed to nouns, generally as spirantized *-va·-*^{n}-, only infrequently as geminated *-p·a·-*^{n} or nasalized *-mpa·-*^{n}); objective *-mpa·ŋqu-*; participialized *-va·ntï-* BEING AT (less often *-p·a·ntï-*, *-mpa·ntï-*; *-p·a·ntï-* ABOUT, CONCERNING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va·ntïm·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) STARTING FROM; *-va·ntuγwa* (cf. 30) TO, ON TO (less often *-p·a·ntuγwa-*; *-p·a·ntuγwa-* TO, DURING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va·yu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM (less often *-p·a·yu-*, *-mpa·yu-*; *-p·a·yu-* sometimes with verbs, see § 55, 2). Examples of this most important of all postpositions are:

ava'ʿ it-at, there; *mava'ʿ*, *m*^{w}*α'vaʿ* there (vis.); *uv*^{w}*a'ʿ*, ^{u}*’u'v*^{w}*aʿ* there (inv.); *ivä'ʿ*, ^{i}*’i'väʿ* this-at, here

qanι'va·nɪ at my house

tümp^w*i'p·aʿ* stone-at (< *tümp*^{w}*i-*^{g}; but also *tümp*^{w}*i'väʿ*)

mïa·'^{a}*γantümpaʿ* on (the) divide (< *mïa·'γantï-*^{n})

tɔγɔ'iŋqwιyumpa·ŋqunɪ right-crown-at-obj.-my, (hit me) right on the crown of my head

’i'vä·nt aʀï this-at-being it, that which is here

uv^w*a·'*^{a}*ntïᴀ pᴜʿca'γaik·*^{x}*ᴀpïγaʿ* there-being-obj. hunt for-plur.-past, there (they) hunted for (him)

tïnι'aŋqïva·c·’umɪ nï̧'ni y̧nι'p·ä·ntιαnɪ tell-to-will-thee me do-at-being-obj.-my, I will tell you about what I do

m^w*α'va·ntïmanaŋqᴡᴀ* that (vis.)-at-being-on-direction, starting from there

nïv^w*a·'*^{a}*ntux·ᴡᴀ* (coming) on to, upon me

uv^w*a·'*^{a}*ntuγw'aŋᴡᴀ wï̧na'ɪʿpïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ* there-to-him (inv.) throw-past-him (inv.), right there (he) threw him down

pao'(ᴡ)ɪʿpa·ntux·ᴡᴀ water-canyon-at-to, down to (the) canyon

pɔrɔ'm'mιap·a·ntuγwαφï travel-moving-at-to-own, during their own traveling

ki(y)ap· iva'a(i)ʏᴜ tïχa'ivaʿ round-dance here-acting happen-shall, a round-dance will take place here

uv^w*a·'yu'mï naŋwa''aimï pa(i)yi'q·w'ɔip·ïγaʿ* there-acting-dual reciprocal-with-dual return-go-past, from there both of them returned home

qwavi'ŋᴜpa·yuφï camp (plur.)-momentaneous-at-acting-own, at their own camping place, where they were staying over night

mïm·ï'αntsιγαntïmpa·(i)ʏᴜ tᴀʿtcɔ'n'naxaʿ divides (distributively)-little-being-at-acting scratch-subordinating, while scratching around in little divides

For compound forms, see 3, 21, 28, 31.

There are also forms with *-va(·)'a-* and *-va(·)'a(i)yu-* for normal *-va·-* and *-va·(i)yu-*. What the significance of the vocalic breaking is is not evident. It is barely possible that *-va·'a-* is to be analyzed as *-va·-* + enclitic *-'a-* (§ 19, 3, a); yet the suffixing of non-enclitic *-yu-* to *-va·'a-* makes this highly improbable. Examples are:

m^{w}*α'va'anïm*^{w}*ɪ qanɩ'χ̬a'* there-we (exclus.) house-have, we live there
'i'va'a(i)y u̥nɩ'ŋᴜ here-acting do-momentaneous, start(s) from here

Here may belong also 46, 47.

39. *-vai-*^{g}, does not seem to occur alone; participialized *-vait·ï-* EQUALLY TO, AS — AS, generally followed by enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d); *-vait·ɔγɔ-*^{n} ALONGSIDE OF. Examples are:

tɔγɔ'n·^{y}*ivaɪ'tïm pa'a'(i)yïn·ɪa·ŋ·ᴀ* just-I-equal-being-plural tall-present-like-he (vis.), he is as tall as I am
qanɩ'vait·n̥nɩ' house-equal-being-like, about the size of a house
taŋwa'vait·ɔx·ɔ (moving) alongside of us (incl.)
am·ï'v^{w}*aitɔγɔŋqw'aiγ̬a'* while passing alongside of them

40. *-vaia-*, occurs only compounded; participialized *-vaianaŋqwat·ï-* (cf. 18) BEFORE REACHING, e. g.:

'aŋa'vaianaŋqᴡᴀtïαc·ᴜ wants aŋᴀ kᴡɪ'pa'p·ïγa' he-before-being-objective-again antelope he fell, the antelope fell down dead before reaching him

41. *-vaiyauq·u-* AT — TIME (for *-q·u-* cf. *-vatcuq·u-* DURING, 37); *-vaiyau-* is probably compounded of *-va·-* (38), or *-va-* (37), and otherwise non-occurring *-yau-*. Examples are:

'u'v^{w}*aiyauq·ᴜ* at that (inv.) time, then, thereupon (very common as sentence-introducing adverb in mythical narrative)
^{i}*'i'tcia·q·ᴀ pïv*^{w}*a'iyauq·ᴜ qana'rï·tsɩŋwï'aq· umï pᴜ'pu'tcuγwap·ï* this (inan. obj.) -it (vis.) which-time Kanab-Indians-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) learn (distributively)-past partic., this is the time at which the Kanab Indians learned it

42. *-vantï-* PLACE LEFT OVER (with numeral stems; perhaps only *-va·ntï-*, 38), e. g.:

cᴜ·'v^{w}*antïc·ᴜ* one-more-also, only one more
waa·'vantïc·ᴜ only two places left

43. *-paŋwi-*^{g} IN, INSIDE OF (very likely compounded of *-pa-*^{s}, 37, and *-ŋwi-*^{g}, 14; generally appears as spirantized *-vaŋwi-*, far less frequently as geminated *-p·aŋwi-*, nasalized *-mpaŋwi-*); participialized *-paŋwit·ï-*; *-paŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) INTO; *-paŋwit·um·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM INSIDE OF; *-paŋwiyu-* (cf. 49) ACTING IN. Examples are:

qanι'vaŋᴡɪ house-in, inside (the) house
tɔγɔ'iavaŋᴡɪtïᴀ kᴡɪʻpa'p·ïγaʻ right-it-in-being-obj. fell, (he) fell right in it
mɔ'ɔ'vaŋwιt·uγwa·ŋᴀ into his (vis.) hand (it flew)
qanι'vaŋwιt·umanaŋqᴡᴀ (he came) out from (the) house
qana'uιŋwaγantιmpaŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ willow-canyon-in-to, in through a willow-bordered canyon
wa'iχan·a'amï qan·ι'vaŋwιʏᴜ deliberate-verbal noun- their (vis.) house-in-acting, their deliberating while in (the) house

44. *-vatcaŋwi-*^{g} MEETING, TOWARDS (person) (probably contains *-pa-*^{s}, 37, and *-ŋwi-*^{g}, 14; *-tca-*, perhaps < *-ta-*, is unexplained); *-vatcaŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TOWARDS, FACING. Examples are:

maŋa'vatcaŋwιŋup·ïγaʻ met him (vis.)
uŋwa'vatcaŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ (rolled over) towards him (inv.)
qanι'vatcaŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ facing (the) house

45. *-pa(i)ya·-*^{s}, *-pa(i)ya-*^{s} SURFACE (cf. independent noun stem *pa(i)ya·-*^{s} SURFACE, FACE), occurs frequently compounded with following postpositions, particularly after *tuγu-*^{n}, *tuγumpa-*^{g} SKY (*-v-*, *-p·-*, and *-mp-* are all found); *-pa(i)ya·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG; *-pa(i)ya·m·ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM; *-pa(i)ya·m·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM; *-pa(i)ya·ruγwa-* (cf. 30) UP BESIDE; *-pa(i)ya·ruq·wa-* (cf. 31) UNDER, NEXT TO. Examples are:

tuγu'mpᴀpa(i)ya·x·ɪ (he sings flying) through (the) air
tuγu'mpᴀpa(i)ya·m·a(i)ʏᴜ sky-surface-from, way up from (the) sky
tuχu'mpaiᴀ pa(i)ya·'m·anaŋqᴡᴀ sky (obj.) surface-from, from (the) sky
qaiva'vaiarux·ᴡᴀ mountain-surface-to, up beside (the) mountain
uv^{w}*a'(i)ya·*^{a}*ruq·ᴡᴀ* it (inv.)-surface-under, next to it
tuγu'mpa(i)yaruq·ᴡᴀ sky-surface-under, under (the) sky

46. *-pa'a·γi-*^{g} OVER, ACROSS (possibly compounded of *-pa·'a-* AT, 38, and *-γi-*^{g}, 5; generally spirantized *-va'a·γi-*^{g}, rarely geminated *-p·a'a·γi-*^{g}); participialized *-pa'a·γit·ï-*. Examples are:

qanι'v'a·x·ɪ over (the) house (he flies)
nava''a·x·ɪ over (him)self
o(w)ι'ṗ·aᵃγιk·ˣ̄ᴀ canyon-over-verbal present, (he) goes across a canyon-creek
ʻ*aŋa'v'a·γιt·ïᴀ* he-over-being-obj., (he struck) over him (with his wing)

47. *-pa'an·a-* ON, UPON, RESTING ABOVE, ABOUT (possibly compounded of *-pa'a-* AT, 38, and non-independent *-n·a-*, cf. 17, 18, 21; generally spirantized *-va'an·a-*, rarely geminated *-p·a'an·a-*); participialized *-pa'antï-*; *-pa'antuγwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, AGAINST; *-pa'an·ayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING ON. Examples are:

*qanι'v'an·a·ŋᴀ paγ(a)'in'nι*ʻ house-on-he (vis.) walk-continuative-present, he walks on (the) house
nïvʷa''anᴀ I-on; on, about me
tümpʷi'ṗ·anᴀ on a stone (< *tümpʷi-ᵍ*)
ɔa·'va·n'tiaŋ aʀï back-on-being-his (vis.) it, the (thing) on his back
aŋ'a'vantux·ᴡᴀ on to him, against him
ava''an·a(i)ʏᴜ it-on-acting, from above it (he sat and watched)

48. *-vi-ᵍ* IN BACK OF (cf. instrumental prefix *pi-ᵍ*, § 21, 3; also independent adverb *pimit·uγwa-* BACK, § 60, 2, b); occurs only compounded: *-vimit·uγwa-* (cf. 13) OUT OF; *-vin·a·γi-* (cf. 17) BEHIND; *-vinaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) BEHIND, AFTER, FOLLOWING; *-vinaŋqwap·a-*, *-vi·naŋqwap·a-* (cf. 18, 37) (RESTING) BEHIND; participialized *-vinaŋqwap·atcï-*; *vinaŋqwap·atcuγwa-* (cf. 18, 37, 30) MOVING AFTER; *-vinaŋqwap·ayu-* (cf. 18, 37, 49) ACTING BEHIND; *-vina·p·ï-*, *-vi·na·p·ï-* BEHIND (cf. 34). Examples are:

tiŋqa'nι uvʷi'mιtux·ᴡᴀ cave (obj.) it (inv.)-back-out of, (he came) out of the cave
navι'n·a·x·ɪ behind (him)self
uŋwa'vinaŋqᴡᴀ after him (inv.) (he sang)
qanι' uvʷi·'naŋqɔp·ᴀ house (obj.) it (inv.)-behind-at, in back of the house
ųmu'vʷιnaŋqwɔp·ᴀ behind them (inv.)
*aŋa'vιnaŋqᴡᴀ*ʻ*patciᴀ tavι'p·ïγa*ʻ he-behind-at-being-obj. lit, (he) lit behind him
niŋwï'vʷinaŋqᴡᴀpatcuγwa'amï person-behind-at-to-dual, (they) 2 (went) after everybody else (had gone)
*uvʷi'n·aŋqwɔp·a(i)ʏᴜ wa'ix̯·ᴀpïγa*ʻ it (inv.)-behind-at-acting deliberated, (they) were deliberating outside

nïvʷi·'na·ᵃp·ï	behind me
ʽaŋa'vina·p·ï	behind him

49. *-yu-*. This important element (see 1, 7, 17, 31, 37, 38, 43, 47; also 2, 3, 30, 45, 48) occurs almost entirely in composition with preceding postpositions. It is not properly a postposition itself, but is likely to be etymologically identical with the verbal subordinating *-yu-* (see § 55, 1, c). The translation ACTING that has been given for it in the preceding entries is only an awkward approximation to its significance. It seems to indicate that the action of the verb takes place under the circumstances indicated in the postpositional phrase, which may thus be conceived of as subordinately verbified.

Uncompounded *-yu-* seems to occur in:

pa'a'(i)yon·ɪʽ pa(i)yü'ŋᴜpïγaʽ high-acting-like return-momentaneous-past, high up (he went and) came back, (he) returned from high up

Compounded *-yu-* (particularly *-m·ayu-* and *-va·yu-*) is also often most easily rendered as FROM.

Verb Morphology (§ § 51–56).

§ 51. *General Remarks on verbal form.*

(1) Transitive and intransitive. With very few exceptions, verb stems are inherently either transitive or intransitive, changes from one voice to the other being brought about by means of suffixes or changes in the final stem vowel (§ 53, 1, b, f). The only examples noted of verb stems that are both transitive and intransitive are: *kwip·a-* TO STRIKE, HIT and TO FALL ON BEING STRUCK, TO BE LAID LOW, and, not altogether without doubt, *paq·a-* TO KILL, BEAT (ONE PERSON) and TO BE SORE, TO SUFFER PAIN. Instrumental prefixes, it will be recalled, have an inherently transitivizing force, e. g. *pɔn'nɔ-χ(w)a-* TO MAKE A DRUMMING NOISE (intr.), *wï-p·ɔn'nɔa-* TO DRUM (WITH A DRUMSTICK).

(2) Absolute verb forms. As has been abundantly illustrated, verb forms, even aside from nominal derivatives (§ 25, 1–6), often appear without either enclitic or suffixed tense elements. Such forms may be conveniently termed absolutes. They are used under various circumstances:

(a) When tense (and pronominal) elements are appended to another preceding word in the sentence, the verb appears as an absolute, e. g.:

a'itca·ŋanɪ qu'q·ᴡɪ then-preterit-him (vis.)-I shoot, then I shot him; contrast *qᴜ'qwι'tca·ŋanɪ* I shot him

(b) In imperative forms (see § 52).

(c) Frequently in interrogative forms, where reference is had to present time.

(d) Generally substantive verbs (*aro'a-*, *uru'a-*, § 56) have no present suffix, present (or general) time being implied when there is no tense suffix.

(e) Verbs of BEING and HAVING in *-kai-* (§ 26, 1, a and b) take no *-yï-* toexpress present time, but are tenseless, e. g. *qanι'χainɪ* I HAVE A HOUSE. It is probable that in such cases *-kai-* represents an old contraction of *-kai-yï-*, as the *-yï-* reappears after an intervening impersonal *-t·ua-* (see § 29, 14; § 32, 8).

§ 52. *The imperative.*

The imperative is only negatively determined as regards form, i. e. by the absence of tense elements, further by the frequent absence of the second person singular in forms that have a pronominal or nominal object. Syntactically, imperatives are remarkable in that they take an object in the subjective form. The pronominal subject or object, as usual, may be appended either to the verb or to a preceding element, e. g. hortatory *ïv^{w}ï-* (§ 60, 2, d). Examples illustrative of these remarks are:

ivi''^{i} drink-thou! drink!
avι'mɪtuγwa'^{a} it-out of-thou! go out!
ïv^{w}ï'' ivi'ŋᴜ hortatory-thou drink-momentaneous! go ahead, take a drink!
qatcu'' wa'a'ŋι(y)a'p·ᴀ not-thou shout-negative! don't shout!
ɔvι'm·aχanɪ stick-give-me! give me a stick!
man·ɔ'q·ɔnį̈m^{w}ɪ tɔ'n·ᴀ all (obj.)-us (exclus.) punch! punch all of us!
pᴀ^{x}qa'ŋuaŋᴀ sari·'^{i}tc aŋᴀ kill-him (vis.) dog (subjective) he (vis.)! kill the dog!
tɔna''amï punch-them (inv.)!
qwïrι'k·ɪtsιαq· i'tcï tï'qa·'q·ᴀ arise-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-it (vis.) this (inan. subjective) eat-it (vis.)! after getting up, eat this!
uv^{w}a·'ntïnɪ ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ it (inv.)-at-being (subjective)-me carry-for-hither! bring me (it) over there!

Imperatives with a dual or plural subject do not seem to occur with enclitic pronominal subject, but are characterized instead by an enclitic *-ya-*, appended either to the verb form or a preceding word. In plural imperative forms the verb is plural in form; dual imperatives, particularly if intransitive, frequently add dual pronominal enclitic *-' . . .mï-* to *-ya-*: *-y'amï-*. Examples of plural and dual imperatives, with and without pronominal objects, are:

tïʽqa'q·a(i)ʏᴀ, tïʽqa'q·aiʽ eat ye!
qatcu'iʽ mintɔ'n'ɩa'p·ᴀ not-plur. imper. run (plur. verb-stem)- negative! do not run away (plur.)!
tɔγɔ'q·wɩya'amï run (sing. verb-stem)-imper.-dual! ye 2 run!
mįm^{w}*ɩ'yαnɪ tɔ'nᴀ* ye-plur. imper.-me punch (sing. verb-stem)! ye 2 punch me!
tɔna'y'aŋᴡᴀ ye 2 punch him (inv.)!
i(y)ɛ'nᴜq(w)a(i)ya·q·ᴀ this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-plur. subject-plur. imper.-it (vis.)! here it is! (speaking to more than two; note idiomatic use of imperative)
ᴡïʽqa'm'ɩyaᴀ^{x}*qa'amï* cover-plur. imper.-it (vis.)-dual! ye 2 cover it!
qatcu'ya·mï yaŋwɩ''(y)ap·ᴀ not-plur. imper.-them (vis.) carry (sing. verb-stem)-negative! do ye 2 not carry them 2!

What is probably an emphatic imperative is sometimes formed by appending enclitic *-aq·a-* to the verb or a preceding word. In all probability this *-aq·a-* is merely an idiomatic use of enclitic pronominal *-aq·a-* ɪᴛ (ᴠɪs.); it has the position of a pronominal enclitic. That it is not to be merely construed as a pronominal object, properly speaking, is shown by its use with inherently intransitive as well as transitive verbs. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur where the verb has a true pronominal object. Examples of imperative *-aq·a-* are:

qa·'aq·ᴀ sing!
tɔγɔ'q·wɩ(y)aq·ᴀ go ahead and run!
tɔγɔ'q·wɩya·q·ᴀ ye 2 run!
nïv^{w}*α'ya·q·ᴀ cv·'p·a·ro'*^{a} I-at-plur. imper.-it (vis.) assemble! do ye come together at my place!

§ 53. *Internal stem changes.*

Verbal stem changes in Paiute that are of morphological significance may be classified under the heads of reduplication (see § 58, 3–6), vocalic modification, and consonantal affection. Only the two latter are discussed at this point.

(1) Vᴏᴄᴀʟɪᴄ ᴀʟᴛᴇʀɴᴀᴛɪᴏɴs. Vocalic alternations are either quantitative or qualitative, the former, insofar as they are of morphological

significance, being relatively infrequent. In all, six types of vocalic alternation may be recognized.

(a) *Vocalic lengthening.* A short vowel may be lengthened, a long one over-lengthened (e. g. *a·* to *a·a*), to indicate the idea of IN VAIN, TO NO EFFECT, e. g.:

qa·'ap·ïγaʿ sang to no effect (< *qa·*- to sing)
ʿ*a·'aip·ïγaʿ* said without effect (< *ai*- to say)
a·'mpaχaiʿ talks to no purpose (< *ampa'χaiʿ* talks)
ʿ*o·'n'nιŋ'uq·WA* did it (inv.) in vain (< *un·ι'ŋ'uq·WA* did it)

These examples indicate that it is regularly the first vowel of the word which is lengthened.

Another group of cases of vocalic lengthening seems to be associated with the idea of continuation. Examples are not very numerous:

pïnι'ŋwïn·ǫ·n·uq·wιχ̯w'aiva'aŋWA look-stand about (*-ŋwïn·o·- < -ŋwïn·ï-* to stand, assimilated by following *-n·uq·wι-*)-run-go-future-him (inv.), shall go to stand around looking for him
u̦ni·'^{i}*χ̯u'umï* do (< *u̦ni*-)-subordinating-them (inv.), while they 2 were so doing
pɔ·'t·ɔʿqwa- to be spherical: *pɔʿtɔ'ŋ'ɪʿk̯ai-* to be spherical
tsι·'tsιŋwaγαip·ïγain·ιʿ it seemed that (arrows) were stuck in in several places (lengthened from normal reduplicated *tsιt·sι-* > *ts·tsι'-*)

Perhaps *ma·'n·i·-c·ampa-* BARELY is similarly lengthened from *man·i'-c·ampa-* THAT-WAY-ONLY, ONLY IN THAT WAY, e. g.:

u^{v}*wa''a·x·ɪ ma·'*^{a}*ni·*^{i}*c·ampA ya'uq·WɪPïγaʿ* it (inv.)-over barely entered, barely escaped by going over it

(b) *Vocalic alternation to indicate number (and voice).* In certain verbs, the final vowel is *a*, *a·*, *ɔ*, or *u* in the intransitive singular, *i* in the intransitive plural and in the transitive. Examples are:

tɔp·a-q·i- (tree, feather, tooth) comes loose	*tɔvi-tcai-* several come loose; *-tɔp·i-n'na-* to pluck out one; *-tɔvi-tca-* to pluck out several
qap·a-q·i- to stop (intr.)	*qavi-tcai-* several stop; *qavi-tca-* to stop several
tïp·a-q·i- one comes out, emerges	*tïv*^{w}*i-tcai-* several emerge
paγa-q·i-, *paq·a-q·i-* to tear (intr.)	*paγ(a)i-tcai-* several tear (intr.), are worn out; *-paq·i-n'na-* to tear one; *-paγ(a)i-tca-* to tear several

tcaŋwïq·a·- one disappears	*tcaŋwïk·i-* several die off
qɔvɔ-q·(w)i-, *qɔp·ɔ-q·(w)i-* to break (intr.)	*qɔvi-tcai-* several break (intr.); *qɔp·i-n'na-* to break one; *qɔvi-tca-* to break several
wiyum'mu-q·(w)i-ŋqï- to lash (horse) on buttocks, causing him to start (secondarily transitivized by *-ŋqï-*, § 29, 10)	*wi·yum'mi-* (Ute), also *winɔm'mi-* to jerk up one's buttocks (continuously)

(c) *Vocalic alternation to indicate aspect.* In a few cases a final *-a-* vowel of the stem when used iteratively (or continuatively) contrasts with an *-i-* of the stem when used semelfactively, e. g.:

up·uq·(w)i- to bounce (once)	*ov*^{w}*oq·(w)a-γ(ε)i-* to bounce up and down
-q·i- semelfactive intransitive (§ 30, 3)	*-γa-* continuative intransitive (§ 30, 1)

(d) *Vocalic alternation to indicate active* (*-a·-*) *and medio-passive or static* (*-i-*). A very considerable number of verb stems alternate in their final vowel between *a·* and *i*, a smaller number between *ya·* and *i*. The former form of the stem is used for the active intransitive (or transitional) voice, the latter for the medio-passive, static, or resultative voice. The *i-* forms seem to be durative, the *a·-* forms tend to be momentaneous. Examples are:

i·-p·ɔtsin'i-k̭·ai- to be ready to start off	*pɔtsin'na·-* to start off (for a race)
muntun'ni- to lie covered up	*muntuna·-* to lie down and cover oneself up
qɔi'ni- to hang together in two parts	*qɔi'na·-* to come together, dangle in two parts
-m'unuq·wi- to be round	*-m'unuq·wa·-* to become round
nɔq·ɔm'mi-(k̭·ai-) to be bent, *nɔq·ɔ-m·i-* to bend (slowly; intr.)	*nɔq·ɔm'ma·-* to give a bend (intr.)
cɔ·i-k̭·ai- to be bent	*cɔ·ya·-* to bend (intr.)
naŋa-ntup·i- several are angry (*-tup·i-* plural stem found only in compounds, parallel to sing. *-ya'ai-* to die)	*naŋa-ntup·a·-* several get angry
patcaq·wi- to be wet	*patcaq·wa·-* to get wet
pat·ca'i-k̭·ai- to be fastened on to	*pat·ca'a·-* to be left fastened

ut·cum'mi-	to have one's eyes closed	*ut·cum'ma·-*	to close one's eyes
pɔn·i-	to stick out one's buttocks, *pɔn·i-k̯·ai-* to have one's buttocks stuck out	*pɔn·a·-*	to stoop and stick out one's buttocks

In some cases that have been recorded, there seems to be little appreciable difference in meaning between the *i-* and *a·-* forms, though this may be due to inadequate translation, e. g.:

tcuγwi-	to approach (tr.)	*tcuγwa·-*	dit.
cïrï'i-	to be frightened, surprised	*cïrï'ya·-*	dit.

(e) *Alternation of transitional -i- and static -a·-.* This type, apparently the exact opposite of the preceding, is sparsely represented, e. g.:

pɔn·ɔ'a·-	to be full	*pɔn·ɔ'i-*	to become full

(f) *Alternation of intransitive -i-, -a·- and transitive -a-.* In these verbs it is difficult to discover the difference in meaning between the *-i-* and *-a·-* forms (cf. d above). In some cases only *-i-* alternates with *-a-*. The alternation of *-i-* and *-a-* is evidently an old Uto-Aztekan feature; cf. such Nahuatl doublets as *cotoni* TO BREAK (intr.): *cotona* TO WOUND, CUT; *tomi* TO OPEN UP (intr.): *toma* TO OPEN (tr.), DELIVER; and numerous others. Paiute examples are:

tuγwi-, tuγwa·-	fire goes out	*tuγwa-*	to put out a fire
yauq·wi-, yauq·wa·-	to enter, sun sets	*-yauq·wa-*	to push in
to·q·wi-	to stretch (intr.)	*-to·q·wa-*	to stretch (tr.)
mïn·wɪ-	to turn, roll (intr.)	*tsɪ-mïn·w·a-*	to turn (meat) with a spit
ïmpïn'i-, ïmpïn'na·-	to be raised resting on (something)	*ïmpïn'na-*	to raise so as to uncover
ɔvi-	hair is out, *ɔva·-* hair comes out	*ɔva-*	to pull out hair, pluck feathers
nu'i-k̯·ai-	several stand	*nu'a-*	to throw down several

Here may belong also:

wïn·ï-	to stand	*wïn·ai-*	to throw down (a person)

Transitives of these verbs with animate object end in *-a·-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 10), e. g.:

tca·'mpïn·a·ŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·ᴀ (< *tca-ïmpïn·a·-*) lifted it (vis.) up from (him)
maru'x·ᴜqwa·ŋqïaŋᴀ to stretch him (vis.)

It is not clear whether these forms are to be considered as transitivised from intransitives in *-a·-* or as built on *-a-* transitives with lengthened vowel before *-ŋqï-*.

(2) CONSONANTAL AFFECTION. Two groups of cases are to be recognized, glottalization and gemination of stem consonants. These seem to be equivalent processes. Not infrequently they occur together in the same form, e. g. *ts·ḵa'p·in'ɴᴀ* TO CUT (momentaneously): *ts·ḵaviɴᴀ* TO CUT (duratively).

(a) *Glottalization of verb stems.* This process operates:

1. To indicate distribution, e. g.:

ᴡᴀʽtcü'ŋwɪyun·ɪʽ	four	*wa'a'ŋᴡᴧtcüŋwɪyun·ɪʽ*	eight (lit., four here and there)
waŋwi-	several stand	*wa'a'ŋᴡɪťuip·ïγaʽ*	caused (them) each to stand
yun·a-	to put several down (in one place)	*yun·a'(a)i-*	to put down in several places

2. To indicate iteration, e. g.:

iyɔn·a-	to carry in one's arms	*iyɔn'na-*	to carry several times
ya·-vaγai-	to fear	*yï'ï-p·aq·ai-*	to be afraid several times (note irregular change of *-a·-* to *-ï·-*)

3. To indicate momentaneous activity, e. g. *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object: *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular object (§ 30, 4).

Glottalization alone as a grammatical process is relatively rare. Generally it accompanies distributive or iterative reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4), less often gemination alone (see b).

(b) *Gemination in verb stems.* Gemination primarily denotes momentaneous activity; the contrast between momentaneous and durative, as might be expected, tends to become one of singularity and plurality. Gemination is very commonly employed with the momentaneous suffixes *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3) and *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c). Other examples of momentaneous gemination are:

tïγai-	to happen	*tïq·aŋ'wi-*	to take place (at one moment of time)
nayava-	to seem	*nayap̓·a·-ŋu-*	to get to seem
naγarï-ŋqï-	to dodge	*naγat·ï-ŋqï-*	to dodge quickly
yauγwi-tcai-	several enter	*yauq·wi-*	one enters
ta-'niγi-	to stick one's foot in (duratively, customarily)	*ta-'nik·i-*	to stick one's foot in (momentaneously)
tsι-q·ur'u-	to be poking in a hole with the point of a stick	*tsι-q·ut·u-na-*	to take out of a hole with a stick
qï-nivuγwi-	to nibble at	*qï-nip·uγwi-*	to gnaw
tuvʷun'ni-	to be waking up	*tup·un'ni-*	to wake up (at once)
nɔ·'ɔrua-	to be pregnant	*nɔ·'ɔt·ua-*	to appear pregnant (right off)
yï'ïγi-k̭·a-	several swallow	*yï'ïk·i-*	one swallows
-γa-	durative suffix (§ 30, 1)	*-q·i-*	momentaneous suffix (§30, 3)

Far less frequently gemination indicates iterative activity, e. g.:

qaq·arï-	to run away	*qaq·at·ï-*	to run away several times
ya·-vaγai-	to fear	*yï'ï-p·aq·ai-*	to be afraid several times

Even these examples are really but special forms of gemination accompanying reduplication. Combined gemination and reduplication, to indicate distribution or iteration, is common (see § 58, 3, h; § 58, 4, a, d, f).

§ 54. *Singular and plural stems.*

All verbs are determined as regards singularity or plurality of the subject, less often of the object also; the singular form includes reference to the dual. The most common method of indicating plurality of the subject is by the use of the suffix *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); for other suffixes indicating or implying plurality of subject or object, see § 31, 1, a and b; § 31, 2, a-d. Vocalic alternation of the final vowel of the stem is also sometimes associated with change of number (see § 53, 1, b). The idea of distribution expressed by reduplication often passes over into that of plurality of the subject or object (see § 58, 3).

Besides these formal methods of expressing number, there are certain verb stems that are inherently limited in their reference to number, the singular-dual of the intransitive subject or transitive object being expressed by a stem which is etymologically distinct from that for the plural of the intransitive subject or transitive object. Certain of these stem contrasts are:

qarï-	one sits, dwells	*yuγwi-*	several sit, dwell
avi-	one lies	*qwavi-*	several lie
wïn·ï-	one stands	*waŋwi-*, *nu'i-*(*k̯·ai-*)	several stand
pa(*i*)*yï-*	one returns	*pan·aγa-*	several return
pitcï-	one arrives	*ïmʷïi-*	several arrive
paγ(*a*)*i-*	one goes, walks	*pɔrɔ-*	several travel; *mia-* several go
ap·ïi-	one sleeps	*aq·ɔ'i-*	several sleep
tɔγɔq·wi-	one runs	*yon·i-*, *yon'ni-*	several run
qaq·arï-	one runs away	*mintɔn'ni-*	several run away
ïγa-	one enters	*waγi-*	several enter
wï'ï-(*q·u-*)	one falls	*yun·ia-*	several fall
nɔntsi-	to fly (not limited in number)	*ya·c·ï-*	several fly off
tsik·an'na·-	one appears	*maya-*(*ŋu-*)	several appear
tɔŋqwa·-	one (bow) snaps	*qavi-tcai-*	several snap (plurality indicated by *-tcai-*, not by stem)
ya·-, *yaŋwi-*	to carry one (object)	*yu'a-*	to carry several (objects)
qwïi-	to take one (object)	*tu'um·a-*	to take several (objects)
watcï-	to put one (object)	*yun·a-*	to put several (objects)
paq·a-	to kill one (anim. obj.)	*qɔ'i-*, *qɔγɔ'i-*	(reduplicated) to kill several
wïn·ai-	to throw down one	*nu'a-*	to throw down several
(*tsi*)-*'niγi-*	to stick in one	(*tsi*)-*ŋwaγ*(*a*)*i-*	to stick in several (cf. *waγi-* above)
mï'na-(*q·i-*)	one (object) breaks off	*mimiɔ'i-*	(reduplicated) several break off (irregularly related to singular form)

Several of these verb stems are also used as the second element in compound verbs. The whole verb may be characterized as singular or plural in this way; a pluralizing *-q·a-* may thus become unnecessary, e. g. *ivi-* ONE DRINKS: *ivi-k̯·a-* SEVERAL DRINK, but *ivi-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE DRINKS STANDING: *iviŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL DRINK STANDING. Singularity or plurality of the object is not disturbed by composition, e. g. *paq·a-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS ONE; *paq·a-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL ONE; *qɔ'i-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS SEVERAL; *qɔ'i-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL SEVERAL. Similarly, note *qwïï-* ONE TAKES ONE; *qwïïq·a-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE; *tu'um·a-* ONE TAKES SEVERAL; *tu'um·aq·a-* SEVERAL TAKE SEVERAL.

A small number of singular and plural verb stems are used only as second elements in verb compounds, e. g.:

-kwa'(a)i- one goes (see § 28, 1; practically suffix)	*-m·ia-* several go (less frequently used as independent stem)
-ya'(a)i- to die (independent stem), e. g. *tïγïi-ya'ai-* to die of hunger, to be hungry	*-tup·i-*, *-tup·a·-* (only in compounds; perhaps identical with *tup·i-* to be used up), e. g. *tïγïi-tcup·i-* several are hungry, *naŋa-ntup·a·-* several get angry
ᴜ^{x}*qu'mpu-tcaq·ai-* one (thing) goes off in dust	*ᴜ*^{x}*qu'mpu-tcɩtcai-χw'ai-* several (things) go up in dust

The plural *-navitcɩ-* TO BECOME (perhaps reciprocal *na-*^{s} + *pitcï-* TO ARRIVE: TO ARRIVE WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO GET TO BE AMONG THEMSELVES) either corresponds to singular *-tïq·aŋ'wi-* (also used independently) TO BECOME or is used as a verbal quasi-suffix of plurality, e. g.:

qatcut·ïq·aŋ'wi- to not-become, one gets tired out	*qatcun·avitcɩ-* several get tired out
patcaq·wi- one is (*or* gets) wet	*patcaq·winavitcɩ-* several get wet
tuγwi- fire goes out	*tuγwinavitcɩ-* fires go out

§ 55. *Verb syntax.*

Under this head may be conveniently grouped a number of phenomena that affect the verb in relation to other words in the sentence.

(1) SUBORDINATING ELEMENTS. Subordinate clauses, denoting cause, time, condition, concession, or attendant circumstance, are extremely frequent in Paiute. Those of these clauses that are used with logical subjects put them in the objective form. Thus, a sentence like WHEN I CAME, YOU WERE AWAY is rendered WHEN ME CAME, YOU WERE AWAY. In all probability the objective is in these cases to be interpreted genitively, the subordinating element as a specialized postposition; e. g. AT MY COMING, YOU WERE AWAY. This receives some support from the fact that a few of the ordinary postpositions may be suffixed to verb forms (see 2 below). However, of the verb-subordinating elements only *-yu-* (see c below), possibly also *-q·u-* (see e), is employed also with nouns (see § 50, 4, 49). The

tense elements *-pa·-* (§ 32, 4) and *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3) may precede the subordinating suffix, but not the other tense elements. Five subordinating suffixes are found, the first three of which introduce clauses referring to the subject of the main clause, the other two clauses with a different subject.

(a) *-t·sι-* gerund. Subordinates in *-t·sι-* are here termed gerunds because they have no expressed subject, though they may have an object. Their logical subject is always the same as that of the main clause. They indicate antecedent circumstance or activity and are most appropriately translated in English by participial phrases: HAVING —ED. It is at least possible that the gerund *-t·sι-* is etymologically related to the animate noun suffix *-tsι-* (§ 24, 1, f); such a sentence as HAVING SO DONE, HE RETURNED would then originally have meant THE ONE WHO DID SO RETURNED. Examples are:

maa'it̓sιŋw imi'ŋwa'aiŋᴡᴀ pa(i)yι'k·ιva' find-gerund-him (inv.) thou-with-him (inv.) return-hither-will; having found him with you, (he) will come home

ųnι'k̯·aŋumï·ts· mį̈n·ï's·'its uŋwa't̓·uιk̯·aŋup·ïγa' after having so done (plur.), having returned, (they) caused (it) to rain

ųni'ts·, ųni'ŋuts· having so done, then (frequently used as sentence connector); *ųni'ŋʊt̓sιŋᴡᴀ* then he (inv.)

nï' nɔn·ɔ'c·ι' qwιya'tcιtcιq·aŋ'wιts· I dream-present bear-become-gerund, I dream that I turned into a bear

Future gerunds in *-va·t·sι-*, *-mpa·t·sι-* BEING ABOUT TO—are also very common and frequently found in idiomatic turns. Examples are:

aχa'n^{vx}k̯ava·t̓sιŋwaŋw a'ɪ^{x}k̯ai' how-do-plural-future-gerund-him (inv.)-ye say-plural-present? being about to do what with him say ye? what do you (plur.) say you are to do with him?

cį̈na'ŋwavin·i' quna'iaraŋᴡᴀ qwïï'va·ts 'an·i'k·^{x}ᴀ coyote-like fire-obj.-our (inclus.) take-future-gerund do-present, it seems Coyote does so being about to take our fire, Coyote acts as though intending to take our fire

nį̈'nιantca·ŋᴀ pᴀ^{x}qq̯'umpa·tsų̈n iya't·ï qoq·ᴡɪ me-preterit-he (vis.) kill-future-gerund-me vainly shoot, he vainly shot being about to kill me, he tried to kill me but shot in vain

(b) *-kai-* WHEN, WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-γai-* or nasalized *-ŋqai-*. This is a true subordinating suffix, attached to verb forms whose subject is the same as that of the main verb. While *-t·sι-*

forms denote antecedent activity, *-kai-* forms denote contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

sʊ·'vʷ'aŋᴡᴀ qarï'm'mɩaxa' tïŋwï''ɩva' if (§ 60, 2, d)-he (inv.) sit-move-as fall-will; if he rides, he will fall down
qa·'(ai)ʏɪ̈ tï'qa'γa' sings while eating
yaγa'γaitca·ŋ ivi'ŋᴜ cry-as-preterit-he (vis.) drink-momentaneous; while he cried, he drank
qa·'(a)i paγ(a)'iŋk̯a' sings while walking
qᴀˣqa't·ɪ̈'pïγa' cua'ŋumɩŋk̯adik·ᴡᴀ sat (iteratively) while eating it (inv.) up each time

-kai-c·u- (with enclitic *-c·u-*; see § 19, 2, k) often implies immediate sequence: AS SOON AS, e. g.:
a'iγaic·ᴜ cina'ŋwaφɪ quna'mantï ᴡɪ̈'qa'm'ᴍɪ'k̯aip·ïγa' say-as-just coyote fire-at-being (obj.) covered; as soon as Coyote said so, (he) covered some of (the) fire

Concessive clauses of the same subject as the main clause are formed by appending *-c·ampa-* (§ 19, 2, j) to *-kai-*, e. g.:

iya'vaχaŋqaic·ampa·ŋᴀ though fearing him (vis.), (he went to meet him)

(c) *-yu-* WHEN, WHILE, AS. This subordinating suffix seems to be identical in meaning with *-kai-* (see b above). It is suffixed only to stems or verb suffixes ending in *-ai-*. It always replaces *-kai-* after verb suffixes ending in *-ai-* (e. g. resultative subordinate *-q·ai-yu-* WHEN SAYING, not **-q·ai-γai-*). After verb stems in *-ai*, *-kai-* is used (e. g. *ai-γai-* WHILE SAYING), unless followed by enclitic *-c·ampa-*, but not, e. g., *-c·u-* (hence *ai-γai-c·u-*, but *ai-yu-c·ampa-*). Examples of *-yu-* clauses are:

niŋwï'χaiyu' ų'nɪ person-be-as-thou do! act like a person!
naŋqa'q·ai'yuq·ᴡᴀ when (he) heard it (inv.)

Clauses in *-yu-c·u-*, analogous to those in *-kai-c·u-* and *-ku-c·u-*, are found after verbal suffixes in *-ai-*, e. g.:

ųni'k̯·aiyuc·ᴜ wï'ï'k·ᴜpïγa' do-resultative-as-just fall-momentaneous-past; while so doing, (he) fell down

Concessive clauses in *-yu-c·ampa-* replace forms in *-kai-c·ampa-* after all verbs in *-ai-*, e. g.:

imi'ntcu' aru''ᵃ pan·ɔ'x·qwaiyuc·ampᴧ na'a'ivätcï thou-interrogative art be-wet-when-only burn-usitative-participle, art thou wont to burn even when wet?

qa'tcᴜ qᴜ'qwɩ'ŋ'waiʏᴜcampᴧ not shoot-negative-as-only; though not shooting, (he kept on singing)

(d) *-q·a-* WHEN, IF. This subordinating suffix characterizes antecedent temporal and conditional clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Examples are:

sυ·'vʷa·ŋᴧ tɔn·a'q·anɪ tɔγɔ'q·wɩva' if-him (vis.) hit-if-me (= my) run-will; if I hit him, (he) will run

imi'ᴧ pᴧˣqa'ŋᴜtïïqa'amɪ maŋac·ᴜ yaχa'va·n·ɩ' thee (= thy) kill-passive-if-thee (= thy) he (vis.) cry-will; if you get killed, he will cry

nï̹' naŋa'ï'aiḳ·a·ŋᴧ yaya'x·ᴧqaiχu' I anger-die-if-him (vis.; = his) cry (momentaneous)-perfective-irrealis; if he had got angry, I would have cried

u̹nɩ'ŋᴜqwa·ŋᴧ tïvʷɩ'p·ïna·x·ɪ yɩ'α'q·a·p·ïγa' do-momentaneous-him (vis.; = his) earth-into entered; when he did so, (it) went into (the) earth

ᴍᴧ'tca'iaŋqïq·a·ŋᴧ wï'ï'k·ᴜpïγa' reach-for-when-him (vis.; = his) fall-momentaneous-past; as he reached for (it), (it) fell down

(e) *-ku-* WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-γu-*, nasalized *-ŋqu-*, or geminated *-q·u-*. This subordinating element also is used in clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Unlike *-q·a-* clauses (see c), however, *-ku-* subordinates generally indicate contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

uŋwa'(u)x·ᴜ qan·ɩ't·iŋwai' rain-when house-close-present; when (it) rains, (he) shuts the door

nï'amï pï̹nɩ'ḳ·ai(y)amï pɔ·'ʏᴧˣqaχoamï I-them (vis.) see-them (vis.) run-plural-while-them (vis.; = their), I see them running

tᴧ'cɩ'p·a(u)x·ᴜ evening-when, in the evening

ya'a'iχ̭utca·ŋαnɪ qïma'ŋᴡɪtuγwaŋᴜ die-when-preterit-him (vis.; = his)- I other- to (§ 50, 4, 14)-momentaneous; I went away while he died

tᴧ'cï'aŋqᴜ dawn-when, at dawn

mamɩ·a''utsɩᴧ ts·pi'ŋum·iŋqᵘuŋᴡᴧ woman (obj. = genitive) appear-momentaneous-usitative-when-her (inv.), whenever the woman went out

-q·u- is not so freely used. It is regularly employed after verbalizing *-kai-* TO BE, TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, a and b), resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9), perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3), and negative *-ŋwa'ai-* (§ 57, 2, b). The *-ai-* of the first three of these elements becomes *-a·-*, the *-a'ai-* of the last becomes *-a*(·)'-. Examples are:

nį'ni a'ip·atsιγ̱a·q·unι me (= my) boy-be-when-me (= my); when I was a boy, (it happened)
maa'ip·ïγai(y)aŋᴀ piŋwa'xa·q·ᴜ find-past-him (vis.) wife-have-when; found him having (her) for wife
ųni'ḵ·a·q·uαŋ 'ɔai' while he was doing so, (it happened)
yaa'iŋqw'aiḵ·a·q·oaŋᴀ when he (vis.) had gone out hunting
tï'qa'q·αŋwa'q·ut'·uαc·ampᴀ though others are not eating (for *-c·ampa-* see below; for order of impersonal *-t'·ua-* see § 29, 14)
-q·u- seems to be used also with a few verb stems, e. g.:
tava'iᴀ maŋ'wï'c·ιk·ˣᴜ sun-obj. rise-when, when (the) sun was up

Postpositional *-q·u-* referring to time (see § 50, 4, 37 and 41) may be identical with subordinating *-q·u-*; cf. also *ι'tcuq·ᴜ* IN THE MORNING (§ 60, 2, a). In such a form as *tuχwa'r'uiŋuq·ᴜ* WHEN (IT) BECAME NIGHT, *-q·u-* is perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqu-*.

Enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) may follow *-ku-* as well as *-kai-*, e. g.:

a'ix̱ᴜcuaŋᴀ as he (vis.) said so, (something happened)

-c·ampa- (§ 19, 2, j) is used in concessive clauses, e. g.:

yaγa'x·ᴜcampaŋwᴀ even if he (inv.) cries
ųnι'ŋumιŋqᴜcampa·q·amï do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.; = their), though they were wont to do it

(2) VERB FORMS SUBORDINATED BY POSTPOSITIONS. A less important group of verb subordinates is of local significance. These are formed by suffixing to the verb, in a manner analogous to subordinate forms already discussed (see 1 above), certain nominal postpositions. Examples have been found of verbal local subordinates in *-p·a·-* (participialized *-p·a·ntï-*, § 50, 4, 38; and in compounded forms: *-p·a·ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 38; *-p·a·yu-*, § 50, 4, 38); *-va-* (§ 50, 4, 37); and apparently *-yu-n·ia-* (§ 50, 4, 49). Doubtless several other postpositions may be used to make subordinate clauses of local reference.

(3) PRESENT FORMS AS LOOSE SUBORDINATES. Now and then a verb form in present *-yï-* (§ 32, 1) occurs as a sort of loosely employed subordinate to a preceding verb, not necessarily of the same tense. Examples are:

piyï'a·ŋᴀ ma'ip·ïγa ι(y)ä'n·uyïaq·ᴀ heart-obj.-his (vis.) find-past this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-present-it (vis.), found his heart (that) it is present there, found his heart right there

qatcᴜ qa·'va·ŋwa' pa'a'n·i' not sing-will-negative high-present, will not sing (it) is loud, will not sing loud

(4) SYNTACTIC USE OF PARTICIPLES. Participles are extremely in evidence in Paiute. They are employed in a variety of syntactic ways:

(a) Attributively, when they may often be translated as relative clauses or as adjectives.

(b) Denominatively, e. g. *to·'γwantï* FIGHTING > FIGHTER, secondarily HAVASUPAI INDIAN; *uv*^{w}*a·'nt aʀï* THERE-BEING IT, THE THING THAT IS THERE.

(c) Adverbially, particularly with verbalized postpositional forms, e. g. *tümp*^{w}*ι'a·ŋ 'ava·ntïᴀ pį̈nι'k̯·a'* ROCK-OBJ.- HE (VIS). IT-AT-BEING-OBJ. LOOK, i. e. HE LOOKS THERE AT THE ROCK rather than HE SEES THE ROCK THAT IS THERE.

(d) Predicatively after verbs, particularly substantive verbs, e. g. *^{i}'itc aro''amι aγan an·i'ntcï* THIS (INAN.) IS-USITATIVE HOW DOING? HOW DOES IT WORK? *qatcu an·ιk̯· ųŋwa'ŋw'ait·ï* NOT DOES RAINING (NEG.), IT DOES NOT RAIN.

(e) In lieu of finite verbs, particularly after independent personal pronouns. Such participles may be considered as special cases of predicative usages (d), the substantive verb being omitted. They refer to general time as a rule. Examples are:

a'imintïmï say-usitative-participle-plural, (those) wont to say, (they) always say

nï' to·'γwantï I fighting, I am a fighter

i'mɪ cïï'χaχwai't·uim·ιntïnɪ thou squaw-bush-get-go-causative-usitative-participle-me, you always cause me to go to get squaw-bush twigs

(5) SYNTACTIC USE OF ADJECTIVES. Practically all adjectives are properly verbal in form. As such, they may be predicatively employed, like any verb; or, in participial form, attributively or denominatively (e.g. *^{a}'a't·ï tɔγɔ'q·wιtcï* GOOD-BEING RUNNING, GOOD RUNNER). They may also be employed, in their bare stem-form, as the first, rarely second, elements of noun compounds (see § 18, 1, d and e).

A few adjectives are properly nominal in form, e. g. *mιa''p·ïts·*

SMALL; *ι·'t·ümpï* OLD. An independent adjective may be used attributively to refer to an incorporated noun, e. g.:

mιa''p·ïtsιA wana'RUpïγa'	little-obj. net-make-past, made a little net

§ 56. *Substantive verbs.*

(1) FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. Substantive verbs are formed from the demonstrative stems *a-* and *u-* by means of a verbalizing *-ro'a-*: *aro'a-* TO BE (vis.), *uru'a-* TO BE (inv.). These forms may be used with all nouns, animate or inanimate, and independent pronouns. These simple forms are also used as the nucleus of a set of substantive verbs of specific pronominal reference, composed of the pronouns *uŋwa-* HE, *um·ï-* THEY, and *uru-* IT, to which are respectively appended (not phonetically suffixed) *aro'a-* for the visible, *uru'a-* for the invisible, forms. It is remarkable that the *u-* pronouns, which are properly invisible, should be used in visible substantive verbs as well, visibility and invisibility being expressed by the *a-* or *u-* of the verb proper. The pronominal substantive verbs thus are:

uŋw aro'a-	he is (vis.)	*uŋ uru'a-*	he is (inv.)
um^{w} *aro'a-*	they are (vis.)	*um uru'a-*	they are (inv.)
ur aro'a-	it is (vis.)	*ur uru'a-*	it is (inv.)

These may be conveniently written as single words, e. g. *uraro'a-* IT IS (VIS.). The present tense of substantive verbs is designated either by the normal *-yï-* (§ 32, 1) or, more frequently, by the absence of a tense suffix. The substantive verb may also take on other tense suffixes, the modal *-vï·-* (§ 33, 2), the usitative suffixes (§ 30, 10 and 11), the participial *-rï-*, and the nominal abstract *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3).

(2) USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.

(a) In perhaps the majority of cases the substantive verb follows and is phonetically disconnected from its predicate noun or subject; an adverb, however, may precede and the predicate noun follow the verb. In these cases the final vowel of the word preceding the substantive verb is elided. Examples are:

cina'ŋwav aru''$^{\alpha}$	coyote it-is
^{i}*'itc aro''ami' qa'tcU quna''ap·A*	this (inan.) be-usitative not fire-negative, this (that we have been burning) is not fire
qatc aro''$^{\alpha}$ *tïv*^{w}*a'tsι'ap·A*	not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf

imi'aru' aru' aru''αnʌ thee (= thy)-interrogative it-is being (= property), does it belong to thee?

aro''ap·ïγaʽ (it) was

aŋai aro''avï i'mɪ pį̈nι'k̭·aik̭·αntï whom be-would thou having-seen? I wonder whom you saw?

narï'γïv^{w}*ïγαntïm*^{w} *aru''an·ïmpïγaʽ* reciprocal-friend-being-plural he (inv.)-usitative-past, (they) were always friends to each other

aχav oru''avï uni'n'nintcï what-at be (inv.)-would do-continuative-participle? where would (he) be doing? I wonder where (he) is!

aχav oru''avï uru''αʀï what-at be-would being? I wonder where it is!

a·'χawantcïq·antïaq· uŋwaru''^{a} having-hidden-it (vis.) he-is, he must have hidden it

pua'χant u̥waru''^{α} medicine-man he-is

tïv^{w}*ι'ts·ampa·ŋ uŋuru''aiʽ* very-only-he (vis.) he-is (inv.)-present, truly he is

nį̈'nι 'um^{w}*aru' niŋwï'ntsιŋwïnɪ* me (= my) they-are person-plural-my, they are my persons

pʌ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜtïïpïγantïm umuru''*^{a} kill-passive-past-participle-plural they-are (inv.), they are having been killed, they must have been killed

uŋwa'iʌᴄ uraru' aru''anʌ him (inv.; = his) it-is being (= property), it is his

'a'(i)yuχυ·p· ururu''aiʽ good-irrealis-past passive partic. it-is (inv.)-present, it would be good

(b) A second method of employing substantive verbs is to attach them to the preceding predicate noun or subject (noun or independent pronoun), a glottal stop separating the *a-* or *u-* of the substantive verb from the preceding final vowel, which is preserved; e. g. *itcï' ʽaru'a-* THIS (INAN.) IS beside ^{i}'*itc aru'a-*. Perhaps such forms as *itcï' ʽaru'a-* may be considered as verbs with incorporated nominal (or pronominal) subject (§ 18, 2, f, ε); e. g. *itcï''ʽaru'a-, cïnaŋwavι'uŋwaro'a-*. Forms of this type are obligatory for independent pronouns of the first and second persons. Examples are:

sari·'tcι ȧro'^{α} dog it-is

na'a'ints·tsι' aru'^{a} little-girl it-is (absolute: *na'a'intsιts·*)

imi'' ʽaru' ^{u}*m*^{w}*α'nɪqaivä·ntï* thou art thus-resultative-future-participle, you'll be continuing in that way

iŋa'' ʽaro''^{a} *nį̈'niʽ* she-here is me (= my), this is my (wife)

ιtcï'' ʽaru'ɔm·ι' this (inan.) is-usitative, this really is (your dead relatives' brains)

m·^{w}a'rï ȧru'^{a} that (inan. vis.) is (how I move about)
wa·'n·arïχïvų' ųwaru' tamɪ two-reciprocal-friend he (i. e. they 2)-are we 2 (inclus.), we 2 are friends (*-vų'* assimilated to *ų-* from *-vï'*, thus confirming above hypothesis of composition; note also use of third personal pronominal substantive verb with first personal pronoun, suggesting that pronominal substantive verbs define number and animate *versus* inanimate, but not person)
nana'rïχïvuŋ' ųwaru' ^{u}m^{w}α'mï plural reciprocal-friends he (= they)-are they (vis.), they are friends (*-vuŋ' ųw- < -vuŋ^{u}'uŋw- < -vïŋwï'-uŋw-*; *uŋw-*, instead of *um·^{w}-*, after animate plural *-ŋwï-* by "number dissimilation," cf. § 42, 5)
cιna'ŋwavι' uŋwaro'^{a} it was Coyote
narï'γwι·nᴀpu' uŋwaru'^{a} powerful he-is (absolute: *narï'γwι·n·ap·ï*)

(c) The idea of BEING OF, BELONGING TO is normally expressed, as illustrated above in several examples, by preceding the substantive verb with an objective form of genitive significance, e. g.:

nį'niaru' aro' aro''anᴀ me-interrogative is being, is it being of me? is it my property?
nį'ni 'ųwaru''^{α} me he-is, he is mine
imi' 'uraru'' (*aru''anᴀ*) thee it-is (being), it is yours

By a curious idiom, however, the logical owner is sometimes put in the subjective, the thing owned in the objective, as though the substantive verb were to be translated directly as TO OWN, e. g.:

ιcï'an aro''ai' this (inan.)-obj.-I be- present, this is mine, I own this (literally, apparently, I AM OF THIS)
tąŋwa'' 'aro''am·ι' qa'tcᴜ quna''ap·aiᴀ taŋwa'i aʀï we (inclus.) be-usitative not fire-negative-objective us (inclus.; = our) it (subjective); we own not (real) fire, the (fire that is) ours (literally, apparently, WE ARE OF UNREAL FIRE; note that *taŋwa'i aʀï*, though logically in apposition with objective *quna''ap·aiᴀ*, is subjective in form)

(3) USE OF INANIMATE PRONOUNS IN LIEU OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. There are commonly used constructions in Paiute that are analogous to such English locutions as IT IS I WHO — with predicate pronoun, except that there is no substantive verb expressed, the IT doing service for it. The pronominal form for IT employed in Paiute is the inanimate visible enclitic, *-aq·a-*. It is regularly preceded, it would seem, by enclitic *-a-*, *-'a-* (§ 19, 3, a). There is always a

strong emphasis on the independent pronoun to which the -*aq·a*- is attached. Examples are:

nï′a·q· ‘ɔaï‘ I-*a*- it (vis.), it is I (for *‘ɔaï‘* see § 60, 3)
imi′nι(y)a·q· uc·ᴜ thou-like-it, maybe it is you (-*nιa·q·* probably < -*nιa-a-aq·a*-; for *uc·ᴜ* see § 60, 3)
^{u}m^{w}α′ŋa·q·ᴀ, m^{w}αŋ’a·′q·ᴀ that one it is, it is he (vis.)
^{u}m^{w}αŋ’a·′q·ᴀ nị̈′nι pị̈nι′k̭·aik̯·ainᴀ that (vis.) -’*a*- it (vis.) me (= my) see-perfective-verbal noun, it is he whom I saw, that's the man I saw
itcï′a·q·ᴀ nị̈′nι pïv^{w}a qarï′n·anɪ this (inan.) -*a*- it (vis.) me (= my) which-at staying-my, this is where I stay
^{u}’u′rï’a·q·ᴀ pïv^{w}a·′ntïm^{w}anaŋqwan an·ι′p·ïnɪ that (inv.)-’*a*- it (vis.) which-at-being-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is wherefrom my having been done, that is where I am from

Somewhat similar to these constructions is the explanatory use of *m^{w}a′rï*- THAT (inan. vis.), equivalent to THAT IS WHY —, e. g.:

m^{w}ar ‘a′ïv^{w}ιaŋ uʀ tɔ‘ca′p·a(i)ya·tsιaŋᴀ that now-he (vis.) it (inv.) white-breasted-he (vis.), that is the (why) now he (is termed) "white-breasted" (note that *uʀ* serves as article pronoun to *‘a′ïv^{w}ιaŋᴀ tɔ‘ca′p·a(i)ya·tsιaŋᴀ*)

§ 57. NEGATION.

Negative forms are generally preceded by the negative adverb *qatcu*-, less often *qa*. The latter, though closely attached to the following word, is not a prefix, as shown by the unaffected phonetic treatment of the negatived word, e. g.:

nï’ qa q·ari′ŋwa’^{a} I not stay-negative, I was absent
mam·u′c·ᴜ qa yura′ϕᴀ^{x}qaŋ’wai’t·ïmï they are unconquerable

qatcu- is evidently compounded of *qa* and an element -*tcu*- which clearly goes back to spirantized -*tu*- (cf. usitative participle -*vatcï*- < -*va-tï*-, § 25, 6, c; and postpositions in -*pa-tc* . . .- < -*pa-t* . . .-, § 50, 4, 37); this is proven by comparative evidence, cf. Mono *gadu, garu* NOT. The noun, independent pronoun, or verb that is negatived is provided with a negative suffix or negative modification of a verbalizing suffix. All such negative elements contain a glottal stop. Somewhat infrequently, negative forms are found unpreceded by a negative adverb.

(1) NEGATIVED NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. All nouns and independent pronouns, including nominal derivatives of verbs (e. g. past passive participles in -*p·i*-, agentives in -*vi*-^{n}, and even gerunds in

-tsι-), take as negative suffix *-'ap·a-* (*-a'ap·a-*, *-ȧp·a-*). Negative usitative participles (cf. § 25, 6, c) end in *-'ap·atcï-*; for negative forms of ordinary active participles in *-tï-*, see 2, b below. This suffix precedes objective *-ya-*. Examples are:

qatc aro''^{a} *tïv*^{w}*a'tsιa'ap·ᴀ* not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf
qanι''ap·ᴀ house-negative, not a (real) house
qatc ï̜na'mpïtsιáp·aiʽ not badger-negative-obj., not a badger (obj.)
qatc 'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪpi'ap·ᴀ not good-dream-past passive partic.-negative, what has not been well dreamt, not a good dream
qatc ^{a}*'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ιwι'ap·ᴀ* not a good dreamer
qatc ^{a}*'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪtsι'ap·ᴀ* not good-dream-gerund-negative, not having dreamt well
qatcu''uŋw i'i'väʽ pi'tcïáap·atcï not-he (inv.) here arrive-negative-usitative participle, he is not wont to arrive here
qatc imi''ap·ᴀ not thou-negative, it is not you

(2) Negatived verbs. Several negative elements are used.

(a) *Absolute negatives in -'ap·a-.* The absolute (tenseless) verb is negatived precisely like a noun, e. g.:

imi'ntcaaŋᴀ qa p·ᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋuáp·ᴀ* thou-preterit-him (vis.) not kill-negative, you did not kill him
qatcu'nɪ qï'ï'^{i}*(y)ap̓·anɪ* not-me bite-negative-me, do not bite me!

(b) *Non-absolute negatives in -ŋwa'ai-.* The form in *-ŋwa'ai-* without specific tense element functions as a negative present, e. g.:

nï' qatcu'aŋᴀ qa·'t·uiŋwa'^{a} I not-him (vis.) sing.-cause-negative, I do not let him sing

The future negative suffixes *-ŋwa'ai-* to *-va·-* (§ 32, 4), e. g.:

qatcun tïni'ava·^{a}*ŋwa'ainɪ* not-me tell-future-negative-me, do not tell on me

The *-va·n·ia-* future (§ 32, 5) inserts the negative suffix between *-va·-* and *-n·ia-*, hence *-va·ŋwa'ain·ia-*. A somewhat puzzling form in *-va·n·iŋwa'ai(n·ia)-* also occurs. Examples are:

qatcu'ᴀ^{x}*qa·ŋᴀ pï̜nι'k̬·aiva·ŋ'wain·ιʽ* he (vis.) will not see it (vis.)
qatcu'aŋ ^{a}*'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ιva·n·ιŋwa'ain·ιʽ* he (vis.) will not dream well
qatcu'aŋ ^{a}*'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ιva·n·ιŋwa'*^{a} he (vis.) will not dream well (stated as prediction)

The negative active participle ends in *-ŋwa'ait·ï-*, e. g.:

qa nɔnɔ'c·ɪŋwai't·ï not dreaming
qatc^{u} 'a'(i)yuŋwai't·įmɪ̈ not one who is good (among) several

The negative correspondent of subordinating *-kai-* (§ 55, 1, b) is *-ŋwa'ai-yu-* (§ 55, 1, c), e. g.:

na·'nɪaŋ'waiʏᴜcampa·ŋᴀ nïru'x·ᴡᴀ without saying anything, (give) him (vis.) to me

In certain forms *-ŋwa'ai-* is replaced by two-moraed *-ŋwa'a-*. The negative form of subordinating *-ku-* (§ 55, 1, e) is *-ŋwa'q·u-*, e. g.:

tïʿqa'q·aŋwa'q·uc·amparaŋᴡᴀ eat-plural-negative-while-only-we (inclus.), while we are not eating

There are absolute verb forms in *-ŋwa'ap·a-*, a suffix apparently combining *-ŋwa'a(i)-* and *-'ap·a-* (see a). It is not evident how they differ, if at all, from ordinary negative absolutes in *-'ap·a-*. Examples are:

qatcu'tca·mɪ̈ paa'iyɔŋwa'ap·ac·ᴜ not-preterit-they (vis.) countable (?)-negative-again, they were many in number (*paiyɔ-* is only used as negative verb; cf. *qatcu'raŋᴡᴀ paa'iyɔŋwa'aic·ᴜ* we (inclus.) are many)

Forms in *-ŋwa'ap·a-vi-* seem to be agentives of negative absolutes in *-ŋwa'ap·a-* (but cf. negatived agentives in *-vi'ap·a-*, 1 above), e. g.:

nï' qatc ampa'x·ᴀtuiŋwa'ap·aφɪ I not talk-cause-negative-agentive, I (am) one who causes not to talk, I do not allow to talk

(c) *Negative forms of verbalizing -kai-.* The verbalizing suffixes *-kai-* TO BE and *-kai-* TO HAVE (see § 26, 1, a and b) become *-'ai-* in the negative. This *-'ai-* takes the place of any specifically negative suffix. Examples are:

atcï'γaʿ has a bow	*qa'tc atcï''a'^{a}* has not a bow
^{a}'a'ŋavïγaip·ïγaʿ had arms	*^{a}'a'ŋavïáip·ï'a'* had no arms
taŋwa'ŋqaiva·ntï being about to have teeth	*qa'tcᴜ taŋwa''aiva·ntï* not going to have teeth
nįŋwï'aγaʿ (it) has a person, a person is there	*nïŋwï'a·'^{a}* (< *-a-a'^{a}*) no person is there

pa·'γaivätcï wont to be water	*qatcu'ru'a·q· ï'i'vä' pa·'a'aivätcï* not-interrogative-it (vis.) here water-be not-usitative-participle, is there not wont to be water here?

The negative participle corresponding to positive *-kantï-* BEING, HAVING (§ 26, 1, a and b) is *-'ait·ï-*, e. g.:

naŋqa'vaγantï having ears	*naŋqa'va'ait·ï* earless
quna'q·aχantïmï having fire (plur.)	*qa'tcU quna'ï'nik̫·ait'ïmï* not fire-owned-plural subject-not have-participle-plural, not having fire (plur.)

As we have already seen (§ 32, 6), narrative past *-p·ïγai-* is compounded of past passive participle *-p·ï-* and *-γai-* TO HAVE. Its negative correspondent is therefore *-p·ï'ai-*; *-γai-p·ïγai-* HAD —, WAS — is doubly negatived to *-'ai-p·ï'ai-*. The negative correspondent of participial *-p·ïγantï-* (§ 25, 6, e) is *-p·ï'ait·ï-*. Examples are:

qarï'p·ïγa' sat	*qa'tcU qarï'p·ïa'^{a}* did not sit
pï̜nɩ'k̫·aip·ïγa'aik·WA saw it (inv.)	*qa'tcU pï̜nɩ'k̫·aip·ï'a'aik·WA* did not see it
NÏ'ci'm·^{w}ïαp·ïγantï having ever let go of any one	*qa'tcU NÏ'ci'm·^{w}ïαp·ïa'it·ï* having never let go of any one

The negative verbalizing *-'ai-* appears as *-'a·-*, *-a·'-* before subordinating *-q·u-*; *-a·'q·u-* WHEN HAS NOT, WHEN IS NOT thus corresponds to positive *-kaiγu-*, e. g.:

c·ci'naŋwavɩ(y)a·'q·ut'·uαc·ampA coyote (distributively)-not be-when-impersonal-only, though others were not coyote-like

(d) Negatives in *-n·a'ai-*. A few verbs, chiefly verbs of sight, use *-n·a'ai-* as negative suffix instead of the normal *-ŋwa'ai-* (b above); participialized, *-n·a'ait·ï-*. Unlike *-ŋwa'ai-*, however, *-n·a'ai-* precedes future *-va·-* and is followed by narrative *-p·ïγai-*.

nï' pï̜nɩ't'·uina·'^{a} I see-cause-negative, I do not let (him) see

maŋa'c·uaq·A qa p·ï̜ni'n·a'^{a} he-it (vis.) not see-negative, he does not see it (but: *maŋa'c·uaq·A qa p·ï̜ni'k̫·aiŋwa'^{a}* he does not look at it)

pï̜nɩ'n·a'aiYU while not seeing

qatcu''^{u}q·WA pï̜ni'n·a'aip·ïγa' not-it (inv.) (he) saw

qatcu''q·wa'^{a}*mï sɔtsι'n'naiva'aq̓·wαmï* not-it (inv.)-dual peep-negative-future-it (inv.)-dual, (you) 2 shall not peep at it
-rïc·u'ai-n·a'ai- to pay no attention to (see § 50, 4, 29)
qatcu'aŋ 'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ιn·a·'^{a} not-he (vis.) good-dream-negative, (I guess) he didn't dream well (but also: *qatcun 'a't·ïn·ɔn·ɔc·ιŋwa'*^{a} not-I well-dream)
m^{w}*α'ŋa·q·ᴀ maa'in·in·ȧit·ï* that one it (is) who has not been touched

(e) *Negative participle in -n·u(w)a'ait·ï-.* This form is perhaps the negative participle corresponding to usitative *-n·ï-*^{n} (§ 30, 11), e. g.: *qa'tcᴜ na'a'in·u(w)a'ait·ï* never having burned.

§ 58. Reduplication.

Numerous reduplicated forms have already been quoted in the course of this paper. The process is freely used both in nouns and, especially, in verbs. It is frequently accompanied by glottalization or consonantal gemination or both. The reduplication is practically always initial; only a few cases of morphologically non-significant final reduplication occur. An initial vowel (v) reduplicates to v'v'- (^{v}'v'-, 'v'-). If the word begins with a consonant + vowel (cv), the reduplication includes both (cv-', rarely cv·'-). A stem, however, that has a nasal consonant following initial stopped or affricative consonant + vowel (cvc^{n}) includes the nasal in the reduplication (cv-^{n}'); the nasal of the reduplicating syllable is assimilated, if necessary, to the first consonant of the stem. The consonant following a reduplicating cv- may be either spirantized or geminated, according to type. Verbs and nouns with reflexive prefix *na-* reduplicate the *na-*, not the stem; verbs with instrumental prefixes reduplicate the prefix, not the stem (e. g. verbs in *ta-*^{g} with the foot reduplicate to *tᴀ'ta'-*^{g}). In the following, examples of reduplication are classified as to function, secondarily as to phonetic type.

(1) Constantly reduplicated nouns. A small number of nouns occurs only in reduplicated form. The reduplication seems to have no morphological significance. Reduplicating types cv-^{g} and cv-^{n} both occur. Examples are:

qᴀ^{x}*qa'ʀᴀ*	quail
tᴜ'tu'γuaφɪ	supernatural helper
mam·a''uts·	woman; *mam·a''*^{a}*caγw(ɔ)its·* old woman
tanta'ŋwavi-	man's brother-in-law
pïmpï'n'nɔavïγaip·ï	toad

ɔvi'-mpimpin·araᴀpïtsι-ŋwï last, youngest of all (reduplication probably has distributive function)
pampï'nɪ bucket (reduplicating vowel different from that of stem)

An example of reduplicating cv-^{n} in the case of a stem without internal nasal is *pɔmpɔ'tsats·* LIZARD (var.).

(2) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS. Distributive forms of nouns are quite frequent. They are not true plurals, though sometimes, particularly in the case of animate nouns, practically equivalent to such. A distributively conceived noun is practically always logically plural at the same time, but need not be.

(a) *Type* v'v-:

ïŋa·''p·its·	baby	*ï'ï(·)'ŋ'ap·itsιŋwï*	babies
aŋavï-	arm	*a'a'ŋavïχaip·ïγaʿ*	each had an arm

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

pɔ·ʿ	trail	*pɔvɔ'ɔ*	trails
pia-	mother	*pivi'araŋwᴀ*	our (inclus.) mothers
piŋwa-	wife	*pivi'ŋwa·mï*	their (vis.) wives

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:[1]

pᴀʿtca'raŋwᴀ	our (inclus.) shoe(s)	*pᴀʿpa'tcaraŋwᴀ*	our shoes (one pair to each)
patsι-	older sister	*pᴀʿpa'tsιamï*	their (vis.) older sister
tɔtsι''ait·ï	headless	*tɔʿtɔ'tsι'ait·ïmï*	each having no head, headless people
wïγï-	vulva	*wïwï'xïᴀ*	vulvas (obj.)
yu'u-	leg	*yuyu''uχwaɪp·ïγaʿ*	each had a leg
naŋwa-	tracks	*nan·a'ŋwaraŋwᴀ*	our (inclus.) tracks
moa-	father	*mom·ǫ'a(i)ya(u)φï*	(their) own fathers (obj.)

(d) *Type* cv-^{n}:

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[1] In the case of stems beginning with *w*, *y*, and *n* there is no possibility of distinguishing spirantizing and geminating reduplication. Such examples will be arbitrarily considered as coming under geminating reduplication. Stems beginning with *s*, *c*, generally also *m*, have geminating reduplication.

puŋqu'ŋwïraŋᴡᴀ	our (inclus.) horses (owned collectively)	*pumpu'ŋquŋwïraŋᴡᴀ*	our horses (one or more owned individually by each one of us)
qa'nɪ	house	*qaŋqa'nɪ*	houses

(3) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Distributive activity nearly always involves plurality of subject in transitive or intransitive verbs or of object in transitive verbs. Hence the distributive form of the verb is frequently enough the practical equivalent of a plural verb. Certain verbs, indeed, consistently use the distributive form instead of one with pluralizing *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); e. g. *pïmpï'n'ɪˣk̯ai-* SEVERAL LOOK AT, not **pïni'k̯·aik̯·a-*.

(a) *Type* v'v-:

uŋwai-	to hang	*u'u'ŋwai'yïq·ᴡᴀ*	hangs them (in-an.) all
ïmʷïi-	several arrive	*ïi'm'mïip·ïγaʻ*	(they) arrived each by himself

(b) *Type* cv-ˢ:

qwïi-	to take one object	*qwïγwïi-*	several take one object
tca'a'ip·ïγaʻ	took hold of	*tcatca'i'p·ïγaiamï*	they (vis.) each took hold of

(c) *Type* cv-ᵍ (most frequent type of distributive verb):

tava'c·up·ï	dry (past passive participle)	*tᴀʻta'φᴀcup·ï*	all dry
ᴍᴜʻqu'ntaiʻ	is straight	*mumu'q·untaiʻ*	several are straight
pᴀʻqa'ŋᴜ	to kill one person	*pᴀʻpa'q·aŋᴜ*	several kill one
sa·'ŋqaiʻ	(it) is unripe	*sᴀʻsa·'ŋqaiʻ*	several things are unripe
tɔʻqwa''aiʻ	patches one	*tɔʻtɔ'q·wa·'aiʻ*	patches several
na'a'ip·ïγaʻ	fire was burning	*nan·a''aip·ïγaʻ*	there were fires burning

(d) *Type* cv·-ᵍ

qa'ivaγantï	having a mountain	*qa·'q·aivaγantï*	having mountains, mountainous country
pa·ʻ	spring	*pa·'p·a·γantï*	spring (distributively)-having, places with springs

(e) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .’ . . . . :

wïn·ai-	to throw down	*wïwï′n’naip·ïγai(y)aŋᴀ*	(they) threw him (vis.) down
pa(i)yi-	to return	*pᴀʻpa′(i)yi’p·ïγaʻ*	all returned

(f) *Type* cv-^{n}:

puŋquγwai-	to have a horse	*pumpu′q·uγwaʻ*	(dissimilated from *pumpu′ŋqu-*) each has horses

(g) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .’ . . .:

pïnik̫·ai-	to look at	*pïmpï′n’ɪ^{x}k̫aʻ*	several look at
tɔna′iʻ	stabs	*tɔntɔ′n’ᴀ^{x}qaiʻ*	several stab

(h) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .’ . . .^{g} . . .:

pan·aγa-	several go home	*pampa′n’ᴀ^{x}qaiʻ*	(they) go home in parties; *pampa′n’na·q·ᴀqwa’ai-* to go home, each group by itself

(4) Iterative reduplication in verbs. Iterative verbs, i. e. verbs indicating the repetition of an action, are reduplicated in a manner very similar to distributive verbs, though the iterative is to be considered as a form distinct from the distributive. In some cases the iterative and the distributive are phonetically identical, in others there is some difference of form. On the whole, stem gemination and glottalization tend to be more frequent in iteratives than in distributives; contrast, e. g.: *qwïγwï′ï-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE OBJECT (< *qwïï-*) with *qwïʻqwï′’ï-* TO TAKE ONE OBJECT SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) *Type* v’v . . .(^{g}) . . . (. . .’ . . . may appear instead of . . .^{g} . . .):

ivi-	to drink	*i’i′p·iʻ*	drinks repeatedly, sips
ampa′γaiʻ	talks	*a’a′mpᴀ^{x}qaiʻ*	talks repeatedly
uγwi′ʻ	smells	*u’u′q·wiʻ*	smells several times, sniffs around
ᴜʻcu′q·wɪʻ	whistles	*^{u}’u′c·ᴜqwɪʻ*	whistles several times
ɔrɔ′ŋwiʻ	roars	*ɔ’ɔ′rɔ’ŋwiʻ*	roars several times
ᴀʻtï′x·ɪ	to nurse	*’a′t·ïx·ɪ*	to nurse several times

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

tavin'na·- to put out one's breast, to strut	*tara'vɩn'na·ai*ʽ keeps putting out (his) breast
paŋwai- to yell	*pava'ŋwai-* to yell several times
*pɪʽpi't·a'ni*ʽ vomits (momentaneous reduplication; see 5, c)	*pivi'ˣtan'ni*ʽ vomits several times
*tɔγɔ'q·wi*ʽ runs	*tɔrɔ'ˣ·ɔqwi*ʽ runs several times

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:

*tᴀʽpu'q·wi*ʽ jumps	*tᴀʽta'p·ᴜqwi*ʽ keeps jumping, skips
*qᴜʽqwi'*ʽ shoots	*qᴜʽqo'q·wɩ*ʽ shoots several times
*tïʽqa'i*ʽ eats	*tïʽtï'q·ai*ʽ eats several times
*wï'ï'i*ʽ dances	*wïwï''ïi*ʽ dances repeatedly
*ɴᴜʽqwɩ'p·ïγa*ʽ ran	*non·u'q·wɪpïγa*ʽ kept running, ran time after time
*sɩva'i*ʽ whittles	*s·sɩ'vai*ʽ whittles many times
kwi'p·ᴀ to hit	*kwɪʽkwi'p·ᴀ* to hit several times
*yu'mu'q·wi*ʽ starts (on being startled)	*yuyu'm'mᴜˣqwi*ʽ starts several times

(d) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .^{g} . . .:

*tïvʷï'n·aγai*ʽ leads	*tïʽtï'p·ïnaq·ai*ʽ leads away several times
naγa'rïŋqï to dodge (durative); *naγa't·ïŋqï* (momentaneous)	*nana'q·ᴀtïŋqï* to dodge one time after another

(e) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .' . . .:

*qa·'i*ʽ sings	*qᴀˣqa''ai*ʽ sings repeatedly
*maŋwa'vai*ʽ creeps	*mam'ma'ŋwavai*ʽ creeps in starts
*naγa'm·i*ʽ is sick	*nan·a'xa'mi*ʽ is sick several times
*tua'i*ʽ gives birth	*tᴜʽtu''ai*ʽ gives birth several times
*tcᴀʽqo'itcai*ʽ takes off clothes	*tcᴀʽtca'q̇·oitcai*ʽ takes clothes off several times
*qwïï'i*ʽ takes one object	*qwɪʽqwï''ïi*ʽ takes one object several times

(f) *Type* cv- . . .' . . .^{g} . . .(types d and e combined):

yaγa'iʿ	cries	*ya(i)'ya'q·aiʿ*	cries several times
nïntcï'γaiʿ	(it) shakes	*nïn'ï'ntcïq(ε)iʿ*	(it) shakes several times

(g) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .' . . .:

pïn·i-	to see, look	*pïmpï'n'niʿ*	looks repeatedly
tɔn·a-	to stab	*tɔntɔ'n'naiʿ*	stabs several times
tïni'a-	to tell	*tïntï'n'iaiʿ*	tells several times
pɔn·a·-	to stoop and stick out one's buttocks	*pɔmpɔ'n'na.iʿ*	stoops several times sticking out (his) buttocks

(5) Momentaneous reduplication in verbs. A considerable number of verbs form their momentaneous (or inceptive) form (see § 30, 3–8) by reduplication. Momentaneous reduplication differs radically from distributive and iterative reduplication in that there is no accompanying stem gemination or glottalization. There is a certain amount of overlapping of forms (e. g. *tïʿtï'q·a-* TO EAT SEVERAL TIMES; TO START TO EAT), but, on the whole, reduplicated momentaneous forms are sharply distinguished from corresponding reduplicated distributives and iteratives, e. g. *qᴀʿqa'rï-* TO SETTLE DOWN (< *qarï-* TO SIT): *qᴀʿqa't·ï-* TO SIT SEVERAL TIMES; *qaγa·-* TO START OFF SINGING (< *-qa·-* TO SING): *qᴀʿqa''a·-* TO SING SEVERAL TIMES; *a'a'vi-* TO BEGIN LYING DOWN (< *avi-* TO LIE): *a'a'p·i-* TO LIE SEVERAL TIMES; *yaya'γa-* TO BURST OUT CRYING (< *yaγa-* TO CRY): *ya'ya'q·a-* TO CRY SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) *Type* v'v-^{s}:

avi-	to lie down	*a'a'φɪ*	to begin lying down

This type does not seem to be freely used. Thus, *ivi-* TO DRINK forms no momentaneous (or inceptive) **i'i'vi-*; *iviŋu-* is the appropriate form (§ 30, 5).

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

qa·-	to sing	*qaγa·'-*	to sing (momentaneously), to start in singing; *qaγa·'tca·ŋᴀ* he (vis.) finished singing
kiεŋqï-	to laugh	*kiγi'εŋqï-*	to start in laughing
paγ(a)i-	to walk	*pava'γ(a)i-*	to start to walk
pai-	to call	*pava'i-*	to call (momentaneously)

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:

tïq·a- to eat	*tïʻtï'q·a-* to eat up, to start to eat
pitcï'- to arrive	*pɪʻpi'tcï-*, *pi'tcï-* (§ 10, 3) to arrive (momentaneously)
nïntcïγa- to shake	*nïn·ï'ntcïγa-* to start in shaking
qarï- to sit	*qᴀʻqa'rï-* to sit down, settle
yaγa- to cry	*yaya'γa-* to begin crying, burst into tears
yɔγɔ- to copulate with	*yɔyɔ'γɔ-* to copulate with (momentaneously)
yuγwi- several are seated	*yuyu'γwi-* several sit down
wïn·ï- to stand, be standing	*wïwï'n·ï-* to stand up

(d) *Type* cv-^{n}:

tïn·ia- to tell	*tïntï'n·ia-* to tell on; *tïntï'n·iaŋqï-* to tell to (momentaneously)

(6) Final reduplication. This type of reduplication is very uncommon in Paiute. It is confined to a small number of verbs, in part onomatopoetic. Sometimes an *-i-* follows. Such are:

pᴀʻ-sɔ'rɔrɔi-tcï	waterfall (participle of verb with incorporated *pa-* WATER
tümp^{w}*i'-s·ivavai-tcï*	precipice (participle of verb with incorporated *tümp*^{w}*i-* ROCK)
cu'rur'u-, *cu'r'uru-*	to make a noise as of an object whirling down
qï'rïrï-	to sound like a hard object played over a toothed or notched surface
qwinu'n'nu-	to turn around
ta-ya'nunu-ŋqi-	to have one's feet dangling

§ 59. Numerals.

(1) Numeral stems proper. The numerals of Paiute are:

1. *cʋ·-*
2. *wa·-*
3. *pai-*
4. *ᴡᴀʻtcü'ŋwi-*
5. *man·ɩ'γɩ-*
6. *nava'i-*
7. *nava'ɪk̯avai-*
8. *wa'a'ŋᴡᴀʻcüŋwi-*
9. *cu(w)a'rɔγɔmᴀʻcüŋwi-*
10. *tɔγɔ'm·ᴀʻc·üŋwi-*
20. *wa·'mᴀʻcüŋwi-*
30. *pa'imᴀʻcüŋwi-*
40. *ᴡᴀʻtcü'ŋwiᴍᴀʻcüŋwi-*
50. *manɩ'γɩᴍᴀʻcüŋwi-*
60. *nava'iᴍᴀʻcüŋwi-*
100. *cʋ·'yut·ɔγɔmᴀʻcüŋwi-*

The stem *cv·-*, in its meaning of ONE, is generally provided with an enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k), e. g.:

cv·'yuc·U	one (cardinal attributive); objective *cv·'q·uc·U*
cv·'t·ac·U	once
cv·'yuŋuc·U	to become one
cv·'it·uγwanumA, *cv·'it·uγwanum*^{w}*ac·U*	for one night
cv·'yun·ι‘	one (in counting)

Without enclitic *-c·u-*, *cv·-* is often used to mean OTHER, THE OTHER, e. g.:

co·'YU other; *cv·'y aŋA* other he (vis.), another one; *cv·'(i)y aRï* other it, another (thing); *cv·'YUcinaŋwav aŋA* other-coyote he (vis.), the other coyote
co·'q·unA other one (apparently *co·-* + objective *-q·u-* + verbal noun suffix *-n·a-*); *co·'q·un aŋA* the other one
co·'q·U again, once more
co·'v^{w}*antï* the other; *co·'v*^{w}*antïmï* the others (anim.)

Only 1, 2, and 3 seem to be primary numeral stems. 4 is probably based on 2, *wa·-* being reduced to *wa-*. 5 and 10 evidently contain *ma-* HAND. 6 is compounded of reciprocal *na-* (§ 22, 1) and *pai-* THREE, hence means properly DUALITY OF THREES (cf. Nahuatl *nahui* FOUR < DUALITY OF TWOS; Hopi *na·leyi* FOUR < *leiyi* TWO, *navai* SIX < *pa·hio* THREE, *na·nal* EIGHT < *na·leyi* FOUR). 7 is clearly based on 6. 8 (*wa'a'ŋWAtcüŋWI*) is somewhat irregularly reduplicated from 4 (*WA'tcu'ŋWI*). 9 is compounded of *cu(w)a-*^{s} NEARLY (§ 20, 12) and 10. 10 is properly *MA'cü'ŋWI*, *tɔγɔ'-* (§ 20, 15) meaning JUST, QUITE. *-c·üŋwi-* (cf. perhaps *-t·cüŋwi-* of 4) is obscure, but is probably another form for ONE (< Shoshonean **sïwi* or **sïmi*; cf. Shikaviyam *cewi-* ONE, Mono *ciwi*, *cimu*); *mac·üŋwi-* may thus have meant ONE PAIR OF HANDS. 20, 30, and so on up to 100, are respectively compounds of 2, 3, and so on, and ten; *-MA'cü'ŋwi-* always appears as such, instead of alternating, as would be expected, with *-ma'c·üŋwi-*. 100, rather curiously, consists of ANOTHER (*cv·yu-*) and JUST-TEN.

Cardinal and adverbial suffixes to numeral stems are discussed in § 36.

(2) EMPLOYMENT OF NUMERALS. Numerals enter into syntactic relations in one of three ways:

(a) As independent nominal forms, attributively or denominatively. Subjective forms end in *-yu-* (see § 36, 1), objectives in *-q·u-*. Examples of numerals in *-q·u-* are:

cv·'q·uc· ᴜ'qwι'yutsιχaivätcï one (obj.) arrow-little-have-usitative-participle, wont to have one arrow
wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·ᴀ two-obj.-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
paa'ik·^{ɪ}*ᴜ* three (obj.)
man·ι'χιk·ᴜ patcü'ŋwïχaɪpïγa' five (obj.) daughters-have-past, had five daughters

(b) As first elements of noun compounds; they geminate following stopped and affricative consonants. Examples of compounded numerals are:

wa·'q·ïmantsιŋᴡι two strangers
waa'n·ι(y)a·vιŋw amï the two chiefs
wa·'m·a·^{a}*'caγ*^{w}*ɔitsιŋᴡι* two old women

Before vowels compounded *wa·-* appears as *wa·n'-* (perhaps < *wa·-* + reciprocal *na-*), e. g.:

wa·'n'aip·atsιŋᴡι two boys (*a'ip·ats·* boy)
wa·'n'aiφᴀpïtsιŋᴡι two young men (*a'iφᴀpïts·* young man)

Before nouns indicating time (such as DAY, NIGHT, MONTH, WINTER), 1 appears as *cv·i-*; 2 as *wai-*; 3 as *pai(y)ε-*; 4 as *ᴡᴀ'tcü'ŋwiyu-* (?); 5 as *man·ιγιyu-*; 6 as *navai-*. These forms do not suffer vocalic unvoicing of their third mora. Examples are:

cv·'it·avamᴀ one-day-on, for one day (= *cv·'yuc·ᴜ tava'mᴀ*)
cv·'it·ɔmumᴀ one-winter-on, for one year
wa.i't·avamanι' two-day-on-like, for two days in number
pa'i(y)εt·uγwan·umᴀ three-night-on, for three nights
man·ι'γιyut·avam·an·ι' for five days in number
nava'.it·avamanι' for six days in number

(c) As verbs, based on forms in *-yu-*, with or without verbalizing *-ŋqai-* (§ 26, 1, a), e. g.:

cv·'yuŋuc·ᴜ to become one; *cv·'ʏᴜqwaŋuc·ᴜ* several become one
nana'c·v·yuŋqwaiyuc·ᴜ reciprocal (distributively)-one-be-subordinating-just, as (they) are one among (them)selves, one by one

waa'(i)yuŋqïŋ'ųm^{w}*ïnɪ* two-for-become-dual-me, they 2 (have) become two for me

(3) QUASI-NUMERALS. A number of elements that are not true numerals are related in meaning and form. These are:

(a) *man·ɔ-*, *man·u-* ALL. As subjective form is used *man·ɔ'n·ia-*, *man·u'n·ia-* (for enclitic *-n·ia-* in numeral forms see § 36, 1); as objective, *man·ɔq·u-*. Examples are:

man·ɔ'n·ɩ(y)a(i)ya·q·axa' aru'q·ᴡᴀ qʋ·'n'ɪʻk̬aʻ all-plural- (§ 52)-imperative (§ 52)-then! it-under lie; all (of you) lie under it, then!
man·ɔ'q·oαq·ᴀ pᴜ'tcu'tcuγwaʀï all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all
pa·'m·anun·ɩʻ quite all, every one

For *man·ɔ'q·ᴜpa(n)tcï-* see § 37, 2.

(b) *nan·in'na-* DIFFERENT, BOTH (inanimate), e. g.:

nan·i'n'naŋwɪtux·wᴀ to, in (2) different directions

In compounds this appears as *nan·in'naq·u-* (apparently with numeral objective *-q·u-*), also, it would seem, before certain postpositions, e. g. *-va·-* AT. Examples are:

nanɩ''naq·(w)ɔyaγa·'ma·q·ᴀ both (obj.)-end-on-its (vis.), at both its ends
nan·i'n'naq·ova·ŋᴀ both (obj.)-at-his (vis.), on both sides of him

This quasi-numeral is based on *nan·i-* SEPARATELY (as adverbial prefix, § 20, 5; as independent adverb *nan·i'c·u-*, § 60, 2, d).

(c) *naŋwa'ai-* BOTH (animate); consists properly of reflexive-reciprocal stem *na-* (§ 46) and postposition *-ŋwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (§ 50. 4, 11): WITH EACH OTHER. *naŋwa''q·u-* functions as independent objective and as first element of compounds. Examples are:

naŋwa''^{a}, *naŋwa''aic·ᴜ* both (people)
naŋwa''q·uaŋa'm pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜpïγai(y)aŋa'mï* both (obj.)- he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.) kill (sing.-dual)-past-he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.), they 2 killed both of them
naŋwa''q·up·u'ɩnɪ both (obj.)-eye-my, both my eyes; *naŋwa''q·up·u'im·anɪ* with both my eyes

(d) *qïma-*^{s} OTHER. This stem may be either compounded (e. g. *qïma'γaninɪ* MY OTHER HOUSE) or used independently. In the latter case it has pronominal forms for the subjective (see § 39, 2); a numeral form in *-q·u-* (*c·u-*) for the object, e. g.:

qïma'q·ᴜcunɪ qaχa·'^{a}*va·*^{a}*c·ᴜ* other (obj.)-just-I sing (momentaneously)-will-again, I will sing also another one

§ 60. ADVERBS.

There are two main classes of independent adverbs in Paiute, those whose position is entirely free (these generally precede verbs or come first in their clause), and those which lean on (though not enclitically attached to) a preceding word. The former type is more numerous.

(1) DERIVATION OF ADVERBS. A number of adverbs are really demonstratives, e. g. *ai-* THEN; *ma·*ʿ THUS. Many others are special adverbial stems (e. g. *qa* NOT), provided, in some cases, with nominal suffixes (e. g. *aï-v*^{w}*i-* NOW, *tïv*^{w}*i-tsι-* VERY). Certain enclitic suffixes, particularly *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) and *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), are appended to some adverbial stems, e. g. *nava-c·u-* IN VAIN; *na'a·- c·u-* SEPARATELY; *tïv*^{w}*i-c·ampa-* SURE ENOUGH; *tï'ŋwï-n·ia-* HURRIEDLY; *miɔ-n·ia-* FAR AWAY. Some adverbs contain postpositional suffixes, e. g. *tï-na'ŋqwa-* UP HITHER (cf. § 50, 4, 18); *tcaγι'-p·a-* NEAR (cf. § 50, 4, 37). For local adverbs in *-tïγa-n·ia-*, *-tɔγɔ-n·ia-* see 2, b below.

(2) FREE ADVERBS. The adverbs of free position may be classified into temporal adverbs, local adverbs, adverbs of degree, and modal adverbs. They are employed either as true adverbs (e. g. *qï'aŋwι ya''*^{a} YESTERDAY DIE(D)), often serving as bases for postpositional suffixes (e. g. *qwa'ut·uγwa-* OFF-TO, THE OTHER WAY < *qwau-* OFF); or, in part, as verbs (this is particularly true of local adverbs, e. g. *tïv*^{w}*a'im·ιk·ᴜpïγa*ʿ DOWN-MOVING-INCEPTIVE-PAST, COMMENCED TO GO DOWN).

(a) *Temporal adverbs:*

ai- THEN, NOW (of rather indefinite temporal significance; comes first in clause as peg for enclitics; of demonstrative origin, see § 43, 5 and § 44, 2, c). It is generally followed by enclitic *-tca-* (§ 19, 1, a) even when there is no reference to past time. Examples are:

a'itcaq·ᴡᴀ cv·'yuc·ᴜ piya''ŋw uru'a'nαnɪ then-preterit-it (inv.) one be-left being (inv.)-my, then I have one left over

ʿ*a'iamï ti'ŋwį̈nι(y)a'amï tïʿqa'i*ʿ then-they (vis.) quickly-dual eat-present, see how fast they 2 eat

a'ïv^{w}i- NOW (probably *aï-^{s}* NEW and nominal suffix *-vi-*, § 24, 1, b)
ʿi·-c·u- LONG AGO (perhaps related to *i·-^{g}* OLD)
i·'t·u-c·u- FORMERLY, USED TO (perhaps assimilated from *i·'t·ï-c·u-* < *i·-^{g}* OLD and participial *-t·ï-*)
i·'tcuq·u- (EARLY) IN THE MORNING, Ute *wɩ·'tcuq·u-* (< *i·-*, perhaps cf. two preceding adverbs and postpostional *-tcuq·u-* relating to time, cf. *vatcuq·u-*, § 50, 4, 37)

ivä'tcïa- EARLY; also locally: FAR AWAY, WAY OFF (*-vätcïa-* may be objective participle of postposition *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)
ït·ï'-c·ampa- (*ï'tï'c·ampʌ*, often heard *tï'c·ampʌ*) ALWAYS (for enclitic *-c·ampa-* see § 19, 2, j)
narï'v^{w}ia- ALWAYS, CUSTOMARILY (perhaps contains reflexive *na-*)
oi't·a-vï- ANY LONGER (*qatcun· oi't·aφï* NO LONGER I —)
pina'ŋqwa- AFTER A WHILE, SOON (*pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18)
qï'aŋwi- YESTERDAY
u'v^{w}aiyauq·u- THEN, THEREUPON (see § 50, 4, 41; frequently used as sentence-connector in narrative)
wï·'t·u-c·u- LONG AGO (cf. *i·'t·u-c·u-* above)

(b) *Local adverbs:*

ivï- WAY, FAR (e. g. *i'φï tïv^{w}a'^{c}* WAY DOWN WEST; perhaps misheard for *i'φʌ*, cf. *iva'tcïa-* under a)
mi(y)ɔ-, *miɔ-n·ia-* FAR OFF, AT A DISTANCE; *mi(y)ɔ''^{i}tsɩwa-* AT A LITTLE DISTANCE (diminutive *-tsɩ-*, § 35, 1; postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37); *miɔ'-t·ïγan·ia-* AT A GOOD DISTANCE
^{ɔ}'ɔ'i'mi- ON ONE'S BELLY
^{ɔ}'ɔ'i'min· avɩ'^{c} I lie on my belly
pan·a'ŋqwa- COMING DOWN, NORTH (probably WATERWARDS; *pa-* WATER, reduced from *pa·-*; postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized
pimi't·uγwa- BACKWARD (< *pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-mit·uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 13)
pit·cu'a'mi- DOWNWARD
qwaia- BEYOND, OPPOSITE (generally followed by postpositional *-ŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 16)
qwaŋwa- (perhaps < *qwau-* off + *-a-* > **qwawa-*): *qwaŋwa'ntcuγwa-* A LITTLE FURTHER BEYOND (postpositional *-ntcuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30)
qwau-^{g} OFF, AWAY; *qwa'ut·uγwa-* THE OTHER WAY (postpositional *-t·uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30). May be verbalized

tï·-^{n}, *tï(·)i-*^{n} UP; objective *tï·ŋqu-n·ia-* FURTHER UP; *tï·'ntuγwa-* UPWARD, NORTHWARD (postpositional *-ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30); *tïna'ŋqwa-* COMING UP (*tï-* reduced from *tï·-*; postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized; see also *tuγu-*^{n}

-tïγa-n·ia- (*-tɔγɔ-n·ia-*) local adverbializing element appended to certain adverbs or postpositional phrases (perhaps related to verb *tïγai-* TO BECOME; enclitic *-n·ia-*, § 19, 2, d), e. g.:
mava'ɪʽtïγan·ιʽ, *mava'ɪʽtɔγɔn·ιʽ* at a certain distance, way off
mιɔ't·ïγan·ιʽ at a good distance
u'u'raintï^{γ}*an·ιʽ* close towards it

tïv^{w}*ai-*^{g} DOWN, WEST; *tantï'v*^{w}*ai-* FAR WEST. May be verbalized

tɔvi''i-tsι- FOR A SHORT DISTANCE (*-tsι-* probably diminutive, § 35, 1)

tuγu-^{n} UP (evidently related to *tï·-*^{n}, see above; cf. also *tuγu-mpa-* SKY): *tuγu'ntuγwa-* UPWARD (postpositional *-ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30)

tcaγi'p·a- NEAR (< *tcaγi-*^{g}, not occurring independently, and postpositional *-p·a-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)

waq·(a)i'-^{n} HITHER. May be verbalized

(c) *Adverbs of degree:*

a'ïv^{w}*i-c·u-* ENOUGH (probably *a'ïv*^{w}*i-* NOW, see a above, and enclitic *-c·u-*, § 19, 2, k)

tïv^{w}*i'-tsι-* VERY (*-tsι-* probably nominal suffix, § 24, 1, f); *tïv*^{w}*i'tsι-n·ia-* GREATLY; *tïv*^{w}*i'ts·sampa-* REALLY, OF COURSE (enclitic *-c·ampa-*, § 19, 2, j)

(d) *Modal adverbs:*

aŋa-c·u- ONLY, JUST (?) adverbially used independent personal pronoun HE, § 39):
imi' ʽaik̯· aŋac· ɔn·ɔ'c·uap·itcιχ̯aʽ thou say he early-breathe-arrive-subordinating (nearly-arrive = wake up); you say, but just waking up

ʽarï'k·ï- ALMOST, NEARLY

imp^{w}*a'i-* hortatory:
imp^{w}*a'iaŋ aivaʽ* let-he (vis.) say-will, let him say

iya't·ïa- IN VAIN, TO NO PURPOSE (probably objective participial form in *-t·ïa-*)

ït·ï'a·-n·ia- TOO BAD, UNFORTUNATELY:
ïʽtï'a·n·ι aik·^{ɪ}*ᴀ* too bad you say, I'm sorry you say

ïv^{w}*ï-* hortatory, *ïv*^{w}*i-ya-* hortatory with dual or plural subject; *ïv*^{w}*ï'ʽ-campa-n·ia-* SOMEHOW, ANY OLD WAY; *ïv*^{w}*i'-n·ia-* HURRY AND —! (cf. *tï'ŋwi-n·ia-* below). Examples are:

ïv^{w}*ï'' uŋwα'vatcux·wᴀqwa'aic· itcï'‘ yaŋwι'va‘ niŋwï'mpι‘* hortatory-thou him (inv.)-to-go-again this (inan. obj.) carry-shall liver (obj.); go ahead! go again and bring her this liver

ïv^{w}*ï'nɪ nï'm*^{w} *ivi'χw'aiŋumpa'amï* hortatory-I we (exclus.) drink-go-momentaneous-future-dual, let us two go in order to drink

ïv^{w}*i'n·i(y)a'*^{a} *tïnι'ᴀ* hortatory-like-thou tell! hurry up and tell!

ma·‘ THUS, IN THAT WAY (as described) (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *ma-*, § 43):

ma·'ᴀ^{x} *qa·'p·ïγa‘* thus (he) sang

ma·n·i·-c·ampa- BARELY (probably lengthened *man·i-* TO DO THUS and enclitic *-c·ampa-*, § 19, 2, j); see § 53, 1, a

maŋaia-c·u- ON THE OTHER HAND (adverbially used independent objective personal pronoun HIM, § 39):

maŋa'iac· imi'χain·ι‘ on the other hand you too

nava-c·u- MERELY, FOR FUN, WITHOUT PURPOSE, IN VAIN

na'a·'-c·u- DIFFERENTLY, SEPARATELY

nan·i'-c·u- SEPARATELY (cf. § 20, 5; § 59, 3, b)

qa, qatcu- NOT; see § 57

sυ·'v^{w}*a-* PROVIDED THAT, IF (perhaps *cυ·-* ONE and postpositional *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37):

sυ·'v^{w}*'aŋw ampa'χaχu'ŋwᴀ* if he (inv.) talks

cu(w)a'-r'ua- PERHAPS (probably *cua-* NEARLY, § 20, 12, and interrogative enclitic *-r'ua-*, § 19, 2, f)

tï'ŋwi-n·ia- QUICKLY, IN A HURRY (cf. adverbial prefix *tï'ŋwï- . . .n·ia-*):

tïŋwi'nia'^{a} quickly-thou! hurry!

tï'ŋwιni(y)a·mï tï‘qa'mι‘ quickly-they (vis.) eat-usitative, they 2 always eat in a hurry

tïv^{w}*i'-c·u-, tïv*^{w}*i'-c·ampa-* SURE ENOUGH (for *tïv*^{w}*i-* cf. *tiv*^{w}*i'-tsι* VERY, d above)

umpa'i(a)-, umpa'ia-c·ampa- I DON'T CARE IF, NO MATTER:

umpa'in·ι'^{i} no matter how thou (wilt test) me

^{u}*mpa'i(y)αŋwïnɪ* I don't care how ye (will do to) me

^{u}*mpa'iᴀcampa·ŋᴀ ya'a'iva‘* however-only he (vis.) die-will, I don't care if he dies

^{u}*'u'mp*^{w}*ic·a-, ump*^{w}*i'c·a-c·ampa-* ONLY FOR FUN

(3) ADVERBS BOUND IN POSITION. These are almost all of demonstrative origin. They are much more difficult to define than the preceding set of adverbs.

a·‘, 'a·‘ (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *a-*, § 43) follows quoted word, like Sanskrit *iti*; HO! Examples are:

wïγïmp a· n·ia·'χaiva·ntï vulva thus name-have-future-participle, (it) will be called "vulva"

qam·i'v^{w}*'uitsι a·ʿ nιa·'*^{a}*γantïʿ* rabbit-eye-noun suffix (obj.) thus name-having (obj.), being called (obj.) "rabbit-eyed"

paa'n· a·ʿ my aunt, ho!

ïγïʀ INDEED, TRULY. This common adverb tends to amalgamate loosely with preceding personal pronouns, independent or enclitic. Thus, *nï' ïγïʀ* is generally heard as *nï'ïγïʀ*; *imi- ïγïʀ* appears as, not *i'm ïγïʀ*, but *imi'ιγïʀ* (in general, *-i- ïγïʀ* becomes *ιγ̰ïʀ*); *-aŋ ïγïʀ* often coalesces to *-aŋ gïʀ* (stopped *g* is sometimes heard for *γ* in others of these cases also). Present forms tend to take on preterital significance with *ïγïʀ*. Examples are:

nï' ïγïʀ nϙnɔ'c·ιʿ I indeed dream-present, I did indeed dream

imi' ιχ̰ïr uŋwaro''^{a} thou indeed anim. sing.-is, you indeed have always been

mam·a''^{a}*caγwɔits ιχ̰ïr uŋᴡᴀ* old-woman indeed she (inv.), the old woman indeed

a'ia·ŋ g̣ïr ʿa'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* that (inan.)-obj.-he (vis.) indeed say, that indeed he says

a'ian ιgïr ʿa'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* that indeed I (always) say

imi'ntcu'a·q· ïγïr ivi'ŋᴜ thou-interrogative -it (vis.) indeed drink-momentaneous, you *did* drink it

ïŋqï'ʿ INDEED (Ute form of *ïγïʀ*, sometimes used also in Paiute)

ʿɔa'iʿ, *ʿɔq̣'iʿ* (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative in origin; see § 42, 9 and § 43, 5) frequently used adverb (generally post-verbal) of quite elusive significance. It seems to have emphasizing force. It is particularly common after *ïγïʀ* (see above); with preterital *-tca-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1); after gerund *-t·sι-* (§ 55, 1, a); in irrealis forms (§ 33, 1), particularly such as indicate unfulfilled desire (WOULD THAT . . . !); after futures in *-pa·-* (§ 32, 4); after *-mï·-* ALREADY (§ 30, 13); and after substantive verbal *-aq·a-* IT IS (§ 56, 3). In many cases it seems to turn absolute or present verb forms to past tense forms (probably only by implication). Examples are:

tᴜ^{x}*qwι'y'aiŋqïyïaŋ'am ʿɔqiʿ* shame-die-to-present-he (vis.)-thee, he *is* ashamed of you

pᴀ^{x}*qa'ŋᴜtï·tcaro'a·ŋ ʿʾq̣iʿ* kill-passive-preterit-interrogative-he (vis.), did he get killed?

ᴀʿpï'iyïaŋ ïγïr ʿɔaiʿ sleep-present-he (vis.) indeed, he was indeed sleeping

ï'ŋ ïγïr ʿɔaiʿ yes, (he) was

pᴀ^{x}*qa′ŋᴜtsɪ'ɪŋʻw* ^{ɔ}*q̦i*ʻ having killed him (inv.)
*uŋwa′ŋuq·v·'q·waχa' ʻɔq̦i*ʻ would that it (inv.) might rain!
^{u}*mpa′iᴀcampanɪ' ʻɔai*ʻ *pᴀ*^{x}*q̦a′umpa·nɪ* no matter-only-me-thou kill-shall-me, I don't care if you kill me
*tïʻqa′m·ï·yïaŋ ʻɔai*ʻ he (vis.) is eating already
*imi′ä·q· ʻɔai*ʻ it is thou
*nï̧′ni ʻɔai*ʻ *pᴀ*^{x}*qa′ŋᴜt̥uαnɪ* me kill-impersonal-me, somebody killed me
*imi′ŋ'waiaŋ ïŋqï ʻɔq̦i*ʻ *yaa′iŋqw'ɔi*ʻ thou-with-he (vis.) indeed hunt-go-present, with you indeed he went hunting

ᴜ^{x}*qwa′i*ʻ (objective inanimate invisible third personal pronoun in origin; see § 39 and § 42, 9) sometimes occurs instead of *ʻɔai*ʻ. It is frequently used in songs as practically meaningless padder: *uq·waya*. Examples are:
nï′a·q· ᴜ^{x}*qwa′i*ʻ it is I
i′m ᴜ^{x}*qwai iŋwɪ′t·ux·ᴡᴀ* thou indeed (shouldst turn) in the other direction

o'^{u}, *ʻo'*^{u} SO, THEN, REALLY (probably adverbialized use of invisible demonstrative ^{u}*'u′*-, § 43), e. g.:
ʻaŋa′v o'^{u} he-at so, so at his place
pina′ŋq ʻo'^{u} (< *pina′ŋqᴡᴀ ʻo'*^{u}) soon so
maa′in·ɪŋun·ɪ ʻc o'^{u} touch-momentaneous-me-again so, touch me then again
mava′ʻc o'^{u} so at that same place

Note that -*c·u*- and *o'*^{u} amalgamate to -*c·o'*^{u} and permit of vocalic unvoicing before -*c·*-.

uru′a-c·u- OTHERWISE (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative and third personal pronoun; see § 39), e. g.:
ini′t·uγwa' ivi′ŋumpaᴀ^{x}*qan uru′ac·ᴜ* this-away-thou drink-momentaneous-will-it (vis.)-I otherwise; go away, or I will drink it

uc·u- (probably invisible demonstrative stem *u*- + enclitic -*c·u*-) emphasizing particle, e. g.:
'i′ŋanɪ(y)a·q· u′c·ᴜ this (anim.)-like-it (vis.) truly, maybe it is this one here

uϕ^{w}*ᴀ* THEN, NOW (perhaps < invisible demonstrative stem *u*- + postpositional -*va*-, § 50, 4, 37) weakly emphatic particle, e. g.:
ïv^{w}*ï''* *oϕ*^{w}*ᴀ* go ahead, thou, then!

uv^{w}*ai*ʻ THEN, AND, AS TO (apparently < *uv*^{w}*ayu*-, cf. *uv*^{w}*a*- above) common emphasizing and connective particle; frequent after -*c·ampa*- ONLY, EXCEPT (§ 19, 2, j). Examples are:

imi' uv^{w}*aiʽ ïŋa'’*^{a} as to thee, well?
a'itcaram u'v^{w}*aiʽ* where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) now? where, now, are we?
axa'n·ιwa·ŋan u'v^{w}*aiʽ* what, then, shall I do with him (vis.)?
'i'tc uv^{w}*aiYU* and this (inan.) (is how it got to be)
maŋa'c·amp uv^{w}*aiʽ* except that one (anim.)

§ 61. INTERJECTIONS.

Interjections are of two types: simple vocables expressing emotion or desire and without definite grammatical form; and words of definite grammatical form, generally adverbs or terms of demonstrative origin, that are secondarily employed as interjections.

(1) SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS:

a·ʽ HO! (e. g. *paa'n· a·ʽ* MY AUNT, HO!; cf. § 60, 3)
ʽą, ʽą̣, ʽą̣ʽ̣ surprise, disgust
ʽaa'ik·WI, aʽa'ik·WI, ʽε'ik·WI OH!
aa'ik·^{x} OH!
a·wawa'ʽ meaningless cry in myth
'αʽ, 'ιʽ, e·'i cry on guessing in hand-game
i·'ha + great joy
ï·ʽ YES!
ï'ï'ŋA, 'ï'ŋA YES! *ïŋa'’*^{a} WELL?
ïra·', ïra·'ïʽ fear
ïrï'ʽ prohibitive: DON'T!
ʽ̣ŋ' (nasalized breath + voiced guttural nasal) disappointment, vexation
c + DON'T! SHUT UP! used also in driving away dogs
ų·'ma.iʽ YES! ALL RIGHT!
ųm^{w}*u'ya·* (*u'* and *ya·* are equally high-pitched) great fear
o·'v^{w}*aʽ, o·'v*^{w}*a'*^{a} YES! (*qa·'tcU* NO! is merely lengthened form of negative adverb *qa'tcu* NOT)
wa·'χɔ·$^{\text{ɔ}}$ *wa·'χɔ·*$^{\text{ɔ}}$ imitates frog's croaking
yɔ'ɔ·'v^{w}*ιn·ιʽ, yuɔ·'v*^{w}*ιn·ιʽ* HAIL! HURRAH!

(2) SECONDARY INTERJECTIONS:

a'ïv^{w}*ic·U* ENOUGH! (cf. § 60, 2, c)
ïv^{w}*ï-* ALAS! (cf. § 60, 2, d), e. g.:
ïv^{w}*ï t·ïγï'v*^{w}*ïnI* alas, my friend!

ïv^{w}*ï′ ’(*U^{x}*)qwa* O poor—! (followed by objective, e. g. *ïv*^{w}*ï′ ’q·wa nï̧′nιA* O poor me! *ïv*^{w}*ï′ ’*U^{x}*qwa n·ï̧m*^{w}*ι̧′‘* O poor us (exclus.)!; *’*U^{x}*qwa, ’q·wa* abbreviated forms of U^{x}*qwa′ï‘*)

ïv^{w}*i′yaγa′p·*I alas-cry-past passive partic., too bad!

*ma′ik·*I, *maik· ŋwa′c·*U greeting: HELLO! (*mai-* probably demonstrative, § 43, 5; *ŋwa′c·*U evidently third singular animate invisible pronoun, § 39)

tïv^{w}*ι′ts·sampA* SURELY! OF COURSE! (cf. § 60, 2, c)

^{u}*m*^{w}*a′c·ampa′a·′* (rhetorically lengthened form of ^{u}*m*^{w}*a′c·ampA* THAT (VIS.)- ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

ɔ·′nIcampA (rhetorically lengthened form of *’u′nIcampA* THAT (INV.)-DO-ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

*ya·′n*U (< *iya′n*U, § 50, 4,1) HERE I AM! PRESENT!

§ 62. IDIOMATIC USAGES.

A few remarks on verbs of doing and saying are all we need offer here. As numerous examples scattered through this paper have already shown, verbs of doing and saying are frequently used in Paiute in a wider sense than is customary in English. Verbs of doing, i. e. verbs in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3; § 44, 2, a), often refer, in a loose manner, to any activity or state but those of speech, sound, and mental operation. A correspondingly loose reference to activities and states of the latter sort is made by verbs of saying (*ai-* and *mai-*, § 43, 6). Thus, *un·i-* TO DO and *ai-* TO SAY are equivalently used in expressions in *-n·a-c·u-(v*^{w}*ï-)* (ONE'S OWN) —ING AGAIN implying continuous and exclusive activity, e. g.:

tï‘qa′n·Acuv ŋni′k·^{x}A he keeps on eating (lit., does his own eating again)

A‘*pï′inac·u(a)n ŋni′k·*^{x}A I do nothing but sleep

qa·′nA‘cuv^{w} *a′ip·ïγa‘* he kept on singing, did nothing but sing (lit., said his own singing again)

(1) VERBS OF DOING. Further examples of the generalized use of demonstrative verbs of doing are:

qa′iva·vιtcit·ŋ̥ni anι′k̯·aip·ïγa‘ mountain-lie-diminutive-participle-like do-resultative-past, like a little plateau (lit., mountain-lying) (it) was

an·i′vuruyï (song form) do-move about present, goes thus from place to place

nï′c·amp an·i′k·^{x}A I-only do, it is only I

man·ι'mɪkup·ïγa' thus (as described)-do-moving-inceptive-past, began to do that sort of movement, began to copulate (euphemistic reference clear from context)
^{u}*m*^{w}*α'n·ɪk̯aim·ιaχwar'uαn·o'* thus-do-resultative-usitative-modal (§ 19, 2, c)-interrogative-indefinite, is one wont to be doing thus? that is not how one should be
imṗ y̨nι'k·^{x}*ᴀ nu'yu'xaxa'* what does (inv.) while moving? what is it that moves?
nï'axain· y̨nι'va·n·ι' I too shall do so, I'll go too (meaning determined by context)
y̨nι'avιχ̯a' while lying and doing so, while lying as described
nï' imi'ᴀ qanι'va y̨nï'n'nι' I thee (= thy) house-at do-continuative-present, I stay at your house
y̨nι'm'miaχaic·ᴜ do-move-subordinating -just, while on (his) way

Corresponding generalized verbs of doing, happening, being, when of interrogative application, are expressed by *aγan·i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? TO HAVE WHAT HAPPEN TO ONE? (see § 44, 2, a). English HOW and WHY are regularly to be expressed in Paiute via an interrogative verb of doing. WHY DID YOU EAT IT?, e. g., has to be rephrased to ACTING HOW, DID YOU EAT IT?

(2) VERBS OF SAYING. The corresponding generalized usage of verbs of saying finds less ready analogy in English. First of all, *ai-*, particularly in its usitative form, frequently means TO MEAN, TO REFER TO rather than literally TO SAY, e. g.:

a'intcu'a·ŋ 'a'imι' that-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is that what he is wont to say? he does not mean that
i'i'ŋai a'imɪ^{x}*k̯a'* this (anim.)-obj. say-usitative-perfective, has been always referring to this one

For *ai-* . . .*n·ia-* TO THINK, see § 19, 2, d.

Examples of *ai-* as generalized verb of sound and mental operation, the precise nature of the reference being clear from the context, are:

nï ïγïr 'a'im·ι̜' I indeed am wont to say = always have that dream
aγa'n·ιŋutsι'ŋw a'ik·^{x}*ᴀ* what-do-momentaneous-gerund-he (inv.) says, what happened to him that he says so? = what has happened to him to make him cry?
ava·'nt o·'ṗ·ac·y̨n·ι a'iva·ntï it-at-being that (inv.)-in manner-same-like say-future-participle, (what is) there will be saying in just

the same manner = (everything that is) there (at the house) will be making the same sounds as ordinarily (so that people will not know it has been abandoned)

A number of verbs of sound or mental operation consist of *ai-* TO SAY preceded by some more specific word, e. g. *ampa'(i)yan·ia-ai-* NOISE-LIKE SAY, THERE IS NOISE GOING ON; *ʻan·ia-c·u- ai-* WHAT (OBJ.)- AGAIN SAY? TO TEASE. Examples are:

ampa'(i)yan·ɩ a'ik·ˣᴀ noise is going on
ʻava'ŋᴡɪtï ampa'(i)yan·ɩ a'iʏᴜcampᴀ it-in-being (obj.) noise-like say-while-only, even if inside it there is noise going on
ʻan·ɩ'ᴀcųŋwïn a'ik̯·amɩʻ what (obj.)-again-ye-me say-plural-usitative? ye always tease me

TEXT.

COYOTE SETS THE PARTURITION CUSTOMS.

cina'ŋwavιy'aγw[1]	*aŋᴀ*[2]	*m·ʷα'vaʽ*[3]	*qanι'γ̱aʽ*[4]	*piŋwą·'ŋ*[5]
Coyote-quotative-preterit	he (vis.)	there	dwell,	his (vis.) wife

uŋ[6]	*aŋa'ruχw*[7]	*a'ip·ïγaʽ,*[8]	*cïï'xaŋqïxw'ain*[9]	*ʽa'ⁱc·ιtcuvʷa·t·ŋ̥n*[10]
she (vis.)	to him	said,	"Go to get squaw-bush twigs for me	being about to make gathering-basket I

aik̯·[11]	*ųmα'ntïʽ.*[12]	*ų·'mai,*[13]	*a'ip·ïγaʽ*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ.*[14]	*ųnι'ŋuts*[15]
say	being therefrom (obj.)."	"Yes,"	said	Coyote.	Then

'o'xṗa·ŋqw'aip·ïγaʽ[16]	*cïï'vʷïmpïaiyauv*[17]	*'u'raʽ.*[18]	*tïvʷι'tcʽ*[19]
went off in yonder direction	his own squaw-bush	towards it (inv.).	Very

miɔ'n·ι[20]	*ųni'n'nip·ïγaʽ*[21]	*naŋqa'p·ïγaʽ*[22]	*qa·'p·iʽ.*[23]	*ʽa'ik·w,*[24]
far distant	was doing along	heard	singing (obj.).	"Oh!"

a'ip·ïγaʽ	*cina'ŋwaφɪ,*	*pua'ru'aiyuruɔn·ιχ̯ain·ιʽ*[25]	*cu'wαru'anɪ*[26]
said	Coyote,	"it seems I am getting supernatural power,	almost-inter. -I

nɔ·n·ɔ'c·iʽ[27]	*narï'vʷi*[28]	*puα'xant*[29]	*ųŋwaru'*[30]	*nį''i.*[31]
dream,	already	medicine-man	am	I."

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ[32]	*naŋqa'ťsaŋwįnιp·ïγaʽ*[33]	*qatcu''uq·ᴡᴀ*[34]	*naŋqa'p·ïγaʽ.*
Then	stood and listened,	not it (inv.)	heard.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ʽ	*paγa'inʸˣqwι'p·ïγa*[35]	*ųnι'ŋut·*[36]	*naŋqa'p·ïγai'cuq·ᴡ*[37]
Then	started off,	Then	again heard it (inv.),

tιra'c·kwɔp·ïγaic·ᴜ.[38]	*ųnι'ŋut·*	*naŋqa'ťsaŋųnιp·ïγaic·u'q·ᴡ*[39]
again stopped.	Then	again stood and listened to it (inv.),

'a't·ιnaŋqˣpïγai'k·[40]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʽ*[32]	*qa·'q·ʽpiʽ.*[41]	*nįmʷι''*[42]
heard it well	then	singing of many (obj.).	"We (excl.)

anι'k·a·^{a}[43]	*kwi·'mv·*^{u}*rɑntιk·amι'aγaʻ,*[44]	*a'ik·*$^{x̣}$*ᴀpïγaʻ*[45]
are doing	journeying in order to eat people,"	said (pl.)

qa·'m'mιaγa[46]	*tuγumpapaiya·'*^{a}*ruq·ᴡᴀ*[47]	*nɔntsι'k̥·amιaγaʻ*[50]	*ma·m·u'c·*[51]
singing along	beneath sky-vault	flying along	those (vis.)

ɔva'n·aŋqaŋw[52]	*amʻ.*[53]	*waa'n·ιya·vιŋw*[54]	*amʻ*	*nanι''naq·wɔyaγa·maxq̇am*[55]
geese	they (vis.).	Two chiefs	they (vis.)	at both ends of it (vis.) they (vis.)

wï̯nι'm·ιap·ïγaʻ.[56]	*cina'ŋwav*[57]	*aŋʻ*	*pï̯nι'k̥·aip·ïγa'aimʻ.*[58]
stood while journeying.	Coyote	he (vis.)	saw them (inv.).

ɔ'v^{w}*aiyauq·w*[59]	*a'ip·ïγaʻ,*	*nï̯''*^{i}	*ma·n·ɔ'q̇·woq·ᴡᴀ*[60]	*qa·nι't·ιrïaiʻ*[64]
Then	said,	"I	all (obj.) them (inv.)	camp-places (obj.)

pa·'p·a·γantïʻ[62]	*qa·'q·aiva·ntsιγ̥ᴀntïʻ*[63]	*mï̯m*^{w}*ι'a·ntsιγ̥ᴀntïʻ*[64]
spring-having (pl. obj.)	mountain-having (pl. obj.)	divide-having (pl. obj.)

kwɪʻkwi'tcuvatcιtcïʻ[65]	*pa·va·'n'nɔantsιγ̥ᴀntïʻ*[66]	*ma·n·ɔ'q·ᴜ*[6]·
knoll-having (pl. obj.)	valley-having (pl. obj.)	all (obj.)

nιŋwï'ai'yaq·w[67]	*pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwai'yιq·ᴡ.*[68]	*ïv*^{w}*ι'an*[69]	*ųnι'ŋuts'*
their (inv.) people (obj.)	know them (inv.).	Go ahead (pl.) me	then

nï̯'[70]	*na'up̓·an*[71]	*ma·m·a·'nɪ*[72]	*nï̯'ŋum*[73]	*ųnι'ŋuts·*	*mǫï'mpa·ŋumʻ,*[70]
I	like self me	make (pl.) me,	I you	then	shall lead you,'[1]

a'ip·ïγaʻ	*cina'ŋwaφɪ.*	*ʻanι'a·ŋ*[75]	*a'ik·*^{x}[76]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋʻ,*
said	Coyote.	What he (vis.)	say	Coyote	he?"

a'ik·ʻpïγaʻ[45]	*narï'v*^{w}*iŋuq·waχaʻ.*[77]	*ma·n·ɔ'q·oya·q·ʻ*[78]	*pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwar*[79]
said (pl.)	while asking each other.	All (obj.) them (vis.)	knowing

a'iya·ŋ[80]	*ʻaik̥·*[11]	*uru'ac·*[81]	*tïv*^{w}*i'p·ïʻ*[82]	*pu'u'rainaŋ*[83]	*ųni'nᴀ.*[84]
that he (vis.)	say	them (inv.)	lands (obj.)	whither our (inclus.)	doing.

maŋa'c·[85]	*ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ*	*nιa·'vιŋ'wa·m·*[86]	*aŋ*	*a'ip·ïγaʽ,*	*ⁱᵐpʷa'iaŋ*[87]
That one (vis.)	then	their (vis.) chief	he (vis.)	said,	"Let him (vis.)

a'iva[88]	*mʷα'ŋʽ*[89]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋʽ*	*qa'tc*	*'a'iyuŋwai't·i̜mʽ*[90]
shall say	that (vis.)	Coyote	he (vis.),	not	being good (neg.);

maa'it·ιŋk'tïvʷa·ŋaraŋᴡᴀ.[91]
he (vis.) will cause us (inclus.) to be found out."

cina'ŋwav	*ųmu'ʀqwa·x·*[92]	*ɴᴜˣqwι'm'mιap·ïγaʽ*[93]	*wa'a'ŋɪpax·pïγaʽ.*[94]
Coyote	moving under them	ran along,	shouted while journeying.

ʽaa'ik·w,[24]	*a'ip·ïγaʽ*	*nιa·'vιŋ'wa·mï,*[86]	*anι'χ̱aiaŋaraŋᴡᴀ*[95]
"Oh!"	said	their (vis.) chief,	"so doing he (vis.) us (inclus.)

maa'it·ιŋk'tïx·qw'aiva.[96]	*ïvʷï'aŋaraŋᴡᴀ*[97]	*na·'p̓·antuγwa·ŋ*[98]
will perhaps cause to be caught.	Let us (inclus.) him (vis.)	together him (vis.)

ᴡï·cι'amamaxava·ŋʽ,[99]	*a'ip·ïγaʽ*	*nιa·'ᵃvιŋ'wa·mʽ.*	*tïvʷa*[100]
shall give him (vis.) feathers,"	said	their (vis.) chief.	Down

ųnι'ŋut·	*a·ŋa''vantux·ᴡ*[101]	*yuwα'k·ɪpïγaʽ*[102]	*cina'ŋwavιʽ.*[103]
then	on to him	flew down (pl.)	Coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwaφɪ	*na'q·ʽtιŋqʽpïγa.*[104]	*ᴡïʽcι'amamax·pïγaiyaŋ*[105]
Coyote	dodged several times.	Gave (pl.) him feathers

na·'p̓·antux·ᴡᴀ[106]	*cina'ŋwavι*	*a'ik·ʽpïγaʽ,*	*ïvʷï''ca'ᵃ*[107]	*nɔntsi'q·ᴜ*[108]
together,	Coyote (obj.)	said (pl.),	"Go ahead	fly off

marï[109]	*avι'tcιtcï*[110]	*a'o'raʽ*[111]	*ma·m·a'i*[112]	*ųnι'ŋuts·*	*paiyι'ŋumpaʽ.*[113]
that (obj.)	little ridge (obj.)	towards it	from on that	then	shall return."

ų·'mai,	*a'ip·ïγaʽ*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*	*nǫ·ntsi'q·ᴜpïγa*[114]	*a·vι'tcιtcïʽ*[115]
"Yes,"	said	Coyote,	flew off,	little ridge (obj.)

qwaia'ŋqwɔp·ʿ[116]	*nɔ·ntsï'p·ïγaʿ.*[117]	*anı'an*	*ʿaik·ˣ,*	*a'ip·ïγaʿ*
beyond	flew.	"What I	say?"	said

nıa·'vıŋ'wa·mʿ.	*umʷα'nıva·nt*[118]	*ųwaru''ᵃ*	*mʷα'ŋᴀ*	*cina'ŋwav*
their chief.	"About to be doing thus	he is	that	Coyote

aŋʿ	*qatcu'raŋᴡᴀ*[119]	*tïvʷι'tsιχava·ŋ'wa'it·ιraŋᴡᴀ.*[120]	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*
he,	not us	being about to obey (neg.) us."	Coyote

qɔ·'nɪpïγa[121]	*a·vι'tcιtcïʿ*	*manaŋqᴡpai'yιq·ᴡ*[122]	*ʿa·mu'φᴀ*[123]
came back	little ridge (obj.)	from its (inv.) other side,	at them

pι'tcɪpïγaʿ.[124]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʿ*	*maŋac·*	*nıa·'v*	*aŋ*	*a'ip·ïγaʿ,*
arrived.	Then	that one	chief	he	said,

qatcᴜ	*nɔ·ntsï'n'ιva·ŋwa'*[125]	*nïmʷi'ɔax·tux·ᴡ*[126]	*qatcᴜ*	*wa'a'ŋιva·ŋwa'*[127]
"Not	shall be flying around	around us, (exclus.)	not	shall shout,

qatc	*qa·'va·ŋwa'*[128]	*pa'a'n·ï'.*[129]	*ų·'mai,*	*a'ip·ïγaʿ*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ.*
not	shall sing	loud."	"Yes,"	said	Coyote.

ma·'n·un·ι[130]	*ya·'c·ιŋup·ïγaʿ*[131]	*tuγu'mpai*[132]	*'auraʿ.*[133]	*tï'vʷa*[100]
All	started to fly	sky (obj.)	towards it.	Westward

ųnιts·[134]	*ya·'c·pïγaʿ*[135]	*pu'u'raiv*[136]	*ųnιŋ*[137]	*u'u'raʿ.*[18]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋ*
then	flew (pl.)	whither their own	do	towards it (inv.).	Coyote	he (vis.)

a·m·ɔ'ax·tux·ᴡ[138]	*nɔntsï'vurup·ïγaʿ.*[139]	*ï'vʷaiyauq·w*	*a'ip·ïγaʿ*
around them	flew hither and thither.	Then	said

nıa·'vıŋ'wa·mʿ,	*ᴡïʿcι'aia·ŋaraŋ*[140]	*ɔva'q·aŋ·umpa·c·*[141]	*maa'it·ιŋkʿ-*
their (vis.) chief,	"His (vis.) feathers (obj.) we (inclus.)	shall again pull out (pl.),	he (vis.) will

tïvʷa·ŋaraŋw	*uru'ac·*[142]	*ani'χaʿ.*[143]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ɔaŋʿ*[144]
cause us (inclus.) to be found out	that (obj. inv.)	doing."	Then him (vis.)

tcatca'i'p·ïγaiamʿ[145]	*tuγu'mpapaiya·'ᵃva·ntux·ᴡ*[146]	*ᴡïʿsι'aiya·ŋ*[147]
they (vis.) took hold of	at sky-vault,	his (vis.) feathers (obj.)

ɔva'q·aŋup·ïγaʻ.[148]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋʻ*	*pɪʻtcu''αmɪ*[149]	*cu'r'urup·ïγain·ιʻ*[150]
took off (pl.).	Coyote	he (vis.)	downward	made noise of whizzing

tïvʷi'p·uvʷa·ntï[151]	*kᴡɪʻpa'p·ïγaʻ*[152]	*tᴀʻpa'c·pïγ*[153]	*ųnι'ŋuts·*	*pina'ŋqᴡᴀ*[154]
being on ground (obj.)	fell,	lay senseless,	then	soon

cuwa'p·itcιp·ïγaʻ.[155]	*sa'a'p·iʻ*[156]	*pįnι'k̯·aip·ïγaʻ.*[157]	*a'ik·w,*	*a'ip·ïγaʻ,*
came to.	Mush (obj.)	saw.	"Oh!"	said,

tïγï'vutsιŋwųnι'anɪ[158]	*sa'a'm·amax·qainɪ*[159]	*a'ip·ïχaʻ*	*tɪʻqa'xai'k·ᴡᴀ.*[160]
"my friends, it seems,	have given (pl.) me mush,"	said	while eating it (inv.).

pinaŋqw[154]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʻ*	*tɪʻqa'm·au'p·αtsï'q·ᴡ*[161]	*cɪˣpï'χïru-*
Soon	then	having finished eating it (inv.)	felt like

tca·q·aip·ïγain·ιʻ[162]	*maa'inɪpïγ*[163]	*ųnι'ŋuts·*	*tɔʻtsï'va·ntïαφï.*[164]
cold thrill going through head,	touched	then	being at his own head (obj.).

ʻaa'ik·w,	*a'ip·ïγaʻ*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ,*	*tcɔˣpι'k·ιar'ɔn*[165]	*ųnι'k̯·aʻ*[166]	*tɪʻqa'χaʻ*[167]
"Oh!"	said	Coyote,	"brains-obj.-inter.-I	was indeed doing	eating?"

a'ip·ïγaʻ.	*pɪʻpι't·a'nι't·ιγax·pïγaʻ.*[168]	*na·ŋa'ï'aip·ïγaʻ*[169]	*cina'ŋwaφɪ,*
said.	Tried to vomit.	Was angry	Coyote,

ïvʷïn[170]	*naŋwa'x·p̓a·mpa'amï.*[171]	*tïvʷa'im'mιap·ïγaʻ*[172]	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*
"Let me	shall follow their (inv.) tracks."	Traveled west	Coyote,

ʻa·vι'ŋᴜpïγaʻ.[173]	*pinaŋq*	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʻ*	*naŋqa'p·ïγa'aimï*[174]
passed night after night on journey.	Soon	then	heard them (inv.)

qa·'m·ιa'namʻ.[175]	*cina'ŋwav,*	*a'ik·ʻpïγa,*	*u'vʷa·ŋʻ*[176]	*nιŋwï'rïraxwɔp·a*[177]
their (inv.) singing while moving along.	"Coyote,"	said (pl.),	"there she (vis.)	right among people

a·vi'ʻ	*ma·m·a''utc*[178]	*uŋʻ*	*imi'*[179]	*uŋw*[180]	*'a'c·ιntuina'ᵃmɪ.*[181]	*υ·'mai,*
lies	woman	she (inv.),	of you	she	your liking."	"Yes,"

a′ip·ïγaʻ	*cina′ŋwaφi.*	*ʻava*[182]	*ʻarï′ac·*[183]	*qanι′p·ï*[184]	*ʻava*
said	Coyote.	There	that (inan. obj.)	former camping place (obj.)	there

pι′tcιxw'aip·ïγaʻ[185]	*pᴜʻca′χaip·ïγaiaŋʻ*[186]	*mam·a′′utsï*[187]	*ųnι′χ̯aic·uaŋʻ*[188]
went and arrived,	looked for her (vis.)	woman (obj.),	so doing her (vis.)

maa′ip·ïγaʻ.[189]	*axa′n·ιva·′ŋan*[190]	*u′v*^{w}*aiʻ,*[191]	*a′ip·ïγaʻ*	*cina′ŋwaφɪ.*
found.	“How shall I her (vis.) do	then?”	said	Coyote.

uŋwa′′vantuγwa′ŋᴜpïγaʻ[192]	*saχwι·′ai'aŋw*[193]	*uv*^{w}*a′′anʻ*[194]
Got on top of her (inv.),	her (inv.) stomach (obj.)	on it (inv.)

wïwï′n'ɪ^{x}*qup·ïγaʻ.*[195]	*ųnι′x̯cu'uŋᴡ*[196]	*wï'ï′k̯·ᴜpïγaʻ*[197]	*maŋa′c·*
began to stand stamping.	So doing to her (inv.)	fell out	that one

ïŋa·′′pitc[198]	*aŋʻ.*
baby	he (vis.).

axa′n·ιva·ŋan[190]	*uv*^{w}*aiʻ,*	*a′ip·ïγaʻ*	*cina′ŋwaφɪ.*	*ï′v*^{w}*aiyauq̇·uŋᴡᴀ*[199]
“In what way shall I do to him (vis.)	then?”	said	Coyote.	Then him (inv.)

yï'ï′k·ɪpïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ[200]	*paiyι′k·ʻpïγa*[201]	*'u′ra*[18]	*tïv*^{w}*ι′p·uaiauφï.*[202]
swallowed him (inv.),	came back	towards it (inv.)	his own country (obj.).

a·vι′ŋᴜpax·pïγaic·ᴜ[203]	*saχwι·′a·φᴀ*^{x}*qaŋqïpïγaʻ*[204]	*ma′n·*[205]	*un·ιvä·ntɪ̈*[206]
Again passed night after night on journey,	had stomach-ache.	“In that way	being about to do

mam·a′′uts·,	*a′ip·ïγaʻ*	*cina′ŋwaφɪ.*	*ï′v*^{w}*aiyauq·ʻ*	*qumu′ntuaʀïpïγaʻ.*[207]
woman,”	said	Coyote.	Then	heated stones on fire.

ųnι′ŋumï·ts·[208]	*wa'a′p·ïʻ*[209]	*pᴀʻpa·′raŋqai*[210]	*o′mᴀ*[211]	*pïrï′′rïp·ïγa*[212]
After doing so	of cedar	limb (obj.)	on it (inv.)	hung on;

ųnι′x̯'uŋw[213]	*ïŋa·′′pitc*	*aŋʻ*	*wï'ï′k·ᴜpïγaʻ.*	*ï′v*^{w}*aiyauq·ʻ*	*m*^{w}*ιɔ′t·ιγan·ιʻ*[214]
while he (inv.) did so	baby	he (vis.)	fell down.	Then	when at considerable distance

qᴜ‘qwa'i'ɔnaγw'aiŋup·ïγa‘.[215]	*pι'tcɪpïγa‘*	*na'a'iť·ιp·ïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ*[216]
went to get armful of wood.	Arrived,	caused it (inv.) to burn;

qumu'ntïaʀɪ̈qainav[217]	*uvʷa''a·χ*[218]	*a·vι'p·ïγa‘*	*yu·'t·uitcï‘*[219]
his own having heated stones on fire	on top of it (inv.)	lay,	being warm (obj.)

pa·i[220]	*ivi'p·ïγa‘.*[221]	*ųnι'ŋuts·*	*tsï'q·uŋ'wanumpuʀpïγa*[222]	*ųm*[223]
water (obj.)	drank.	Then	made hair-scratcher,	with it (inv.)

ųnι'ŋuts·	*nantsï'x·quŋ'ᵃpïγa‘.*[224]	*i'in·*[225]	*ųnι'vä·ntɪ̈*[206]	*ma·m·a''uts·*
then	scratched himself in hair.	"In this way	being about to do	woman

nïntu'aŋqïŋuts·,[226]	*a'ip·ïγa‘*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ.*
having given birth to child,"	said	Coyote.

FOOTNOTES.

[1] *cïnaŋwavi-* COYOTE, only used in myths; *-vi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, b); *ι* < *ï* (§ 3, 3, b); *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-γw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-γwa-* preterital enclitic (§ 19, 1, a).

[2] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 1).

[3] *m*^{w}*α'-*, *m*^{w}*a'-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va'*, final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[4] *qani-*^{s} HOUSE; *-γa'* spirantized (§ 16, 1), palatalized (§ 13, 4), final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-kai-* verbalizing suffix TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). TO HAVE A HOUSE > TO DWELL.

[5] *piŋwa-* wife; *-aŋa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). *piŋwa-aŋa-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) to *piŋwa·ŋ*; *a·* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2).

[6] See note 2; final vowel elided (§ 7, 1).

[7] *aŋa-* third person animate singular pronoun (§ 39; 39, 3); *-ruγwa-*, elided (§ 7, 1) to *-ruγw-*, *-ruχw-*, postposition (§ 50, 4, 30).

[8] *ai-* to say; *-p·ïγai-*, in final form (§ 8, 1, e), tense suffix of myth narrative (§ 32, 6).

[9] *cïï-*^{s} SQUAW-BUSH TWIG; *-xa-* verbalizing suffix TO ACQUIRE (§ 26, 1, c); *-ŋqï-* indirective FOR (§ 29, 11); *-xw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic ME (§ 40; 40, 3). Imperative in form (§ 52).

[10] *'a*^{i}*c·ι-*^{s} < *'aïc·ι-*^{s} (§ 3, 3, a) GATHERING-BASKET; *-tcu-* < *-ru-*, *-tu-* (§ 13, 3) TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d); *-v*^{w}*a·-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) temporal suffix of future time (§ 32, 4); *-t·n̥-* < *-tsι-* (§ 3, 2, c,; § 13, 7, a) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic I (§ 40), subject of following verb, to which gerund is morphologically subordinate.

[11] *ai-* TO SAY; *-k̭·* elided (§ 7, 1) and palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·a-* tense suffix (§ 32, 2).

[12] *ų-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) form of *u-* invisible demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-mα-*^{n}, *-ma-*^{n} postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-ntï'* < *-ntïa-* (§ 8, 1, a) objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-ntï-* (§ 25, 6, a). Form is objective because logically dependent on objectively thought *cïï-* of preceding verb (note 9); GET SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS BEING THEREFROM > GET SOME OF THE SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS.

[13] See § 61, 1.

[14] See note 1. *-φι* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vi-*.

[15] *ųnι-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts* elided from *-tsι-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a). HAVING SO DONE = THEN.

[16] *'o'x-* < *'o'O-* (§ 8, 2, b) < *'o·'-* (§ 10, 1) contracted from demonstrative stem *'o'-* (§ 43, 1) and *-u-*; *-uṗ·a(·)-*^{n} postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-ŋqw'ai-* TO GO (§ 28, 1); *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8.

[17] *cïï-*^{s} as in note 9; *-v*^{w}*ï-*^{n} < *-vï-*^{n} (§ 14, 3, b) nominal suffix for PLANTS (§ 24, 1, e); *-mpï-* nominalizing suffix used with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 1, d); *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) form of *-vï-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). Form is objective because in apposition with following postpositional phrase (§§ 49; 50, 3).

[18] = *u'u'ra'*. *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'ura'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[19] Adverb of degree (§ 60, 2, c).

[20] *miɔ-* local adverbial stem (§ 60, 2, b); *-n·ι* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-n·ιa-* enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) appended to several adverbs.

[21] *ųni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-n'ni-* continuative (§ 30, 12); *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8. WAS DOING ALONG used in idiomatic sense (§ 62, 1) to refer to movement.

[22] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR.

[23] *qa·-* TO SING; *-p·i'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of- *p·ia-*; *-p·i-* past passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, a), *qa·p·i-* meaning literally WHAT HAS BEEN SUNG; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1), noun being direct object of preceding verb.

[24] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *'aik·wi-* (§ 61, 1).

[25] *pua-*^{s} SUPERNATURAL POWER, SUPERNATURAL; *-ru'a-* verbalizing suffix TO BECOME (§ 26, 1, f); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu-* assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1); *-ruɔ-* = *-ru'a-* (§ 3, 1, c) interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f) going with following enclitic *-γain·ia-* to mean APPARENTLY; *-n·ι-* subjective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 2); *-χain·ι'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) final (§ 8, 1, a) form of modal enclitic *-γain·ia-* (§ 19, 2, a).

[26] *cuwα-* with glide *-w* (§ 14, 3, a) modal adverb NEARLY (§ 60, 2, d) generally used as verb prefix (§ 20, 12); *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-nι* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of subjective pronominal enclitic *-ni-* (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb. NEARLY? = PERHAPS.

[27] Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *nɔn·ɔc·i-yï-*; *nɔ·-* inorganically lengthened (§ 4, 2, a); *nɔn·ɔc·i-* TO DREAM; *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1).

[28] Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

[29] *pua-*^{s} as in note 25; *-xant* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-xantï-* HAVING, present participle (§ 25, 6, a) of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). HAVING SUPERNATURAL POWER = MEDICINE-MAN.

[30] Substantive verb of animate singular subject (§ 56, 1), compounded of *uŋw* HE (§ 39, 1) and *aru'a-* TO BE (§ 43, 4). Note following first personal subject despite its composition with third personal element.

[31] Independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); nasalization secondary (§ 6, 2).

[32] Properly *u'v*^{w}*aiyauq·ʊ*, pronunciations with *ï-* and *ɔ-* due to careless articulation of unemphatic word. Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a) composed of demonstrative *u-* (§ 43, 1) and *-v*^{w}*aiyauq·u-* labialized (§ 14, 3, b) from *-vaiyauq·u-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 41).

[33] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *naŋqatca-* TO LISTEN consists of *naŋqa-* TO HEAR (cf. note 22) and rare suffix *-tca* (§ 26, 1, j); *-ŋwį̈nι-* postvocalic (§ 13, 2) form of *wïnι-* to stand, secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8.

[34] *qatcu-* NOT (§ 57) broken because of following element; *-' . . .q·wa-* pronominal enclitic IT (inv.) used objectively (§ 40, 3), in final form (§ 8, 1, a).

[35] So frequently heard for *paγa'in*^{y}*NU*^{x}*qwι-* compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *paγai-* with inorganic *-a-* (§ 3, 2, a) TO WALK; *nuq·wi-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) to *-n*^{y}*NUʻqwi-* TO STREAM, RUN; *-p·ïγaʻ* as in note 8. TO WALK-STREAM = TO START OFF.

[36] Simplified from *ųnι'ŋuts·* (§ 13, 7, a). For analysis see note 15.

[37] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-cu-* enclitic suffix AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k); -' . . .*q·W* as in note 34.

[38] *tïrac·ιk·wa-* TO STOP; *ï* > *ι* (§ 3, 3, b); *-c·ι-* < *-c·ï-* unvoiced to *c·ï-*, *-c·-* (§ 8, 2, a); *-k·wa->* *-k·wɔ-* (§ 3, 1, c); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-c·U* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of enclitic *-c·u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

[39] As in note 33, except that *-ŋwį-* is labialized to *-ŋų-* (§ 3, 3, d); *-c·u-* and -' . . .*q·W* as in note 37.

[40] Adjective-verb compound (§ 18, 2, b). *'a't·ï-* WELL irregular participial form in *-t·ï·-* (§ 25, 6, a) of verb stem *'a'yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-na`ŋq*$^{x}$*-* < *na`ŋqA-*: *naŋqa'-* TO HEAR (§ 10, 1); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); -' . . .*k·wa-* enclitic pronominal object IT (inv.) (§ 40, 3) dissimilated (§ 13, 7, c) from elided -'*k·w* (§ 7, 1) to -'*k·*.

[41] *qa·-* TO SING; *-q·ʻ-* = *-q·A-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-q·a-* suffix indicating plural subject (agent) of verb (§ 31, 1, c); *-pi'* = *-p·ia-* as in note 23.

[42] Independent subjective personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) with preserved final vowel followed by ' because coming before *ani-* TO DO (§ 7, 3).

[43] Song form for *anι'k·*^{x}*A*. *anι-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ḳ·a-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·a-* as in note 41.

[44] Myth form. *kwi·mv·*^{u}*rα-*^{n} of unknown significance; *-ntιk·a-* nasalized (§16, 3) form of *tïq·a-* TO EAT; *-mιa-* plural verb of movement (§ 18, 2, a) TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-γa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[45] *ai-* and *-p·ïγaʻ* as in note 8; *-k·*^{x}*A-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-q·a-* as in note 41.

[46] *qa·-* TO SING; *-m'mιa-* TO MOVE WHILE -ING (§ 28, 4); *-γa* as in note 44.

[47] *tuγumpa-*^{a} SKY; *-pa(i)ya·*^{a}*-ruq·WA* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 45).

[50] *nɔntsι-* TO FLY; *-ḳ·a-* as in note 45 (but voiced form); *-mιa-* and *-γaʻ* as in note 44.

[51] Independent subjective pronoun (§ 39, 1).

[52] *ɔvan·aŋqa-* GOOSE; *-ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋwï-* animate plural (§ 48, 1).

[53] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 2).

[54] Compound of numeral stem and noun (§ 59, 2, b). *waa-*, *wa·-* TWO; *nι(y)a·-vι-* CHIEF with nominal suffix *-vi-* (§ 24, 1, b); *-ŋw-* as in note 52.

[55] Compound of quasi-numeral and noun (§ 59, 3, b; § 59, 2, b). *nanι'na-* BOTH, DIFFERENT (with inanimate nouns); *-q·(w)ɔ-* objective suffix (§ 59, 2, a) used also in composition; *yaγa·-* END; *-maxq̇am* = *-maAq̇amï* (§ 8, 2, a); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-Aq̇amï* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-aq̇·amï-* combined pronominal enclitic (§ 41, 1, e) referring to subject and possessive of noun with postposition (§ 41, 2, d).

[56] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wįnι-* TO STAND; *-m·ιa-* SEVERAL JOURNEY; *-p·ïγaʻ* as in note 8.

[57] Cf. note 1. *-vi-* elided (§ 7, 1) to *-v.*

[58] *pį̈ni-* TO SEE, LOOK; *į̈* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-ḳ·ai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·ai-* resultative (§ 30, 9), regularly suffixed to *pį̈ni-* in its normal sense of TO SEE; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6) broken (§ 15, 2, a) to *-p·ïγa'ai-* by following pronominal element; -' . . *.m*ʻ final form (§ 8, 1, a) of objective pronominal enclitic -' . . *.mï-* THEM (inv.) (§ 40, 3).

[59] As in note 32. Final *-u-* elided (§ 7, 1); *-w* glide (§ 14, 3, c).

[60] *ma·n·ɔ-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man·ɔ-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a); *-q̓·wo-* objective *-q·o-* (§ 49, 1; § 59, 2, a) with glide *-w-* (§ 14, 3, c) and glottalized *q̓* (§ 15, 2, b) due to following pronominal element; -' . . *.q·ᴡᴀ* objective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 3) pleonastically referring to following objective noun, to which *man·ɔ-q·wo-* is attributive.

[61] *qa·nι-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *qani-* house; *-t·ιrïa-* reduplicated plural of *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF (§ 25, 4, a); *-i*ʻ final form (§ 8, 1, c) of objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1). Object used genitively with *nιŋwï'ai'yaq·ᴡ* below (note 67): I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE CAMP-PLACES.

[62] *pa·p·a·-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *pa·-*^{s} WATER, SPRING; *-γantï*ʻ = *-γantïᴀ* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *-γantï-* HAVING (§ 25, 6, a) participial form of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Objective in form because modifying *qa·nι't·ιrïai*ʻ.

[63] *qa·q·aiva·-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *qaiva-* mountain; *-ntsι-*^{s} diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-γαntï*ʻ palatalized form (§ 13, 4) of *-γantï*ʻ as in note 62.

[64] *mį̈mʷιa·-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, c) of *mïa·-*^{n} DIVIDE generally in form *mïa·'γantï-*; *-ntsι-* and *-γαntï*ʻ as in note 63.

[65] *kᴡɪʻkwi'tcuva-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *kwitcuva-*^{s} appearing generally in participial form *kwitcu'va-rï-* KNOLL; *-tcι-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsι-*^{s} diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-tcï*ʻ = *-tcïᴀ* objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-tcï-* (§ 25, 6, a) assibilated from *-rï-*, *-tï-* (§ 13, 3). Syntax as in note 62.

[66] *pa·va·n'nɔa-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *pava·n'nɔa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, b) of *pa·n'nɔa-* HOLLOW, VALLEY generally in form *pa·n'nɔaγantï-*; *-ntsι-* and *-γαntï*ʻ as in note 63.

[67] *nιŋwïa-* PEOPLE OF (A PLACE) consisting probably of *nïŋwï-* PERSON and possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective (§ 49, 1); -' . . *.q·ᴡ* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4), THEIR (INAN.) referring to *ma·n·ɔ'-q̓·woq·ᴡ . . . pa·va·'n'nɔantsιγαntï*ʻ. Object of following verb.

[68] *pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwa-* TO KNOW probably contains instrumental prefix *pu-*^{g} (§ 21, 4); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yι-* < *-yï-* present tense (§ 32, 1); -' . . *q·ᴡ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[69] = *ïvʷi'yan* (§ 13, 6). *ïvʷi-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-ya-* dual-plural imperative enclitic (§ 52); *-n* elided (§ 5, 1) from *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

[70] Subjective in form because object of imperative construction (§ 39, 1; § 52).

[71] *na-* reflexive pronominal stem (§ 46); *-up̓·a-* postposition (§50, 4, 35); *-n* for *-nɪ* voiceless (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

[72] *ma·m·a·-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *mam·a·-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *ma·-* TO MAKE INTO; *-nɪ* as in note 71. Observe that ME is expressed four times in this sentence.

[73] *nį̈-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nï-* ɪ (§ 39, 1); *-ŋum* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋumi-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3). For combination of independent and enclitic pronoun, see § 40, 6, a.

[74] *mǫį-* nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *moi-ⁿ* TO LEAD; *-mpa·-* future of intention (§ 32, 4); *-ŋumʻ* = *-ŋumɪ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-ŋumi-* as in note 73.

[75] Elided (§ 7, 1) and contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *ʻanɩa-aŋa-*; *ʻanɩa-* objective WHAT? with verb of saying (§ 44, 1, d); *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[76] As in note 11, except for voiceless form (*-k·ˣ* = *-k·ˣᴀ*; § 8, 1, a) of suffix.

[77] *na-ˢ* reciprocal prefix (§ 22, 1); *-rïvʷiŋu-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) from *tïvʷiŋu-* TO ASK probably containing momentaneous *-ŋu-* (§ 30, 5); *-q·wa-* labialized (§ 14, 3, c) from *-q·a-* plural suffix (§ 31, 1, c); *-χaʻ* = *-γaʻ* as in note 44.

[78] *ma·n·ɔq·o-* as in note 60. *-ya·q·ʻ* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-ya-aq·ᴀ*; *-ya-* probably for *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-aq·ᴀ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[79] *pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwa-ˢ* TO KNOW as in note 68; *-r* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-rï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For indicative use of participle, see § 55, 4, e.

[80] *ai-* inanimate demonstrative (§ 43, 5); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-a·ŋ* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-a-aŋ*; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-aŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[81] = *uru'a-c·u-* objective independent inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1).

[82] = *tïvʷi'p·ïᴀ* objective (§ 49, 1) of *tïvʷip·ï-* LAND containing nominal suffix *-p·ï-* (§ 24, 1. d). Object of *pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwar*, takes up *-aq·ᴀ* of note 78.

[83] Assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *pï-'urai-*; *pï-* relative pronoun (§ 45); *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36); *-naŋ* < *-naŋw* (§ 13, 7, c) < *-naŋwa-* (§ 7, 1) apparently dissimilated from, if not misheard for, *-raŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[84] *ųni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-nᴀ* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3) used as equivalent of relative clause (§ 45).

[85] Independent animate singular pronoun (§ 39, 1) anticipating following *nɩa·'vɩŋ'wa·m· aŋ*.

[86] *nɩa·vɩ-* CHIEF; *-ŋ'wa·m·* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋ'wa-am·ï-*; *-ŋ'wa-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, b); *-am·ï-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[87] *impʷai-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋ* as in note 80, anticipates following *cina'ŋwav aŋʻ*.

[88] *ai-* TO SAY; *-va* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[89] Animate singular demonstrative (§ 39, 1) used attributively with following noun.

[90] *'a(i)yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-ŋwai'-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b); *-t·ï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-mʻ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-mï-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1).

[91] *maai-* TO FIND OUT; *-t́·ι-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t́·ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-ŋk‘-* = *-ŋkï-* voiceless form (§ 10, 1) of *-ŋkï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-tï-* = *-tï·-* passive suffix (§ 29, 13); *-v*^{w}*a·ŋa-* < *-va·-aŋa-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 4, 1, a); *-va·-* future (§ 32, 4); *-aŋaraŋWA* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-aŋaraŋwa-* enclitic pronouns of subject and object (§ 41, 1, d; § 41, 2, a).

[92] *ųmu-* animate plural personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-Rqwa·x·* = *-RUqwa·x·I* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a; § 10, 1) from *-ruq·wa·γi-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 31).

[93] *NU*^{x}*qwι-* TO RUN; *-m'mιa-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4); *-p·ïγa‘* tense suffix (§ 32, 6).

[94] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wa'a'ŋI-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-pax·-* = *-pax·I-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, TO — WHILE JOURNEYING; *-pïγa‘* as in note 93.

[95] *anι-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-χ̬ai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-aŋaraŋWA* as in note 91.

[96] = *maa'it́·ιŋk‘tï·-* (§ 8, 2, a and b) as in note 91. *-qw'ai-* apparently semi-temporal use of *-q·wa'ai-* OFF (§ 28, 2); *-va* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[97] *ïv*^{w}*i-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋaraŋWA* as in note 91, except that functions of subject and object are reversed.

[98] Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *na-uṕ·antuγwa-aŋA*; *na-* reciprocal pronoun (§ 46); *-uṕ·a-ntuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4); *-aŋA* enclitic pronominal object (§ 40, 3).

[99] *WÏ‘cιa-* so heard for *WÏ‘cιa·-* FEATHER incorporated as noun object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-mamaxa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c), indicating plurality of subject, of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-va·ŋ‘* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-va·-aŋA*; *-va·-* as in note 96; *-aŋA* as in note 98.

[100] *tïv*^{w}*ai-* (§ 7, 2) local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

[101] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *aŋa'vantuγwa-*; *aŋa-* animate singular personal pronoun (§ 39, 1 and 3); *-'vantuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

[102] *yu(w)αk·i-* TO FLY DOWN (plural subject) unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a); *-pïγa‘* as in note 93.

[103] = *cina'ŋwavιA* objective form (§ 49, 1) because referring to postpositional phrase (§ 49, 2; see note 101).

[104] Abreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *nana'q·Atïŋqïpïγa‘*; *nana'q·Atï-* reduplicated iterative (§ 58, 4, d) of *naγat·ï-* momentaneous form (§ 53, 2, b) of *naγarï-* TO DODGE; *-ŋqï-* indirective (§ 29, 11); *-pïγa̧* as in note 93.

[105] *WÏ‘cι'amamax·-* as in note 99, except that *-maγa-* is unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *-max·-*; *-pïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-aŋ* = *-aŋA* as in note 98.

[106] Cf. note 98.

[107] *ïv*^{w}*ï-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-'-* second person singular subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2); *-ca'*^{a} modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, i).

[108] *nɔntsι-* TO FLY; *-q·u-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

[109] Inanimate demonstrative elided (§ 7, 1) from *marïa-* objective (§ 39, 1 and 4) in agreement with following noun.

[110] *avι-* TO LIE; *-tcι-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsι-*^{s} diminutive suffix (§ 35, 2); *-tcï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1) elided (§ 7, 1). Form is objective because construed periphrastically with following postpositional phrase (§ 50, 3).

[111] *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'orai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[112] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam·aiu-* = *mam·ayu* (§ 13, 6); *ma-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-m·a-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

[113] *pa(i)yï-*, *pa(i)yι-* TO RETURN; *-ŋu-*^{n} momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpaʻ* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[114] See note 108. Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nɔntsι-* TO FLY.

[115] *a·vι-* secondarily lengthened from *avi-* (§ 4, 2, a). See note 110.

[116] *qwaia-*^{n} local adverb (§ 60, 2, b); *-ŋqwap·a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 16) labialized (§ 3, 1, c) to *-ŋqwɔp·a-*.

[117] Cf. note 114. *-tsï-*, *-tsi-* < *-tsι-* (§ 3, 2, b). Note durative force (§ 30) of verb because unprovided with *-q·u-* suffix.

[118] *^{u}mwα'nι-* TO DO THUS (§ 43, 3); *-va·-*^{n} future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-nt* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ntï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax see § 55, 4, d.

[119] *qatcu-* negative adverb (§ 57); *-raŋwᴀ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[120] *tïv^{w}ιtsιχa-* TO OBEY; *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋ'wai-* negative (§ 57, 2, b); *-t·ι-* = *-t·ï-* (§ 3, 3, b) participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-raŋwᴀ* as in note 119. For pleonastic use of pronoun see § 40, 5.

[121] *qɔ·ni-* TO COME BACK; secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *qɔ̨·nι-*.

[122] Probably for *mana'ŋqwᴀ-pa(i)'yu-q·wᴀ* (§ 3, 5, c). *manaŋqwap·a(i)-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7 and 49) apparently here used as independent word following objective form of noun (§ 50, 3); *-' . . .q·wᴀ* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4) referring to *a·vι'tcιtcïʻ*.

[123] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and rounded (§ 3, d) from *ʻamï-* independent animate plural third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-φᴀ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 37).

[124] Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *pιʻpι'tcï-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *pitcï-* TO ARRIVE.

[125] *nɔ̨·ntsï-* as in note 117; *-n'ι-* continuative suffix (§ 30, 12); *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋwa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ŋwa'ai-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b).

[126] *nïm^{w}i-* independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔax·ιtux·wᴀ* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a) of *-ɔaγit·uγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

[127] *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-va·ŋwa'* as in note 125.

[128] *qa·-* TO SING; *-va·ŋwa'* as in note 125.

[129] Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *pa'a'n·i-yï-*; *pa'an·i-* TO BE HIGH, LOUD; *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1). For syntax, see § 55, 3.

[130] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man·u-n·ιa-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a).

[131] *ya·c·ι* SEVERAL FLY; *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-p·ïγaʻ* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

[132] *tuγumpa-* SKY analyzable into *tuγu-*^{n} UP (§ 60, 2, b) and nominal suffix *-mpa-* (§ 24, 4, b); *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ia-*, *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[133] = *a'u'ra‘·* *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1) referring to preceding noun; *-'ura‘* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[134] *ųnι-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ts·* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsι-* gerund (§ 55, 1 a). HAVING SO DONE > THEN.

[135] *ya·c·-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *ya·c·i-* SEVERAL FLY.

[136] *pu'urai-* as in note 83; *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[137] *ųnι-* TO DO; *-ŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). For absolute verbal form in relative clause, see § 45.

[138] Read *a·m·ɔ·'ax·ιtux·wᴀ* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a), assimilated (§ 3, 3, e), contracted (§ 4, 1, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *am·ïɔaγit·uγwa-*; *am·ï-* animate plural independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔaγit·uγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

[139] < *nɔntsι-* (§ 3, 2, b) TO FLY; *-vuru-* compounded verb stem TO GO FROM PLACE TO PLACE (§ 18, 2, a).

[140] = *wï‘cι'a·-ya-aŋa-raŋwa-* (§ 13, 6; § 4, 1, a; § 13, 7, c); *wï‘cιa·-* FEATHER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-aŋaraŋwa-* combined subjective and possessive enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 1, d and 2, d).

[141] *ɔva-* TO PULL OUT (HAIR, FEATHERS); *-q·a-* suffix of plural subject (§ 31, 1, c); *-ŋu-*^{n} momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-c·ᴜ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-c·u-* enclitic AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

[142] *urua-* objective inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-c·* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-c·u-* as in note 141.

[143] *ani-* TO DO; *-χa‘* < *-γai-* (§ 13, 4; § 8, 1, e) subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[144] = *u'v*^{w}*aiyauq·u-* (§ 3, 5, e) THEN; *-aŋᴀ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[145] *tcatcai'-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, b) of *tca'ai-* TO TAKE HOLD OF; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-amï-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[146] *tuγumpa-* SKY; *-pa(i)ya·-va·ntuγwa-* compounded postposition (§ 50, 4, 45 and 38).

[147] = *wï‘cι'a·-ya-aŋa-*. Cf. note 140.

[148] Cf. note 141.

[149] Local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

[150] *cur'uru-* onomatopoetic stem with final reduplication (§ 58, 6); *-p·ïγai-* as in note 145; *-n·ι‘* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-n·ιa-* modal enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d).

[151] *tïv*^{w}*ιp·u-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) from *tïv*^{w}*ιp·ï-* EARTH; *-v*^{w}*a·-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ntï* = *ntïᴀ* objective (§ 49, 1) form of participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

[152] *kwɪ‘pa'-* TO STRIKE, FALL ON.

[153] *tᴀ‘pa'c·i-* TO LIE SENSELESS; *-pïγ* over-elided (§ 7, 4) from *-pïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

[154] Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

[155] *cu(w)a-*^{g} TO BREATHE (dur. *cua-q·a-*, mom. *cua-ŋ'wi-*); *-pitcι-* TO ARRIVE. TO BREATHE ARRIVE = TO COME TO, TO REVIVE.

[156] *sa'a-* TO MAKE MUSH; *-p·i‘* = *-p·iᴀ* objective form (§ 49, 1) of past passive participial *-p·i-* (§ 25, 5, a), MUSH-MADE > MUSH. Object of following verb.

[157] See note 58.

[158] *tïγïvʷï-* FRIEND rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tïγïvu-*; *-tsι-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f); *-ŋwų-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) and secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *-ŋwï-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1, b); *-nιa-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d); *-nɪ* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[159] *sa'a-* MUSH incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-m·amax·-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-m·amaγa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-nɪ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[160] *tï‘qa'-ˢ* TO EAT > *tɪ‘qa'-ˢ* (§ 3, 3, b); *-xai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); -' . . . .*k·wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[161] *tï‘qa'-* TO EAT; *-m·au'p·a-* TO FINISH second stem in compound verb (§ 18, 2, a); *-tsï-* < *-tsι-* (§ 3, 2, b) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); -' . . .*q·wa-* as in note 160.

[162] *cï‘pï'-ˢ* incorporated noun COLD with probably instrumental function (§ 18, 2, f, α); *-qïrutca·-* TO HAVE A THRILL GO THROUGH ONE'S HEAD; *-q·ai-* resultative suffix (§ 30, 9); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-n·ι‘* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d).

[163] *maain·i-* TO TOUCH consisting of instrumental prefix *ma-* (§ 21, 1) and stem *-ain i-* not occurring independently; *-pïγ* as in note 153.

[164] *tɔ‘tsï'-* < *tɔt·sι'-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1; § 3, 2, b) HEAD; *-va·-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ntï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-α-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-φï* unvoiced form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vï-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

[165] *tcɔ‘pι'k·ι-* BRAIN contains instrumental prefix *tcɔ-ᵍ* (§ 21, 8); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-r'ɔ-* contracted (§ 4, 1, f) from *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[166] *ųnι-* TO DO; *-k̯·a‘* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-q·ai-* perfective suffix with inferential implication (§ 32, 3).

[167] *tï‘qa'-ˢ* TO EAT; *-χa‘* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[168] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *pɪ‘pι't·a'nι-ᵍ* reduplicated form (§ 58, 5, c) of momentaneous significance TO VOMIT; *-tιγax·-* < *-tïγa·-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 2, b; § 10, 1) TO TRY, TO PRACTISE.

[169] *naŋai'ai-* TO BE ANGRY < TO DIE OF ANGER; *naŋa-* ANGER incorporated instrumental noun; *-i'ai-* < *y(a)'ai-* (§ 13, 6) TO DIE.

[170] *ïvʷï-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-n* for *-nɪ* (§ 8, 1, a) subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb.

[171] = *naŋwa'-ᴜṗa·-ⁿ* (§ 8, 2, a); *naŋwa-* TRACKS; *-ᴜṗ·a(·)-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-mpa'amï* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from- *mpa·-* + -' . . .*mï-*; *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); -' . . .*mï-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). For use of postpositional phrase as verb of motion, see § 50, 2.

[172] *tïvʷai-* local adverb verbified (§ 60, 2, b); *-m'mιa-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4).

[173] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *ʻavιŋu-*; *ʻavι-* TO LIE; *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). *ʻavιŋu-* TO LIE DOWN MOMENTANEOUSLY > TO CAMP OVER NIGHT.

[174] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR; *-p·ïγa'aimï* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) + -' . . *.mï-* (§ 40, 3).

[175] *qa·-* TO SING; *-m·ιa-* SEVERAL JOURNEY verb stem generally appearing in compounds (§ 18, 2, a) as plural verb of movement; *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); -' . . *.m*ʻ possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[176] Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *uvʷa·-aŋa-*. *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-vʷa·-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-aŋʌ* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2) anticipating following nominal subject WOMAN.

[177] *nιŋwï-* < *nïŋwï-* (§ 3, 3, b) PERSON, PEOPLE; *-rïraxwɔ-* < *-rïraxua-ᵍ* (§ 3, 1, c) nominal base of compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 28); *-p·a* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-p·a·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[178] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam·a''utsι-* WOMAN; *mam·a'u-* reduplicated stem (§ 58, 1); *-tsι-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f).

[179] Objective form of independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used genitively (§ 39, 4).

[180] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 4): THE ONE WHOM YOU LIKE, in apposition with preceding WOMAN.

[181] *'a'c·ιnt'ui-* TO LIKE probably containing causative *-nt'ui-* (§ 29, 12); *-na'ᵃmι* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-na-* verbal noun suffix (§ 25, 3) + -' . . *.mi-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Verbal noun here used as practical equivalent of subjective relative clause see § 45).

[182] *ʻa-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va* elided (§ 7, 2) from *-va·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[183] Independent third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used as demonstrative qualifier of following noun.

[184] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *qanι'p·ïa-*; *qanι-* HOUSE; *-p·ï-* past-passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, b), here used as temporal noun suffix PAST (§ 24, 3, b); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1). THAT FORMER CAMPING PLACE is objective because in apposition with *ʻa-* of *ʻava* IT-AT (§ 49, 2).

[185] *pιtcι-*, *pιtcï-* TO ARRIVE; *-xw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3).

[186] *pυʻca'χai-* TO LOOK FOR contains *pu-ᵍ* instrumental prefix (§ 21, 4); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-aŋ*ʻ objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[187] See note 178. *-tsï* elided (§ 7, 1) and dulled (§ 3, 2, b) from *-tsιa-*; *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[188] *ųnι-* TO DO; *-χai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, a); *-c·u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k; § 55, 1, a); *-aŋ*ʻ objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3), object of following verb.

[189] *maai-* TO FIND.

[190] *axan·ι-* TO ACT HOW? (§ 26, 2, b; § 44, 2, a); *-va·ŋan* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va·-aŋa-ni-*; *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-aŋani-* combined subject and object enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 2, a).

[191] Connective adverb (§ 60, 3).

[192] *uŋwa-* animate singular independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-'vantuγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 47) verbified (§ 50, 2); *-ŋᴜ-* voiceless form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix with transitional significance (§ 30, 5).

[193] *saχwιa·-* STOMACH, BELLY; *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-' . . .ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-' . . .ŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Objective because referring to following postpositional phrase.

[194] *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-v^{w}a'anᴀ* < *-va'anᴀ* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

[195] *wïwï'n'ï-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *wïnï-* TO STAND; *-qu-* inceptive suffix (§ 30, 7).

[196] *ųnι-* TO DO; *-x̯-* = *-x̯·ᴜ-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and voiceless (§ 8, 2, a) form of *-γu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-cu'uŋᴡ* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-c·u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[197] *wï'ï-* TO FALL; *-k·ᴜ-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

[198] *ïŋa·'-* BABY; *-pi-tc* < *-p·i-tsι-* (§ 7, 1) noun suffixes (§ 24, b and f).

[199] = *u'v^{w}aiyauq·u-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[200] *yï'ïk·i-* TO SWALLOW; *-pïγa'aiŋᴡᴀ* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* as in note 199.

[201] *pa(i)yï-*, *pa(i)yι-* TO RETURN; *-k·i-* HITHER (§ 28, 5).

[202] *tïv^{w}ιp·ï-* EARTH, COUNTRY rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tïv^{w}ιp·u-*; *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-φï* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[203] Cf. note 173. *-pax·-* = *pax·ɪ-* < *-paγ(a)i-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) TO WALK, as compounded verb stem (§ 18, 2, a) WHILE JOURNEYING, FROM PLACE TO PLACE.

[204] *saχwιa·-^{s}* STOMACH incorporated as local noun (§ 18, 2, f, ẟ); *-φᴀ^{x}qaŋqï-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *paq·a-ŋqï-* TO HAVE A PAIN; *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11).

[205] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *man·i-* TO DO IN THAT WAY (§ 43, 3) here used as demonstrative adverb.

[206] *un·ι-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-vä·-^{n}* < *-va·-^{n}* (§ 3, 1, a) future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ntï* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). Participle used in lieu of finite verb (§ 55, 4, e).

[207] Unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *qumu'ntuarï-* TO HEAT STONES ON FIRE containing instrumental prefix *qu-^{g}* (§ 21, 12).

[208] See note 15. *-mï·-* AFTER (§ 30, 13).

[209] = *wa'a'p·ïᴀ* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *wa'ap·ï-* CEDAR TREE; *wa'a-^{g}* CEDAR; *-p·ï-* noun suffix for plants (§ 24, 1, e). Object used genitively (§ 49, 2) with following noun.

[210] *pᴀ'pa·'raŋqa-* LIMB, BRANCH reduplicated noun (§ 58, 1). *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[211] *o-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-mᴀ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

[212] *pïrï'rï-* TO HANG ON of durative form (§ 30).

[213] *ųnι-* TO DO; *-x̯u-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-' . . .ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-' . . .ŋwa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[214] *mʷιɔ-* adverbial stem FAR AWAY (§ 60, 2, b); *-t·ιγan·ιʻ* < *-t·ïγan·ιa-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 1) local adverbial suffix (§ 60, 2, b).

[215] *qᴜʻqwa-* WOOD incorporated as object (§ 18, 2, f, γ), absolute form *qᴜʻqwa'-p·ɪ*; *iyɔna-* (§ 13, 6) TO CARRY IN ONE'S ARM; *-γw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).

[216] *na'ai-* TO BURN; *-t·ι-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t·ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-p·ïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) and *-' . . .k·wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[217] Cf. note 207. *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[218] *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-vʷa'a·χ* < *-va'a·γi-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 7, 1) postposition (§ 50, 4, 46).

[219] *yu·t·ui-ˢ* TO BE WARM (in reference to water). *-tcïʻ* = *-tcïᴀ*; *-tcï-* participial suffix assibilated (§ 13, 3) from *-tï-*, *-rï* (§ 25, 6, a); *-ᴀ* objective suffix (§ 49, 1) Objective in form to agree with following noun.

[220] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *pa·ia-*, *pa·ya-*; *pa·-* WATER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[221] *ivi-* TO DRINK.

[222] Contracted (§ 4, 1, d), assimilated (§ 3, 3, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *tsï-ï'q·uŋ'wa nïmpï-ru-*; *tsï-* < *tsι-* (§ 3, 2, b) instrumental prefix (§ 21, 9); *-ïq·uŋ'wa-* (?) verb stem used with prefix *tsι-* to indicate TO SCRATCH THE HEAD WITH A STICK; *-nïmpï-* suffix of noun of instrument (§ 25, 2); *-ru-* verbalizing suffix TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d).

[223] Secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *uma-*; *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 9).

[224] *nan-* reflexive prefix (§ 22, 1); *-tsï'x·quŋ'ᵃ-* probably < *-tsι'-ïq·uŋ'wa-* (§ 3, 2, b; § 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) see note 222.

[225] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *ⁱ'i'n·i-* TO DO IN THIS WAY (§ 43, 3), here used as demonstrative adverb.

[226] *nï-ⁿ* PERSON, HUMAN BEING incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-ntua-* nasalized form (§ 16, 3) of *tua-* TO GIVE BIRTH denominative verb from *tua-* CHILD (of some one) (§ 47); *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts·* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a).

[TRANSLATION].

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream. Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those with valleys—all their people I know. Do you then make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along, "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it then you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. "What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

VOL. 65. NO. 2.—SEPTEMBER, 1930

TEXTS OF THE KAIBAB PAIUTES AND UINTAH UTES.

BY EDWARD SAPIR.

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TEXTS OF THE KAIBAB PAIUTES AND UINTAH UTES.

INTRODUCTION.

The text material presented in this paper belongs to two rather distinct, though closely related, dialects of the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean. The bulk of the paper is devoted to mythological and other texts obtained in 1910 (February to May) from Tony Tillohash, a young Kaibab Paiute from Kanab, in southwestern Utah; the balance, to mythological texts and one tale recorded in English, secured in 1909 (August and September) from Charlie Mack, a Uintah Ute from White Rocks, Utah.

The Ute texts were obtained at White Rocks in the course of a brief trip among the Utes of Uncompahgre and Uintah reserves. A further series of thirty Ute tales was obtained in English by my colleague, Dr. J. A. Mason; these were published under the title of "Myths of the Uintah Utes" in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for July–September, 1910 (pp. 299–363). I should not fail to add that Dr. Mason also obtained a series of interesting pictographs in the course of a reconnaissance of Nine Mile Canyon, some distance south of Uintah Reservation. This material is still unpublished.

More substantial for linguistics than the Ute work were the results obtained from Tony, who was in 1910 just about to complete his course at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Through the kindness of Dr. G. B. Gordon, the director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and of the superintendent of the Indian School, arrangements were made to have Tony housed in Philadelphia and employed at the Museum, so that he might be rendered available as a source of information for further Shoshonean researches. Tony proved an excellent informant. Though young and absent from his native home for about five years, he was of a naturally conservative temperament and possessed of a remarkable memory. Hence he was better informed on the subject of tribal lore than could normally have been expected. His unfailing good humor and patience also helped materially to lighten a task that demanded unusual concentration. (Indeed, in all my linguistic experience, I doubt if phonetic perception has ever been so severely taxed as in recording Shoshonean dialects of the Ute-Chemehuevi group.) Besides the Kaibab Paiute texts here presented, there were secured from Tony supplementary material for the grammatical and lexical study of his language; a series of over two hundred songs, chiefly ceremonial, recorded in text and on the phonograph; and a considerable body of ethnological information. The grammatical data have been worked up into a sketch of the Paiute language, which forms the first part of this volume. The lexical material follows in the third part. The songs and the ethnological data will form the subjects of future papers. Tony, further, proved valuable as a first-hand source for a seminar in American Indian linguistics that I was then giving at the University of Pennsylvania. Last, but not least, he was a delightful companion at all times and is remembered with the friendliest feelings by all who came in contact with him in Philadelphia.

The linguistic relation of Southern Paiute (to be carefully distinguished from Northern Paiute or "Paviotso") to Uintah Ute is close. Indeed, they are not so much closely related languages as mutually intelligible dialects of the same language. This probably applies to all the dialects of Ute-Chemehuevi, which may be defined as a dialectically differentiated Shoshonean language stretching from Uncompahgre Ute in central Colorado to Chemehuevi in southeastern California. The texts embodied in the present volume are therefore illustrative of one of the most widespread languages of aboriginal America, though the specific dialects of the texts, Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute, cover only restricted territories in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona and in northeastern Utah respectively. No attempt has been made to normalize the texts, which are given here precisely as heard. The phonetic system used is that described in the report of the Phonetic Committee of the American Anthropological Association;[1] the symbols are defined in the key prefixed to the texts. Those wishing to make an analytical study of the language are referred to the Paiute grammar which precedes; the necessary lexical assistance is given by the Paiute dictionary which follows.

In their mythological affiliations the tales recorded here evidently correspond closely to the Ute, Shoshone, and Comanche tales already published by Kroeber, Mason, Lowie, and St. Clair. References to parallel tales have been confined to Plateau Shoshonean. Further parallels from other Plateau tribes, from Plains tribes to the east, and from California and Washington-Oregon tribes to the west are given in the papers mentioned. On the whole, the relation of Southern Paiute mythology to that of the Northern Shoshone is very close, perhaps even closer than might have been expected.

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[1] See Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, no. 6, 1916.

In conclusion, I should like to express my indebtedness to the late Dr. Gordon's kind help which was given me throughout the prosecution of my Shoshonean studies.

EDWARD SAPIR.

Ottawa, June 5, 1918.
Chicago, July 16, 1930.

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

VOWELS.

1. Monophthongs.

a	as in German Mann.
α	like u of English but.
ä	as in English hat.
ȧ	as in French patte; midway between a and ä. A nuance of of a that is characteristic of Ute.
e	close as in French été. Occurs only rarely, as nuance of i or of a-ä-ε.
ε	open as in English met.
i	close as in French fini.
ɩ	open as in English it.
o	close as in au of French chapeau.
ɔ	open as in German voll, but less clearly rounded.
ω	approximately like aw of English law, but more nearly approaching a.
u	open as in English pull, sporadically close as in English rule; always close when long (u·).
ʊ·	long and open as in English poor, but without r-glide.
ï	high-back-unrounded-narrow (Sweet's terminology); may be produced by completely unrounding close u, without modifying tongue position of u. On first acquaintance this vowel impresses one as a "muddied" nuance of ü, but its formation is quite unlike that of French or German ü. Its semivocalic form is γ (see below), to which it is related as u to w or i to y. ɩ̈, ü, and ɩ̇ are modified forms of ï.
ɩ̈	high (*or* high to mid)-back-unrounded-wide; related to ï approximately as ɩ to i or ε to e. It is apt to sound like a "muddied" ö or a dull α.
ü	not a true ü as in French or German, but duller in timbre. Probably high-mixed-rounded-wide; apt to sound like a rapid diphthongal ɩ̈^{u}.
ɩ̇	high-mixed-rounded-wide; approximately like i of English (American) first, but without r-quality.
ö	as in German schön *or* Götz (i. e. close or open in quality). Rare in Paiute, but very common in Ute, where it corresponds to Paiute ɔ.

^{a} and other superior vowels:
weakly articulated, but not completely unvoiced, vowels. They are frequently glides, sometimes they are reduced from fully articulated vowels. After their own vowel, generally long, e. g. a·^{a}, they denote "pseudo-diphthongal" rearticulation. Before and after glottal stops (') they are murmured in Paiute, after glottal stops they are whispered in Ute.

ᴀ and other small-cap vowels:
completely unvoiced vowels, pronounced with full breath. They may be defined as voiceless breath modified by various vocalic timbres.

ą and other vowels with subscript hook:
nasalized vowels; nasalization is either weakening of ŋ (see below) or secondary, due to presence of preceding or following nasal consonant. w̨, nasalized w, occurs sporadically in Ute as development of ų.

^{į}, ^{ų}, ^{ï} weakly articulated, but not completely unvoiced, nasalized vowels.

a̓ and other vowels with superscript ' :
glottalized vowels, i. e. vowels interrupted by a series of weak glottal stops. This type of articulation is sometimes referred to as "glottal r." w̓, glottalized w, occurs sporadically as development of u'. a̓ is secondarily developed from a' or 'a; similarly for other vowels.

ᴜ̨, ɪ̨̈ unvoiced forms of ų, į̈; may be defined as voiceless nasalized breath with u and ï timbre respectively. This type of articulation is rare.

2. Diphthongs.

ai, a̓i, äi, ɛi, oi, ɔi, ui pronounced as diphthongal combinations of a, a̓, ä, ɛ, o, ɔ, and u respectively with following i. These diphthongs are either inorganic, i arising as glide before following y, or organic, in which case the first vowel is sometimes heard doubled, e. g. aai, ɔɔi. In certain cases the two vowels are pronounced with a drag, indicated as a.i; in others, the i is rather faint, indicated as a^{i}.

aï diphthongal combination of a and ï.

au diphthongal combination of a and u (cf. ou of English gout). aau, a.u, and a^{u} are also found.

aɪ (and similarly for other diphthongs):
as above but with second element of diphthong voiceless.

CONSONANTS.

p intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of labial position; intermediate character most marked initially and in second portion of geminated (lengthened) p; tends to be semisonant after m. Aspirated (p‘) before voiceless vowels or as substitute for p+ voiceless vowel.

b sonant labial stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of p after m, less often initially.

t intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of dental position. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).

d sonant dental stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of t after n, less often initially.

k intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of mid-palatal position. Found chiefly, as variant of q, between preceding back vowel and following i. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).

g sonant mid-palatal stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of k after ŋ, less often initially.

q intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of back-palatal or, frequently, velar position (velar character most pronounced before ɔ and ï). Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).

g̣ sonant back-palatal or velar stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of q after ŋ, less often initially. Also occurs intervocalically as lightly stopped development of γ, rather frequently in Ute, seldom in Paiute.

kw, gw, qw, g̣w labialized forms of k, g, q, g̣ respectively. When k and q are aspirated surds, w appears as voiceless ᴡ.

k̭ intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of front-palatal position; approximately like ky of English cue. Found regularly as development of q, (k) after i. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).

g̭ sonant front-palatal stop. Found in Ute partly as sporadic development of k̭ after ŋ, (ŋ̭); partly intervocalically as lightly stopped development of γ.

s	voiceless sibilant, as in English so. In Ute s is regularly intermediate in place of articulation between s and c, in Paiute it is generally pure in quality.
c	voiceless sibilant, as in English she.
ts	intermediate or unaspirated surd affricative of s- position. In Paiute, like ts of English hats; in Ute, intermediate in place of articulation between ts and tc. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
tc	intermediate or unaspirated surd affricative of c-position, as in English chat. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
dj	sonant affricative of c-position, as in English judge. Found in Ute as sporadic development of tc after n, less often initially.
m	as in English me.
ᴍ	voiceless m.
mʷ	m pronounced with lip rounding of w and followed generally by rapid w-glide. Before voiceless vowels it appears as mʷ, with voiceless w-glide.
n	dental nasal, as in Italian.
ɴ	voiceless n.
nʸ	palatalized n, i. e. n modified by y-contact of the tongue.
ŋ	mid-palatal, back-palatal, or velar nasal, corresponding in position to k and q. Like ng of English sing.
ɴ	rarely occurring voiceless form of ŋ.
ŋw	labialized ŋ. Always treated as simple consonant, analogously to kw, qw.
ŋʷ	ŋ followed by voiceless w; developed from w before voiceless vowels.
ŋ̯	front-palatal nasal, corresponding in position to k̯. Approximately like gn of French gagner.
n̥, ŋ̥	syllabic forms of n and ŋ. n̥ like -on of English button.
v	bilabial v, as in Spanish, but never tending to become lightly stopped b.
ϕ	bilabial f; unvoiced v.
w	as in English.
	unvoiced w, like wh of English white.
vʷ	bilabial v with approximate acoustic effect of w due to inner rounding. A labialized nuance of v, to be carefully distinguished from w.

φʷ unvoiced vʷ.

r lightly trilled tongue-tip alveolar r. Never so lightly trilled as to be heard as sonant d, as happens in some American languages.

ʀ Unvoiced r. Its exact timbre changes with that of the voiceless vowels that follows it. Before ï, it is perhaps cerebral, with a thickish c-like quality.

γ voiced mid-palatal, back-palatal, or velar spirant, corresponding in position to k and q; like North German g of sagen.

x unvoiced form of γ; like ch of German Bach.

χ intermediate in type of articulation between γ and x. A nuance of γ that is found in Paiute.

γ̭ voiced front-palatal spirant; acoustically close to, but to be carefully distinguished from, y. Related to γ as k̭ is to k, q.

x̭ unvoiced form of γ̭; like ch of German ich.

χ̭ intermediate in type of articulation between γ̭ and x̭. A nuance of γ̭ that is found in Paiute.

γw, xw, χw, γ̭w, x̭w, χ̭w labialized forms of γ, x, χ, γ̭, x̭, and χ̭ respectively. Before voiceless vowels w of xw and x̭w appears unvoiced to w.

y like y of English yes.

ʏ unvoiced form of y; differs from x̭ in being pronounced with less energy.

h as in English. Occurs in Paiute as sporadic modification of s.

ʻ breathing occurring finally, medially after voiceless vowels, or initially before vowels.

⁏ voiceless nasalized breath. Found more frequently in Ute than in Paiute.

ʼ glottal stop.

ṗ, t̓, k̓, q̇, k̭̓, k̓w, q̇w, t̓s, t̓c glottalized forms of p, t, k, q, k̭, kw, qw, ts, and tc respectively. These consonants are pronounced with simultaneous closure and subsequent simultaneous release of oral point of articulation and of glottis. They have a snappy effect altogether different from the cracked effect of the glottalized stops and affricatives of many West Coast languages. They are developed from ʼ + stopped consonant (or affricative) or from stopped consonant (or affricative) + ʼ.

^{m}, ^{s}, ^{c}, ^{ts}, ^{w}, $^{\gamma}$, ^{x}, $^{\text{x̭}}$, ^{y} weakly or very rapidly articulated forms of m, s, c, ts, w, γ, x, x̭, y. They arise either by reduction of these consonants or, more frequently, as glides. ^{s}, ^{c}, ^{ts}, ^{x}, and $^{\text{x̭}}$ are generally sharpened forms of ʻ after voiceless vowels.

ACCENTS AND OTHER DIACRITICAL MARKS.

′	denotes that preceding vowel is stressed.
·	denotes that preceding vowel or consonant is long.
+	denotes excessive length of preceding sound.
<	"derived from."
>	"from which is derived."
( )	enclose words in English translation not found in the Indian original.
[ ]	enclose meaningless elements in Indian song texts.

I. PAIUTE MYTHS.

1. Tïvʷa'tsɩna·va'vɩŋw.

Wolf and his Brother.[1]

tïvʷa'tsɩnava'vɩŋw	mʷα'va'amʻ	qarï'p·ïγaʻ.	ʻiva'tcï
Wolf and his brother	there they (inv.)	(2) dwelt.	Early

ɔ·nα't·ᴀʻcïaŋqʻ[2]	qa·'p·ïγaʻ	tïvʷa'tc	aŋʻ	ïvï''ca'ᵃ
when was early morning	sang	wolf	he,	"Go ahead, now!

paa'iram[3]	ųŋw	uŋwα'vatc	wara'x·ani·ⁱ'x̭wa'ᵃ.
of us 2 aunt (obj.)	she (inv.)	to her (inv.)	go to ask for grass seeds.

ɩmpu''	anɩk̭·aʻ	punɩ'avɩx̭aʻ.	ų'mai,	ʻaip·ïγaʻ
What you	are doing	while lying down looking?"	"All right,"	said

cɩna'ŋwaφɩ,	ʸi'mɪ	cuwa'p·itci	a'ɔφɪ	nï''ca'ᵃ
coyote,	"you	are waking up	now,	but I

wï·'t·uc	cuwa'p·itci	ɔ·nu't·ᴀʻcïaŋqʻ.	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ
long ago	am waking up	when was early morning."	Coyote

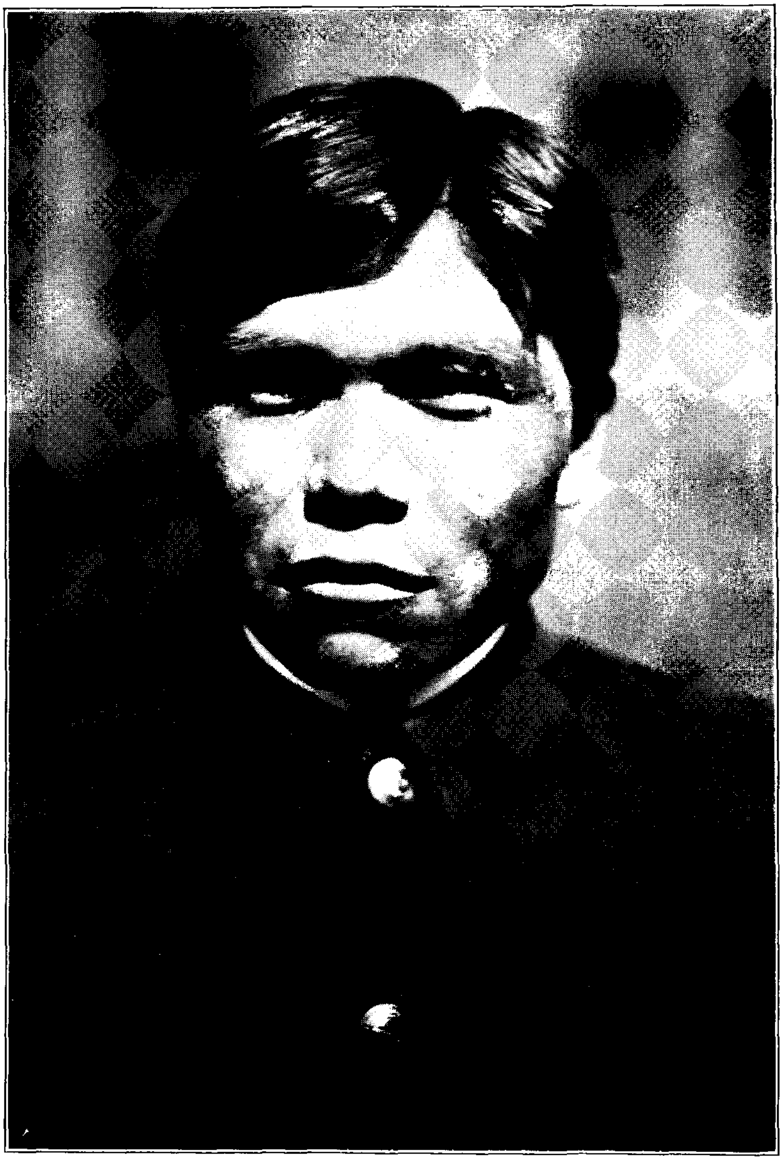
pa·γa'nʸˣqwɩp·ïγaʻ	pa·a'iav	*u'ŋw*	qa·nɩ'	*'u'ra'*
started off	his own aunt (obj.)	she (inv.)	house (obj.)	towards it

wara'x·ani·ⁱ'x̭w'aix̭aʻ.	ųwa'vatcï	uvʷa	pɩ'tcɩγw'aip·ïγaʻ
while going to ask for grass seeds.	To her (inv.)	there	went and arrived

qanɩ'vaaŋw[5]	ɔaiʻ	pa·a'iav	u'ŋw.	pa·ą·''aŋw	qa'tc
at her (inv.) house	it (inv.)	his own aunt (obj.)	she (inv.).	His (inv.) aunt	not

uvʷa	qarï'p·ïá'ᵃ	qanɩ'aφï.	tuwα'tsɩŋwαcuŋw
there	sat (neg.)	her own house. (obj.)	Only her (inv.) sons

uvʷa	qarï'p·ïγa'ïmʻ[6]	qanɩ'aŋw.	a'itcaŋw	pɩya'ŋųm
there	they 2 sat	her (inv.) house (obj.).	"Where is she (inv.)	your (pl.) mother



Tony Tillohash, Kaibab Paiute Indian, in his Carlisle School Uniform

u′ŋw,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɪna′ŋwaϕɪ.	tïγa″xwᵓ′aiya·′aŋʿ,
she (inv.)?"	said	coyote.	"She went to gather seeds,"

a′ip·ïγa′aimʿ	qwɪ′aγantïʿ	tuwa′tsɪŋw,	pina′ŋqwᵓ′aŋw
they 2 said	grizzly bear (obj.)	sons,	"soon she (inv.)

pi′tcɪva·n·ɪʿ,	ma′ip·ïγa′aimʿ.
will arrive,"	thus they 2 said.

cɪna′ŋwaϕɪ	ma·ntcu″aia·vɪp·ïγa	ɔ·vʷa	qanɪ′aŋw
Coyote	waited for lying down	there	her (inv.) house (obj.);

pina′ŋqwᴀ	pa·a·″aŋw	pi′tcɪpïγaʿ.	pa·a̢·″aŋw	ma′ip·ïγaʿ,
soon	his (inv.) aunt	arrived.	His (inv.) aunt	said thus,

pina′ŋqwᴀ	tïˣqa′va·ᵃnɪʿ	s·ᵃ′a′p·ɪʿ,	ma′ip·ïγaʿ
"Soon	will eat[6a]	mush (obj.),"	thus said

pa·a·″aŋw.	uvʷa·′ᵃntïnʿ	ma·va′tcanʿ	ya·′ŋqïk·ˣ
his (inv.) aunt.	"Yonder me	my masturbator	bring to,"

a′ip·ïγaʿ	pa·a·″aŋw.	tuwα′tsɪŋw	qwa′ruˀwap·ïγa′aik·w
said	his (inv.) aunt.	Children	gave it to her

mava′tcai′ya′aŋw	piyɛ′iyaϕï.	piya″aŋw	qwï′ï′p·ïγa′aik·w
her (inv.) masturbator (obj.)	their own mother (obj.).	Their (inv.) mother	took it,

a·vi′p·ïγaʿ	pa̢·wɪ′χarux·wᴀ.[7]	sɪna′ŋwaϕɪ	pɪ̢nɪ′k̬·aip·ïγa′aiŋw.
lay	on (her) back.	Coyote	saw her (inv.)

pa·′a′nˣ,	aip·ïγa,	ima′ᵃ′qwɔam	ŋnɪ′ŋqïŋumpaʿ	pa·′a′nɪpüts·,
"My aunt,"	said,	"with this it (inv.) I you (obj.)	shall do for,[8]	my auntie,"

a′ip·ïχaʿ	cɪna′ŋwaϕɪ.	yɔγɔ′p·ïγa′aiŋw	cɪna′ŋwaϕɪ	pa·a′iaϕï
said	coyote.	Copulated with her (inv.)	coyote	his own aunt (obj.).

ɔ̢·′nɪcampʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	pa·a·″aŋw.	qa′tcʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ
"Enough,"	said	his (inv.) aunt.	"No,"	said

cɪna′ŋwaϕɪ.	qwɪyα′ts·	citcu″manɪk·ʿpïγa	ŋntu′q·uˀwa′aŋw
coyote.	Grizzly bear	put claws into	his (inv.) back (obj.)[9]

u'ʷa′x·arux·w	a′wüc·ᵘ,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	cina′ŋwaφɪ.	qa′tc,
through it.	"Enough,"	said	coyote.	"No,"

a′ip·ïγaʽ	qwɩ′yαts·.	cina′ŋwaφɪ	qwïʽtɩ′k·ɪpïγa[10]	ųnɩ′ŋʷuts·
said	grizzly bear.	Coyote	got up suddenly,	then

tɔγɔ′q·ʽpïγaʽ.	qwɩyα′ts·	qwïrɩ′k·ɪpïγaʽ.	cɩna′ŋwavɩ
ran off.	Grizzly bear	arose.	"Coyote (obj.)

ųntu′q·ua'aŋw	pį̈nɩ′ḵ·aiyaq·ʽ,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	qwɩya′mauma'uts·.
his (inv.) back (obj.)	look at it,"	said	grizzly-bear woman.

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	paiyɩq·w'a′ip·ïγa	ʽa·vɩ′p·ïγa	ʽɔa·′va'anaφï
Coyote	went back home,	lay	on his own back,

qatcu·′q̇·wa'aŋw	pųnɩ′ḵ·aiť·uɩ′p·ïȧ'.	pa·vɩ″ɩŋw	tïγï'aiʽ[11]
not it (inv.) him (inv.)	allowed to see.	His (inv.) elder brother	deer (obj.)

towa′tsɩ	pᴀˣqa′p·ïγa	ųnɩ′ŋuts	ųntu′q·ua'aŋw	ya·′q·ɪpïγaʽ.
child (obj.)	killed,	then	his (inv.) back flesh (obj.)	brought.

cina′ŋwaφɪ	tᴜʽqwɩ″aip·ïγaʽ	qa′tc	ɔa′iyaφï	pųnɩ′ť·uɩna·′aip·ïγaʽ
Coyote	was ashamed,	not	his own back (obj.)	caused to be seen;

tïvʷa′ts·	pᴜʽtcu′tcuγwap·ïγa.	o′vaiyaq·ˣᴜ	ᴀʽpï′ɩʽťuɩp·ïγa'aiŋw.
wolf	knew.	Then	caused him to sleep.

sɩna′ŋwaφɪ	mį̈nɩ′c·pïγa	uŋwa′vatcaŋwɪtux·w.	ʽa·ni′αn	ʽaik·ˣ
Coyote	rolled over	towards him.	"What (obj.) I	say?"

a′ip·ïγaʽ	tïvʷα′ts·.	mį̈nɩ′c·qa'aŋw	ųntu′q·ua'aŋw[12]	qa′tcʽ
said	wolf.	When he (inv.) rolled over	his (inv.) back flesh	not

ma'a′nųŋwa'aq·w	uvʷa″aq·	ųntu′q·uvɩ	ʽʷa′iʽ	ma·va′ťcaŋᴜpïγa.
was (neg.) there it (inv.,);	there it (inv.)	back flesh (obj.)	it (obj.)	fastened on.

ųnɩ′ts·	sɩna′ŋwavɩ	ųntu′q̇·uŋ	ų′nɩc·uᵘnɩʽ	na·ya′ṗ·a·ŋˣpïγaʽ.
Then	coyote (obj.)	his (inv.) back flesh	again as was	became.

u′vʷaiyauq·ˣ	tïvʷa′ts·	qa·′p·ïγaaic·ᴜ,	ïvʷï′ʿ
Then	wolf	again sang,	"Go on!

uŋʷα′vatcuxwqwa·′′aic·ᴜ	itcï′ʿ	qwa′iʿ[13]	ya·ŋu′ɩvaʿ
to her set off again	this (obj.)	it (obj.)	shall carry

nɯŋwu′mpɩʿ	tïʿqa′va·n′aŋʷ	uʀ.	ųnɩ′ts·	pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtsï′ɯŋw
liver (obj.)	her (inv.) being about to eat	it (inv.).	Then	having killed her (inv.)

ma·n·ɔ′q·ᴜ	ma·′ᵃvï	qa·nɩ′aŋw	pïvʷa·′ᵃntï′aŋw	pïⁱnɩ′′nu′ɩ′-
all (obj.)	things (obj.)	her (inv.) house (obj.)	whereon (obj.) she (inv.)	had been wont to look

nɯmpïʿ	ma·ᵃnɔ′q̇·ɔq·w	nɛ·′va	ma·′ᵃvïa′aŋw	pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtsï′ɯŋw
	all (obj.) it (inv.)	shall carry on back	her (inv.) things (obj.)	having killed her (inv.)

ʿᵊąiʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	tïvʷα′ts·.	ʿųmaiʿ,	ma′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
her (obj.),"	said	wolf.	"Yes,"	thus said	coyote.

ʿųnɩ′ŋuts·	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	pa·ᵃγä′ⁱnʸ′ɴᴜˣqwɩp·ïγaʿ	qa·nɩ′′aŋw
Then	coyote	walked along	her (inv.) house (obj.)

u′u′ra	pa·aiya′φï.	ųnɩ′ts	uvʷa	pɪʿpi′tcɩχwᵃ′aip·ïγaʿ
towards it	his own aunt (obj.).	Then	there	went and arrived

tuwa′tsɯŋwa′aŋw	uvʷa′′a·mʿ	qa·rï′p·ïγa′aimʿ	qa·nɩ′′aŋw
her (inv.) sons (obj.),	there they (inv.)	(2) they (inv.) stayed	her (inv.) house (obj.)

piya′iyavï′ïmï	qa·ni′väʿ.	iʸɛ′nᴜ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
their own mother (obj.)	in house.	"Here is,"	said	coyote,

nɯŋwump	a′r	a′iyaŋumwɪ	tïʿqa′vaa·naŋumɪ	ma′ik̥·ain′aŋw.
"liver	it	your (pl.) uncle (obj.)	your (pl.) being about to eat (2)	his (inv.) saying so."

waa·na′ip·atsɯŋw	tïʿqa′p·ïγa′aik·wamï.	ųnɩ′ŋuts·	ᴀˣpu′ɩṗ·ïγa′aimʿ
Two boys	they (2) (inv.) ate it (inv.).	Then	they (2) (inv.) slept,

cɩna'ŋwaφɪ	na·ŋwa''aq̇·uum'	pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa'aim'.	ųnɩ'ŋuts
coyote	both (obj.) of them (inv.)	killed them (inv.).	Then

ᴀˣpɔ'ɩ'ťuip·ïγaaim'.
caused them (inv.) to sleep.

pina'ŋqw	piya''am'	pi'tc'pïγa.	ųni'ts	'a'ip·ïγa,
Soon	their (inv.) mother	arrived home.	Then	said,

uvʷa·'ᵃntïnɪ	ma·va'tcæn'	ya·'ŋqïk·ˣ.	u'vaiyauq·'	cɩna'ŋwav
"Yonder me	my masturbator	bring to."	Thereupon	coyote

a'ip·ïγa,	ᴀˣpï'iyï'a·mï,	a'ip·ïγa.	u'vaiyauq·ᴜ
said,	"They (2) are sleeping,"	said.	Thereupon

na·n·ɔ·'ᵊc·o'o'q·w	ųwa'ruγwap̓·ïγa'aik·w.	iyɛ'nᴜ,	a'ip·ïγa
by himself it (inv.)	gave it (inv.) to her.	"Here is,"	said

cɩna'ŋwaφɪ,	nɩŋwu'mp	aʀï	a'ip·ïγa	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ'vaiyauq
coyote,	"liver	it,"	said	coyote.	Thereupon

qwɩ'yaγantï	nɩŋwu'mpɩ	ᴜˣqwa'i'	tïˣqa'p·ïγa'aik·ᴡᴀ.	ųnɩ'ts·
grizzly bear	liver (obj.)	it (obj.)	ate it (inv.).	Then

ᴀ'pï'i'pïγa	qwïrɩ'k·ɪpïγa	sɩna'ŋwavɩ	ma·ru'arup·ïγa
slept;	got up,	coyote (obj).	jumped and reached for,

cɩna'ŋwaφɪ	na·ᵃγa't·ɩŋqïp·ïγa.[14]	ųnɩ'ŋuts·	pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa''aiŋw
coyote	dodged quickly.	Then	killed her (inv.),

ma·n·ɔ'q·ᴜ	ma·'ᵃvïa'aŋw	na·'avaip·ïγa	tïγa'nˣpïγa'aiŋw
all (obj.)	her (in.) things (obj.)	gathered,	butchered her (inv.),

pᴜˣqwɩ''aŋw	ųŋwa'i'pïγa	ma·'ᵃvïmᴀ.
her (inv.) bladder (obj.)	hung up	on brush.

ųnɩ'ŋuts·	sųma'i'qa'aip·ïγa''aik·ᴡᴀ.	u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·n·ɔ'q̇·ɔq·'
Then	remembered it.	Thereupon	all (obj.) of them (inan.)

ma·'ᵃvïa·ŋw	nɔ·'ᵊp·ïγa	qa'iva·vɩtcit·ŋ̥nɩ	a·nɩ'k̥·aip·ïγa
her (inv.) things (obj.)	carried away on his back,	like plateau	did

ma·′^{a}vuŋw	u′ʀ.	ųnι′ŋuts·	nɔ'ɔ′q·^{x}ᴜpïγaaik·w
her (inv.) things	they (inan. inv.).	Then	started to carry them (inv.) on his back,

pa·γä′in^{yx}qw'ιp·ïγa	tɔ·vι′'ιts·.	ųnι′ŋuts·	cumą′iʻqaiʻpïγaaik·w
went off	for short distance.	Then	remembered about it (inv.)

pᴜʻqwι′vι	u′rü	ųwa′iʻk̯ainaϕï	ųnι′ŋuts·	pa·yι′ŋ^{x}pïγa
bladder (obj.)	it (inv. obj.)	his own hanging.	Then	started back

o·′ṗ·ac·	ųnι′ŋuts·	ᴍᴀʻtca′i'αŋqïp·ïγa'aik·w	ųnι′ts·	pᴜ^{x}quι′v
through that (inv.) same way,	then	reached for it (inv.).	Then	bladder

u′ʀ	wï'i′k·ᴜpïγa	tïv^{w}ι′ṗ·uv^{w}a·ntux·w.	ï′vaiyauq·^{x}ᴜ	cιna′ŋwav
it (inv.)	dropped down	on to ground.	Thereupon	coyote

a′ip·ïγa,	yι'u′χwa·^{a}yι'	ǫ′nɪ,	a′ip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaϕɪ.	pa·γa′i'^{i},
said,	"Why don't you get a leg?"		said	coyote.	"Walk!"

a′ip·ïγa,	nιŋwï′χaiʏᴜ	ų′nɪ,	a′ip·ïγa	cιnąwaϕɪ.	ʻa·tcï′αϕï
said,	"like person	do in that way!"	said	coyote.	His own bow (obj.)

^{u}'u′raiŋ^{x}pïγa	^{yu}'wa′vaiyuŋ^{x}pïγai'ιk·w	^{ux}qwι′yuαϕï.	ųnι′ŋuts·
went for it,	brought them (inan. inv.) back	his own arrows (obj.).	Then

qᴜʻqwι′p·ïγa'aik·w	ᴜʻqwι′yu'ųŋʻ	ma·n·ü′n·i	tᴜʻp^{w}i′k·ᴜpïγa.
shot it (inv.)	his (inv.) arrows,	all	were used up.

ųnι′ŋuts	ʻa·^{a}tcι′m'aq·uϕ	kwɪʻpa′p·ïγa.	ʻųnι′ŋuts·
Then	with his own bow it (inv.)	struck.	Then

cįmį′^{x}pïγa'aik·w	paiyι′ŋ^{x}ᴜpïγa	'u′raʻ.
let it (inv.) go,	started back	towards it.

na·^{a}ŋqa′p·ïγa	pᴜ^{x}qwι′vι	aιmpa′γaux·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaϕɪ,	nį"
Heard	bladder	talking	coyote,	"I

MUˣqwι′χaᵘᵞw’aivä·nɪ	nį′nι	tuwa′tsιŋwαʿ.	ų·′mąiʿ,	a′ip·ïγa
I shall go to call for help	my	children (obj.)."	"Yes,"	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ųnι′ŋuts·	pa′iyιq·wᵓ’ɔip·ïγa	qa·nι′av	u′ra
coyote.	Then	went returning	his own house	toward it,

pι′tcιχwa’aip·ïγa	qa·nι′va·φï	ɔ′vaιyauq·ˣ	a′ip·ïγa
went and arrived	at his own house.	Thereupon	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	cʊ·′q·ᴜcutcιn	ini″a·m·antïγa·ŋʿ	NAʿcï′mʷįʿ,
coyote,	"Just one (obj.) I did	of her things	forget,"

a′ip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ųnι′ts·	tïvʷa′ts	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï′’ʿcą’ʿ
said	coyote.	Then	wolf	said,	"Go ahead!

ta·ųwa′iˣk̯aiyuwa’ᵃ.[15]	cιna′ŋwaφɪ	ʿų·′mąiʿ,	a′ip·ïγa
go and hang by your feet."	Coyote	"Yes,"	said,

ᵘ’ʊ·′ˣpa·ᵃp·ïγa.	ųnι′ts·	wa’a′p·ïmʿ	ną·ų′waip·ïγa
went through yonder way.	Then	on cedar	hung himself,

ųwa′iˣk̯aip·ïγa	sʊ·′yuc	taᵃva′mA.	ųnι′ŋuts·	pa·yι′k·ɪpïγa
was hanging	just one	on day.	Then	started to return,

pι′tcʿpïγa	qa·nι′va·φï.	ųnι′ŋuts	ivä′tcι	ǫnɔ′t·Aʿcïaŋqʿ
arrived	at his own house.	Then	early	when it was early morning

tïvʷa′ts·	qa·′p·ïγa	a′ip·ïγa	tïvʷa′ts·,	ïvʷï′’ʿcą’ᵃ
wolf	sang;	said	wolf,	"Go ahead,

cιna′ŋwaφɪ	ną·′ųŋwa.iχ̯wa’a′ic·ᴜ.	ʿų′mai,	a′ip·ïγa
coyote!	go and hang yourself again.	"Yes,"	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ	ʊ·′ˣ·pa·ᵃp·ïγaic·	ųnι′ŋuts	uvʷa·′c·	na·-
coyote,	again went off through yonder way;	then	there again	hung

u′ŋwaip·ïγa.	ųnι′ŋuts·	cʊ·′ʸut·a·vam·αc·	ųwa′iˣk̯aip·ïγa.
himself.	Then	on one day again	was hanging.

ųnι′ŋuts·	tᴀ‘ci′p·aux·ᴜ	paiyι′k·ɪpïɣa	pi′tcɪpïɣa	qa·nι′va·ϕ.
Then	when it was evening	started to return,	arrived	at his own house.

tï′c·amp	ųnι′nïmpïɣa	cιna′ŋwaϕɪ.	ɔ′vaiyauq·ᴜ
Always	kept doing thus	coyote.	Then

cιna′ŋwaϕɪ	tιa′vï	ųmʷα′ntï	uru′vʷïχap·ïɣa.	paiyι′k·ɪpïɣa
coyote	service-berry bush	from it	obtained arrow sticks.	Started to return

qa·nι′av	u′ra	pι′tc‘pïɣa	qanι′va·ϕ	uru′vʷï	ma·ntsa′ŋwιnap·ïɣa.
his own house (obj.)	toward,	arrived	at his own house,	arrow sticks (obj.)	threw down in pile.

‘ųnι′ŋuts·	tïvʷa′ts·	tïŋwi′niᴀ	tu′u′m‘pïɣai′ιk·w	uru′vʷï
Then	wolf	hurriedly	picked them (inan.) up	arrow sticks (obj.)

ᴜ‘qwa′i‘	ma·ᵃru·′ᵘm′ιŋˣᴜpïɣai′ιk·w	ᴀ‘sι′′aiyaq̇·ˣw	ta·′ᵃ′ᵘrup·ïɣa
them (obj.),	pulled it off	their (inan. inv.) bark (obj.),	made shirt

cιna′ŋwavιyaŋw	uvʷa·′ᵃntï	ᴀ‘sι′aiya·q·ˣ	ta·′ᵃ′rüŋˣpïɣaiᴀˣ-
coyote (obj.) he (inv.)	from on top	their (vis. inan.) bark (obj.)	made shirt (of) it

qaaŋ‘.[16]	ųnι′ts·	na·n·ɔ·′ᵓv	ųni′ŋk‘pïɣa	uru′q̇·wa·ᵃxtï
for him.	Then	for himself	made for	from below

ᴀ‘sι′aiyaq·ˣw	ᴜ‘qwa′i‘	ma·ᵃru′′ᵘmiŋᴜpïɣai′ιk·w.	uruc	ųnι′ŋuts
their (inan. inv.) bark	it (obj.)	pulled it (inv.) off.	These (inan.)	then

ᴜˣqwι′ųnι‘	naiya′ṗ·a·ᵃŋˣpïɣa.	ųnι′ts·	ˣwɪ‘cι′avι	u′mw
like arrows	turned into.	Then	feathers (obj.)	on them

ma·ᵃva′t̓caŋˣpïɣa.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ˣ	a′ip·ïɣa	tïvʷα′ts·,	ïvʷï′′ca′ᵃ
fastened on.	Thereupon	said	wolf,	“Go ahead!

ųwa′iˣk̭a.iχwa′ᵃ.	ų′mąi‘,	a′ip·ïɣa	cιna′ŋwaϕɪ	u′x·ṗa·ᵃp·ïɣa
go and hang!”	“Yes,”	said	coyote,	went off in yonder way,

uvʷa	qa·rï′p·ïγa	cιʻna′ŋwaφɪ.	tïvʷι′ŋˣᴜpïγa	ma·n·ɔ′q·ˣᴜ
there	stayed	coyote.	Asked	all (obj.)

nιŋwï′′aiya·φï	ųnι′ts·	ma·rï′c·	pιya′iʻpïγa	qwᴀʻcι′yaŋ
his own body (obj.),	then	that (inan.)	was left	his tail

a′ʀï.	ųnι′ts	a′ip·ïγa	cιną′waφɪ,	i′mɪ	nïvʷi′naŋqɔavatc
it.	Then	said	coyote,	“You	wont to come behind me,

imi′ntcu’ᵘ	tümpa′γaʻ.	anι′aχa’aiŋqwɔ’	aimįʻ	pa·vι′n
you (inter.)	have mouth?	What, pray, did	always say	my elder brother

uŋwᴀ	tą·ųwa′iˣk̭aiγwa’	aiγaʻ.	qwᴀʻcι′′ŋw	a′ip·ïγa,	ʻi′mɪ
he	‘Go and hang by your feet,’	saying?”	His (inv.) tail	said,	“You

pᴜʻtcu′tcuγwa’yïq·w	a′iy	ιgïr	a′imιᴀ.	na·′uŋwaiγwa’ai’ⁱ
understand it (inv.),	that (obj.) you	indeed	always say.	‘Go and hang yourself!’

a′intcua·ŋ	ʻa′imιʻ	uru′vʷïγaχwɔ’ai’ⁱ	a′ia·ŋ	gïr	ʻa′imιʻ.
that (inter.) he	always says;	‘Go and get arrow sticks,’	that he	indeed	always says.”

ų·′mąiʻ	ųmą′ɪcampaʻᵃ’a·′[17]	nï′′q·w	pᴜʻtcu′tcuγwai’yïq·w
“Yes,	only that (obj.) you!	I it (inv.)	know it (inv.),”

a′ip·ïγa	cįna′ŋwaφɪ.
said	coyote.

u′vʷaiyauq·	uru′vʷïχap·ïγa	cįna′ŋwaφɪ	tïvʷι′tsιava′′anʻ
Then	obtained arrow sticks	coyote,	very many

nɔ·′p·ïγa	qa·nι′va·φï	pι′tcιγwa’aip·ïγa.	ųnι′ts·	pa·vι′′ιŋw
carried on his back,	at his own house	went and arrived.	Then	his elder brother

uru′q·ᴜpïγa	ᴜˣqwι′yuιʻ	ta·′ᵃ’urup·ïγa	tïvʷι′ts	ʻa·va′′anʻ
made arrows	arrows (obj.),	made shirts	very	many

pïma′uɸï	na·′uq·wɩŋqu′t̓·u′ava·ᵃnᴀ.[18]	ï′vʷaiyauq·‘	tïvʷa′ts·
wherewith their own	being about to fight.	Then	wolf

qa·′p·ïγa	ɩ·′tcuq·ᴜ,	ïvʷï′’ca’ᵃ,	a′ip·ïγa	tïvʷa′ts·,
sang	when it was morning,	"Go ahead!"	said	wolf,

cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ,	na·u′ŋwaiχwɔ’aic·ᴜ,	a′ip·ïγa	tïvʷα′ts·.
"Coyote,	again go and hang yourself,"	said	wolf.

sɩ‘nα′ŋwαɸɪ	pᴜ‘tcu′tcuγwa’αp·ïγa	ampa′γana’aŋwᴀ.
Coyote	understood	his (inv.) talking.

qa′tc	ɔ′vaiyauq·	ųwa′iˣk̭aip·ïȧ’ᵃ	uru′vʷïγap·ïγa	tïvʷi′ts
Not	this time	was hanging,	obtained arrow sticks	very

‘a·va′’an‘.	ɔ′vaiyauq·	aŋqa′q·wɪcarï‘	pïnɩ′k̭·aip·ïγa
many.	Then	lightning (obj.)	saw

i·vɛ′tcï‘	tïvʷa′‘	tïvʷɩ′p·ï‘	qïŋwa·′ᵃva·ᵃntï‘.	‘aa′ik·wɪ
way off	in west	land (obj.)	at edge.	"Oh!"

a′ip·ïγa	cɩ̨na′ŋwaɸɪ,	umʷa′r	aro·′’avï	a·γa′n	a·ni′ntc‘,
said	coyote,	"that (inan.)	might be	how	doing?"

a′ip·ïγa	cɩ̨na′ŋwaɸɪ.	‘α̨	puwa′ru’ʷa′iyuru’αnɪ,	a′ip·ïγa
said	coyote.	"Why!	Am I obtaining supernatural power?"	said

cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ,	na·rï′vʷɩ	puaγantï	nɩ̨′’,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ.
coyote;	"always	medicine-man	I,"	said	coyote.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ	paiyɩ′q·wɔ’aip·ïγa	ɴᴜˣqwɩ′mⁱ’yap·ïγa
Then	coyote	went returning,	rushed along,

qa·nɩ′va·ɸ	pi′tcɩχwa’aip·ïγa.	ųnɩ′ts	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ
at his own house	went and arrived.	Then	said	coyote,

nɩ̨′’	aŋqa′q·wɪ‘carï‘	pïⁱni′k̭·a‘,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ.
"I	lightning (obj.)	see,"	said	coyote.

pa·vɩ′’ɩŋw	tïvʷɩ′ts	ᵃ’a′t·ïmpᴜʻtcu′tcuγwa’ap·ïγa’aik·ᴡᴀ
His (inv.) elder brother	very	well understood it (inv.)

aŋqa′q·ᴡɪʻcarï	ʻɔa′iᴀ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ˣw	a′ip·ïγa	pa·ᵃvɩ′’ɩŋw
lightning (obj.)	that (obj.).	Then	said	his (inv.) elder brother,

ïvʷï′’ca’ᵃ	uru′vʷïχaχwa’ᵃ.	ų·′mąiʻ,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
“Go ahead!	go and get arrow sticks.”	“Yes,”	said	coyote.

o·′x·pa·ᵃp·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwav	u′vʷa·ᵃntï	uru′vʷïγap·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
Went off in yonder way	coyote,	being there (obj.)	gathered arrow sticks;	coyote

aŋqa′q·ᴡɪʻcarïʻ	püni′k̭·aip·ïγa	co·′q·ᴜ.	sɩʻnα′ŋwαφɪ
lightning (obj.)	saw	one (obj.).	Coyote

tᴀʻpu′q·ᴡɪpïγa	ma·ᵃva′ˣtïγanįʻ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	pa·yɩ′q·wɔ’aip·ïγa
jumped	to big distance.	Then	went returning

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	ɴᴜˣqwɩ′mⁱ’yap·ïγa.	ųnɩ′ts·	cirï′’ⁱʻpïγa
coyote,	rushed along.	Then	was afraid,

qa·nɩ′va·φï	pɩ′tcɩγwa’aip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.	ʻaa′ik·w
at his own house	went and arrived	coyote.	“Oh!

pa·ᵃvɩ′nɪ	tca·ᵃγɩ′p·	a·′ᵘφɪ	nį’	aŋqa′q·ᴡɪcarïʻ
my elder brother,	near	now	I	lightning (obj.)

pųini′k̭·a’aik·ᴡᴀ.
see it (inv.).”

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pa·ᵃvɩ′’ɩŋw	ʻa′ip·ïγa,	cɩna′ŋwav	ïvʷï′’ca’ᵃ
Then	his elder brother	said,	“Coyote,	go ahead!

uru′vʷïγaχwɔ’aic·ᴜ,	a′ip·ïγa.	ų·′mąiʻ,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
again go to obtain arrow sticks,”	said.	“Yes,”	said	coyote,

u′x·ṗa·p·ïγa.	ųnɩ′ts	u′vʷa·ᵃntï	uru′vʷïγap·ïγa	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·
went off in yonder way.	Then	there	obtained arrow sticks,	thereupon

aŋqa′q·wɪ‘caʀï	tïvʷɩ′ts·	tca·γɩ′p·	u̧nɩ′ŋupïγa.	cɩ′na′ŋwaφɪ
lightning	very	near	did.	Coyote

tï′ŋwɩnɩ‘	payɩ′ŋˣupïγa	qa·nɩ′va·φ	pɩ′tcɩγwa’aip·ïγa.	‘a′ik·w
hurriedly	started to return,	at his own house	went and arrived.	"Oh!"

a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ,	impï′′	anɩ′k̯·a‘	pïⁱni′avɩχa‘
said	coyote,	"What (obj.) you	are doing	lying down and looking?

umʷa′nˣk̯aimi′aγwar’ɔnoᴀ.[19]	u̧ni′vɩtcɩt·ï′γ·a	uŋwα′c	tïvʷa′tc
One should not be doing thus."	While being attacked	he (inv.)	wolf

aŋ‘	pï̧ŋqa′a·vɩ′p·ïγa.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·	a·′p·ɔ·rüŋqa′nɩ
he	kept lying down.	Then	cave (obj.)

uvʷa̧′uŋwɪtuγwa′mï	qᴀ‘qa′ʀpïγa’aimï.
into it they (inv.)	they (2 inv.) escaped.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ˣu	tïvʷα′ts	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï′′ca’	i′mɪ
Then	wolf	said,	"Go ahead!	you

na·ᵃγu′q·wɩŋqï′t̛·u’ᵘ,	a′ip·ïγa	tïvʷa′tc	aŋ‘.	‘u̧·′ma̧ɩ‘,
fight,"	said	wolf	he.	"Yes,"

a′ip·ïγa	cɩʌna′ŋwaφɪ,	imi′ntcu’ˠa·′q·‘	nï̧′ni	pï̧ŋwa′ntuγwaq·ai-
said	coyote,	"You (inter.) it (vis.)	my	on whom my

n·ɩanan‘.[20]	imi′′	‘a·ru′′	um·ʷα′nɪk̯aivä·ntï	nï̧′ni
depending?	You	are	in that way being about to be doing	my

na·γu′q·wɩŋqït̛·u’aux·u.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·u	sɩʌna′ŋwαv	aŋ‘
when fighting."	Then	coyote	he

qu‘tca′q·arïᴀ	ma·ᵃ’a′q·aip·ïγa	tüŋqa′nɩ	uvʷi′mɪtux·w
light gray (obj.)	had on,	cave (obj.)	out of it

ts·pɩ′ŋupïγa.	‘aa′ik·w	tïvʷα′ts·,	‘a′ik·‘pïγa	u̧wa′rï
emerged.	"Oh!	wolf,"	said (pl.)	rain (obj.)

tuwa′tsɩŋwï.	qa·′tc‘	aro′′ᵒ	tïvʷa′tsɩa’ap·‘	cɩ′nα′ŋwav
children.	"Not	it is	wolf (neg.),	coyote

aru′'^{u},	a′ik·ʽpïγa	umα′ŋwantï.	cιʽna′ŋwav	uwι′ŋwaγantï
it is,"	said (pl.)	from among them.	Coyote	canyon (obj.)

uv^{w}a′'a·x·ɪ	tᴀʽpu′q·wɪpïγa	paiyι′ŋᴜpïγa	cιna′ŋwav	o·′p̓·ac·.
over it	jumped,	returned	coyote	through that same way.

ï′v^{w}aiyauq·	a′ip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	ïv^{w}ï′'ca'	i′m
Then	said	coyote,	"Go ahead!	you

a·′^{u}φɪ	na·γu′q·wιŋqï′t̓·u'^{u}.	u̧·′mąiʽ,	a′ip·ïγa	tïv^{w}a′ts
now	fight."	"Yes,"	said	wolf

aŋʽ,	i′mɪ	qa′tcʽ	nï̧′nι	pï̧nι′k̹·aiva·ŋwa'	u̧ni′nanɪ
he,	"you	not	me	will look at (neg.)	my doing,

pu'^{w}ι′yaφï	wɪʽtu′v^{w}uaq·aivaʽ.	u̧′maiʽ,	a′ip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
own eyes (obj.)	will keep covered."	"Yes,"	said	coyote.

u̧nι′ts·	cιna′ŋwav	a·vι′p·ïγa.	pa·^{a}vι′'ιŋw	tïv^{w}ι′ts
Then	coyote	lay down.	His (inv.) elder brother	very

^{a}'a′t·ïʽ	ma·′^{a}'aq·aip·ïγa	sa·γwa′χa·r	uru′'ap·ïγa
good (obj.)	had on,	blue	it was,

sɔ·'ι′tsιnιʽ[21]	na·ya′φᴀ^{x}qaip·ïγa.	ï′v^{w}aiyauq·ᴜ	tïŋqa′nι
like soldier	looked.	Then	cave (obj).

uv^{w}ι′mɪtux·w	ts·pι′ŋᴜpïγa.	ʽa′ik·w	um^{w}α′ŋa·q·ʽ,	a′ik·ʽpïγa
from it	came out.	"Oh!	it is that one,"	said (pl.)

u̧′warï	tuwa′tsιŋw.	tïv^{w}a′ts·	qᴜʽqwι′p·ïγa	ini′t·ux·w
rain (obj.)	children.	Wolf	shot	at this

yaγa·′^{a}mantïa·q·w	u̧nι′ts	uru′c	qɔɔ′i'na·p·ïγa.	u̧nι′ts
at its end,	then	it (inv.)	was mowed down.	Then

ina′ŋqwᴀʽpatcïʽ	yaγa·′^{a}mantïγa·q·w	qᴜʽqwιp·ïγa′aic·ᴜ	ʋ·′p̓·ac
on other side from this	at its end	again shot,	again in that way

a·nι′ŋᴜpïγa	qɔ·ɔ′i'na·p·ïγa.	ɔ′v^{w}aiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ
did	was mowed down.	Then	coyote

pïinɩ′k̭·aip·ïγa	ųwa′vatcïʿ	pa·ᵃvɩ′aφï.	a′ik·wɪ,	a′ip·ïγa,
looked	at him	his own elder brother (obj.)	"Oh!"	he said,

umʷa′rïar′uwa·ŋʿ	nį′nɩ	a·′γawantcɩŋqïmʷįʿ	pa·vɩ′nɪ
"that (inan. obj.) (inter.) he	me	has been hiding from	my elder brother?

qʊʿqwɩ′t̕·u′a′c·uyaγwa·ᵃŋanoʿ,	a′ip·ïγain·ɩʿ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.
Would he would get shot!"	thought	coyote.

tïvʷɩ′ts·ampʿ	cɩna′ŋwavɩ	pa·vɩ″ɩŋw	pᴀˣqa′ŋʊtïxpïγa.
Truly indeed	coyote (obj.)	his (inv.) elder brother	was killed.

ʿaa′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ,	nį′nɩ	pa·ᵃvɩ′nɪ	pᴀˣqa′ŋʊtïʿ,
"Oh!"	said	coyote,	"my	my brother	is killed,"

a′ip·ïγa.	nɩŋwü′ntsɩŋw	amʿ	co·′vʷantïmw	ma·ᵃnɔ′q·ɔ
said.	People	they	others	all (obj.)

ma·′ᵃvïa′aŋw	qwïγwï′xpïγa′aik·w.
his (inv.) clothes (obj.)	took (pl.) them (inan. inv.).

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ˣʊ	pa·ᵃna′x·qwa′aip·ïγa.	ma·ᵃva′ʿcampa·ᵃŋʿ
Then	went and returned (pl.).	"There only he

cɩna′ŋwav	a′ŋʿ	tünqa′nɩyav	a·va′ŋwɪ	ʸⁱ′a′iq·wᵓ′aiväʿ,
coyote	he	his own cave (obj.)	in it	shall die off,"

a′ik·ʿpïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ʿ	cɪʿcɩ′mïap·ïγa′aiŋw	cɩna′ŋwavɩ
said (pl.).	Then	left (pl.) him (inv.)	coyote (obj.)

ųna·′ᵃγɩt·ux·w	tüŋqa′nɩʿ	unɩ′ts·	pa·ᵃna′x·qwɔ′aip·ïγa.
inside it	cave (obj.),	then	went and returned (pl.).

kiya′p·ï	tïγa′iˣk̭′aip·aˣpïγa	ma·′ᵃv	uʀ	ma·′ᵃnɔq·ɔ
Round dance	took place while journeying;	clothes	they (inv. inan.)	all (obj.)

ųmʷu′vʷ′ant̕ux·w	kwɪʿpa′mɪpïγa.	waa·′q·ʊ	mauma′ᵃ′cɔγɔɪtsɩŋwa
on to them	were thrown.	Two (obj.)	old women (obj.)

ʿa·mu′vʷ′ant̕ux·w	kwɪʿpa′mɩnïmpïγa	maa·′v	aʀ	tïvʷα′tsɩʿ
on to them	were wont to be thrown	clothes	they (inan.)	wolf (obj.)

maa·′′a·ŋʽ.	tᴀʽcι′aŋqᴜ	kiya′p·ïa’amʽ	ɔ’a′xavatcuγwap·ïγa
his clothes.	When it was morning	round dance (obj.) they (inv.)	(2) went into it

wa·′m·a·ᵃ’cɔγʷɔitsιŋw	pivi′av	amʽ
two old women	their own mothers	they.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιʽna′ŋwav	a′ŋʽ	ïvʷι′nɪ,	aip·ïγa,	nï′ni
Then	coyote	he,	“Let me,”	said,	“my

pa·ᵃvι′tsιɛnʽ	ma·′ᵃvïa’a′ŋʽ	yu’ʷa′xwɔ’aivä̀ʽ,	a′ip·ïγa
my little elder brother (obj.)	his (inv.) clothes (obj.)	shall go to bring,”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ	pa·ᵃγa′nʸˣqwιp·ïγa
coyote.	Then	coyote	started to go

na·ᵃŋwa′ˣᴜpa’a·mʽ	tïvʷi′ts	ɔɔ′i’aip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwav	a′ŋʽ.
through their tracks;	very	was lean	coyote	he.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ʽiva·′ᵃnʽ	atcï′p·ïγavaʽ,	a′ip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
Then	“Here I	shall put away bow and arrows,”	said	coyote.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ʽ	ųnι′p·ïγa	ʽa·ᵃtcï′	ᴀˣqa′iʽ	yuna′′aip·ïγa
Then	did so,	bows (obj.)	them (inan.)	put down in several places

pɔ·′p·a’ᵃ	cιna′ŋwav	a′ŋʽ.	yuu·′ru’a′p·ïγa	ųnι′m’’ya′χaic·
along trail	coyote	he.	Became fat	again doing so on his way

o·′p·a’ᵃ	na·ŋwa′vιʽ	cιʽna′ŋwav	aŋʽ.	cuwa′ŋwᴀʽtcï′p·ïγa’aimʽ
through that	tracks (obj.)	coyote	he.	Nearly caught up with them (inv.)

qa·nι′p·ïvʷa·ᵃnt	u′ʀ	qʊ·n	u′ʀ	na·ᵃna′′aip·ïγaaic·.
at deserted camp	it (inv.),	fire	it	still was burning in several places.

ʽa′ik·w,	aip·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pa·ᵃγa′nʸˣqwιp·ïγa
“Oh!”	said	coyote.	Then	started off

miyα′naŋwavι	o·′p·a’ᵃ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγa,
traveled track (obj.)	through it.	Then	coyote	said,

itc	aro''avïʻ	a·γa'nɪ	ʻa·ni'ntcʻ,	a'ip·ïγa	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ,
"This (inan.)	would be	how	doing?"	said	coyote,

i'vä·nt	aʀ	ⁱ'i'tcïαʻ	mïˀa·'ᵃntsɩγαntïʻ	ava·'ᵃntïʻ,
"here	it	this (obj.)	little divide (obj.)	thereat?"

a'ip·ïγa	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.
said	coyote.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	nïŋwu'aiyauφï	ma·ᵃnɔ'q·ᴜ	tïvʷi'ŋᴜpïγa
Then	his own body (obj.)	all (obj.)	asked

cɩna'ŋwav	aŋʻ.	na·ŋqa'vaiyaφï	tïvʷi'ŋᴜpïγa,	ⁱ'itc
coyote	he.	His own ear (obj.)	asked,	"This (inan.)

arɔ'amɩʻ	a·γa'n	a·ni'ntcʻ,	a'ip·ïγa	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.
always is	how	doing?"	said	coyote.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	na·ŋqa'v'aŋw	yɔ'ɔix̯pïγa	qa'tc	a·mpa'x·pïˀa'ᵃ
Then	his (inv.) ear	fluttered,	not	talked (neg.)

naŋqa'v'aŋʷ	uʀ.	ma·rï'campᴀ	qwᴀʻcɩ'yaŋ	aʀ	piya'iɪpïγa.
his (inv.) ear	it (inv.).	That (inan.) alone	his tail	it	was left.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna'ŋwav	a'ip·ïγa,	imi'ntcu'	tümpa'γaʻ
Then	coyote	said,	"You (inter.)	have mouth,

nïvʷi'naŋqɔavatc,	a'ip·ïγa	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
being wont to come behind me?"	said	coyote.	Then

qwᴀʻcɩ'yaŋ	ar	a'ip·ïγa,	i'mɪ	pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwar'ïq·w
his tail	it	said,	"You	knowing it (inv.),

a'i	ïγïr	ʻa'imɩʻ.	u'vʷaiyauq·w	a'ip·ïγa	qwᴀʻcɩ'aŋ
that you	indeed	always say."	Then	said	his tail

aʀ	cɩna'ŋwavɩ,	i'tcï	ⁱ'i'tcïαʻ	mïγa·'ᵃntsɩγantïʻ
it	coyote (obj.),	"This (inan.)	'This (inan. obj.)	little divide (obj.)

ava·ˊᵃntï	a'i'namı	wa·'ın·aᵃ'cɔγwɔitsıŋwa‘	a·nı'minᴀ,
thereat,'	your saying	two old women (obj.)	always doing,"

a'ip·ïγa	qwᴀ‘cı'yaŋ	aʀ.	ma·'ᵃ'caγwɔitsıŋʷ	u'mʷ
said	his tail	it.	"Old women	they (inv.)

a'imintïm‘,	uvʷ'a·'ᵃc·ampaŋw	tüŋqa'nıav	uvʷą'ŋwı
always saying (plur.),	'There only he (inv.)	his own cave (obj.)	therein

ya'a'iq̇·wɔ'aivä‘,	a'ip·ïγa'aim‘[22]	ma·ᵃmu'c	wa·'ᵃma·ᵃ'ca-
shall die off,'	said (2)	those	two old

γwɔitsıŋw	a'mï.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	a'ip·ïγa	cına'ŋwaφı,
women	they."	Then	said	coyote,

umʷa'c·ampa'a·',	a'ip·ïγa,	qwᴀ‘ci'nı	nï'q·wᴀ	ma·ᵃnɔ'q·ᴜ
"Enough of that you!"	said,	"my tail,	I it (inv.)	all (obj.)

pᴜ‘tcu't·cuγwa'yïq·w,	a'ip·ïγa	cına'ŋwaφı.
know it (inv.),"	said	coyote.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cına'ŋwaφı	pa·ᵃγa'nʸˣqwıp·ïγa	o·'pa'ᵃ
Then	coyote	started of	through that

miya'vɔ·ᵊ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pï̧ni'k̯·aip·ïγa	waa·'ma·ᵃ'caγwɔitsıŋwa‘
traveled trail (obj.).	Then	saw	two old women (obj.)

mïγa·'ᵃntsıγantï	uvʷa·'ᵃntï‘	pɔ·ᵊru'm'amoφï	tïvʷı'p·ï‘
little divide (obj.)	there	with their (2) own canes	ground (obj.)

kwı‘kwi'p·ᴀpïγa.	maa'ip·ïγa'aim‘,	uvʷa·'ᵃc·ampaŋw	cına'ŋwaφı
hit several times.	Said (2) thus,	"There only he (inv.)	coyote

ya'a'iq̇·wɔ'aivä‘	ya·γa'n·av	umʷa'naŋqw,	a'ip·ïγa'aim‘
shall die off	his own crying	with it,"	said (2)

wa·′m·a·ᵃ’caγwɔitsɯŋw.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna′ŋwav	a·′γap·ï̜ni′-
two old women.	Then	coyote	in hiding

k̯·aip·ïγa’aim	ųni′χ̯’um‘.	cɩ‘nʌ′ŋwaφɪ	tïvʷɩ′ts·
watched them (2)	their (2) doing so.	Coyote	very

na·ᵃŋ’a′i’aip·ïγa	pï̜ni′k̯·aiχ̯’umï.	nï̜′ŋwum‘	mʷï̜mʷi̜′‘
was angry	seeing them (2).	“I you (pl.)	you (pl. obj.)

ʸi’a′it’·ïiva·ŋ’um‘,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
will cause you (pl.) to die,”	said	coyote.	Then

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	pa·ᵃγa′nʸˣqwɩp·ïγa	qïma′ŋwɪ‘tux·w	pɔ·′ᵓ
coyote	started off	otherwards	trail (obj.)

uγu′m·aŋwɩt·ux·w	mi̜′ʏɔ	uvʷa′ŋwtuγwaŋup·ïγa	wa·′ma·ᵃ’caγwɔi-
away from it,	far away	turned into it	two old women (obj.)

tsɯŋwa‘	umʷų·′uwα’mi̜ʏᴜ.[23]
	in front far away. of them

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	na·mpï′n’in·ɩp·ïγa.	‘a′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa
Coyote	looked for tracks.	“Oh,”	said

wa·′ma·’caγwɔitsɯŋw,	ci̜′naŋwa·vɩn·ɩya·′ᵃ’	‘ani′n’ni̜‘,
two old women,	“like coyote you	are doing,”

a′ip·ïγa’aim‘.	‘a′ik·w	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ,	i′tc	aro″
said they (2).	“Oh,”	said	coyote,	“this (inan.)	is

aγa′n	ani′ntc‘,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
how	doing?”	said	coyote.	Then

wa·′m·a·ᵃ’caγwɔitsɯŋw,	itcï′	’uraru″	ani′ntc‘
two old women,	“this (inan. obj.)	it is	doing

cɩna′ŋwavɩy	aŋw	pa·ᵃvi′tsɩ	pʌˣqa′vanaγaγa	uŋwa′iʌcua·m‘
coyote (obj.)	he (inv.)	elder brother (obj.)	returning (pl.) from killing	him (inv. obj.) they

cįna'ŋwavιy	aŋw	uvʷa·'ntïγwαc·	cɪʻcι'm·ïaq·ïʻ,[24]	a'ip·ïγa'aimʻ.
coyote (obj.)	he (inv.)	at that same place	are leaving,"	they (2) said.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna'ŋwav	a'ip·ïγa,	ʻα̨ʻ	nį''ïŋwᴀ
Then	coyote	said,	"(disgust),	I him (inv.)

pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa'aiγooŋʻ.	aγa'nʸˣk̯a·ᵃva·ᵃtsïχʷa·ᵃŋw'aŋw	mʷį'mwɪ
would have killed him (inv.).	Being about to act (pl.) how did you (pl.) him (inv.)	you (pl.)

pï'mpïn'ⁱˣk̯aʻ	cįna'ŋwavιy	aŋw,	a'ip·ïγa	cιna'ŋwav
be looking (pl.) on	coyote (obj.)	he (inv.)?"	said	coyote

aŋʻ.	ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna'ŋwav	a'ip·ïγa,	ᵘwa'nuntca·ᵃmʷïnʻ
he.	Then	coyote	said,	"Over there I them (inv.) have

nį'ni	pι's·'ɔatsüŋwa·nɪ	cιmʷį'x·qai'ιmʻ	ųni'tsinʻ	nį'
my	my children (obj.)	left them (inv.),	then I	I

paiyι'q·wɔ'aiväʻ,	a'ip·ïγa	cιna'ŋwaφɪ.
shall go and return,"	said	coyote.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pa·yį'ŋᴜpïγa	cιna'ŋwaφɪ.	ųnι'ts
Then	set off to return	coyote.	Then

a·'γa'mα'c·ιⁱk̯·aip·ïγa'aimʻ	mïγa·'ᵃntsιγαntï	ʊ·'vʷaʻ.
hid from them (inv.)	divide (obj.)	there.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	wa·'ma·ᵃ'caγwɔitsιŋw	o·'p̓·ac·'um	a·ᵃnι'p·ïγa
Then	two old women	in that same way they (inv.)	(2) did;

cιna'ŋwaφɪ	pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa'aimʻ.	ʻɔɔ·''ai'yαm	ma·ᵃnɔ'q·
coyote	killed them (inv. 2).	Their (inv.) bones (obj.)	all (obj.)

wɪʻtɔ'n'ⁱˣpïγa'aik·wᴀ	ųnι'ts·	cįna'ŋwaφɪ	sa·ᵃna'ŋw'aiyaφï
shook them (inan. inv.) out;	then	coyote	his own gum-penis (obj.)

o·'p̓·a'ᵃ	cι'nι'k·ʻpïγa	maᵃma·'ᵃ'caγwɔitsι	ᴀʻsι''aiʻ.	ųnι'ts
through that	stuck through	old woman (obj.)	skin (obj.).	Then

o·'ṗ·a'acųnι	na·ya'ṗ·a·ᵃŋᴜpïγa.	ųnι'ts·	co·'q·
as in that same way	got to appear.	Then	one (obj.)

una·'ᵃγιt·uγwαp·ïγa	na·ᵃnɔ·'ᵓc·ï	cιna'ŋwav	aŋʻ.	na·ŋwa''aic·
went inside her	himself	coyote	he.	Both

o·'ṗ·a'ap·ïγa'aimʻ	mi'yavɔ·ᵓ	qanι'va·mï	pi'tcιχwa'aip·ïγa.
they (2) went through that	traveled trail (obj.),	at camp they (inv.)	(2) went and arrived.

a'ik·w	cį'naŋwaviniʻ	pivi'aiaraŋw	tca·'narɔ'ɔnƭɔq·ʷaiʻ.
"Oh!	like coyote	our mother (obj.)	skin is put on self."

ʻa·nι'ᴀcųŋwunɪ	a'ik̯·aɪnιʻ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pi'tcʻpïγa'aimʻ
"That just you (pl.) me	always say."	Then	they (2) arrived

wa·'m·a'caγwɔitsiŋw	ava·'ᵃna'amʻ	tɪˣqa'p·ïγa.	a'ik·w
two old women;	much they (inv.)	(2) ate.	"Oh!

cį'naŋwavini	pιε'iaraŋwᴀ	tca·'narɔ'ɔnƭɔq·waiʻ	ʻa'iamʻ
like coyote	our mother (obj.)	skin is put on self;	behold them

ti'ŋwųnιya·''aɪnʻ	tɪʻqa'iʻ.	ta·'ᵃmpiniyaŋw	nįmʷį'ʻ
quickly they (inv.)	(2) are eating."	"You (pl.) tiring	us (excl. obj.)

a'ik̯·a·mιʻ	nιya'q·aχainųmwɪ	ųwa'iac·ᴜ	cįna'ŋwavι	niya·'ᵃvaʻ.
always say	while calling (pl.) us (excl.)	him (inv. obj.)	coyote (obj.)	at name.

ⁱ'i'nimiᴀcamṗanümwɪ	miyɔ·'rαŋwᴀ	mi'yax·ᴜ	tιγï·'ya'ιχa'aimʻ
In this way we (excl.) merely always do	long distance we (incl.)	when traveling (pl.),	when 2 are very hungry

tï'ŋwιniya'amwï	tɪˣqa'miʻ.
quickly 2	always eat."

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	kiya'p·	aʀ	tïγa'iʻpïγa	tᴀʻcι'p·aux·ᴜ
Then	round dance	it	began to take place	when it was evening;

ma·ᵃmu'c·ᴜ	waa·'ma·ᵃ'caγwɔitsιŋw	ᴀʻtï'x·ɪqarïp·ïγa
those	two old women	(2) sat and nursed

ïï·′ŋ’ap·ιtsιŋwa‘.	uni′ts·	ma·ᵃnɔ′q̇·uŋ’wamï	qwᵊ’ɔ′ip·ïγa
babies (obj.).	Then	all (obj.) of them (inv.) they	killed.

ï′vʷaiyauq·	ɔ·ᵊnɔ′t·ᴀ‘cιaŋqᴜ	‘a·ᵃmu′c·	wa·′ma·ᵃ’caγwɔitsιŋw
Then	when it was early morning	they	two old women

kιya′p·ïa’amï	u’ʷa′xavatcuγwap·ïγa’aim‘.	ųnι′ts·	wa·a′iʏᴜ
round dance (obj.) they (inv.)	they went (2) into it.	Then	two

tïvʷι′ts	ᵃ’a′t·ï	tɔγɔ′q·wᵊ’ɔitcιmʷïŋw	umʷu′nantux·w
very	good	two runners	opposite them

wïinï′p·ïγa.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·rï′c·	ma·′ᵃv’uŋw	aʀ
(2) stood.	Then	that (inan.)	his (inv.) clothing	it

tïvʷa′tsι	‘a·ᵃmu′vʷ’antux·w	kwɪ‘pa′p·ïγa	‘a·mï′ac·
wolf (obj.)	on to them	hit	them

wa·′ma·ᵃ’caγwɔitsιŋwa‘.	tᴀ‘pu′q·wɪpïγa	cιna′ŋwav	a·ᵃmu′vʷ’antï‘
two old women (obj.).	Jumped	coyote	upon them

waa·′q·w’am‘	towa′tsιŋwaa·ŋ‘.	tca·′γaγai‘.[25]	a′ip·ïγa
two (obj.) them	her children (obj.).	“Let skin be on them!”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ųnι′ts	a·mu′c·	waa′iy	am‘	towa′tsιŋwaaŋ
coyote.	Then	they	two	they	her children

arï′ᴀcu’um‘	wa·′ma·ᵃ’caγwɔitsιŋw[26]	pïᵞï′’aiya·ŋ‘	na·ro·′’aŋᴜ-
that (inan. obj.) same they 2	two old women	her skin (obj.)	came to have

pïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ	ma·ᵃva′iˣtïᵞan·ι‘
on self.	Then	coyote	far off

tᴀ‘pu′q·wɪpïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tï·′ntɔγɔq·ˣwpïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ
jumped.	Then	ran hard	coyote,

tïvʷi′ts·	miyɔ′n·ι‘	wïinï′m’yap·ïγa	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
very	far	stood while moving	coyote.

ųnɩ′ts	ʽa·ᵃmu′c·	a′ik·ʽpïγa,	ʽa·nɩ′an	ʽa′ik·ʽ
Then	they	said,	“That I	said,

cįna′ŋwavɩ	’uŋwaro’ᵃ,	a′ik·ʽpïγa.	ma·ᵃma′rɩnap·ïγa’aiŋw.
coyote	he is,”	said (pl.).	All pursued him (inv.).

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	qa·ᵃtcu′t·ɩγaiʽpïγa	a·ᵃvi′tcɩtcɩ	uvʷa″a·x·ɪ
Coyote	began to give out;	little ridge (obj.)	over it

ya′uq·wɪpïγa	tïvʷɩ′ts	ųmʷʊ·′ᵘwa’mɪ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	qatcʽ
ran	very	in front of them.	Then	not

ma′up̓·ap·ïá’ᵃ	uvʷa·′ᵃntïʽ	pᴜʽca′γaik·ʽpïγa	qatcu″uŋw
was visible (neg.);	being there (obj.)	hunted for (pl.),	not him (inv.)

ma·ᵃma′ïʽpïá’ᵃ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·	ųmʷu′ŋwantï	a′ip·ïγa,
found (pl. neg.).	Then	one of them	said,

iŋanɩya·′q·	u′c·,	a′ip·ïγa	ɩ·′t·ümpï	sa·ᵃri·′ⁱγwɩtcap·ïʽ
“This one it (is)	perhaps,”	said,	old (obj.)	dog-excrement (obj.)

ta·ŋwa′t̓·sɩq·w.	wa’a′ŋɩŋup·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	ma·ᵃva′ïʽtïγan·ɩʽ
having kicked it (inv.).	Yelled out	coyote;	far off

tʌʽpu′q·wɩts·	tï·′ntɔγɔq·wɪpïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	ma·ᵃma′rɩnap·ïγa’aiŋw
having jumped	ran hard	coyote,	all pursued him (inv.).

ųnɩ′c·	a·ᵃnɩ′ŋᴜpïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.	a·vi′tcɩtcɩ	uvʷa″a·x·ɪ
In same way	did	coyote.	Little ridge (obj.)	over it

ma·′ᵃni·ⁱcampʌ	ya′uq·wɪpïγa	sɩʽna′ŋwaφɪ	mïyï′ŋqa·nɩvïnɩ
barely	ran over	coyote;	like gopher-pile

na·ya′p̓·a·ŋᴜpïγa.	ųnɩ′c·	a·ᵃni′k·ʽpïγa.	uvʷa·′ᵃntïʽ
turned into.	In same way	did (pl.).	Being there (obj.)

pᴜʽca′γaik·ʽpïγa	qatcu″uŋw	ma·ᵃma′ïʽpïá’ᵃ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
hunted for (pl.),	not him (inv.)	found (pl. neg.).	Then

ųmʷï′ŋwantï,	i′ŋanɩa·q·	u′c·,	a′ip·ïγa	mïyï′ŋqanɩvïʿ
one of them	"This one it (is)	perhaps,"	said,	gopher-pile (obj.)

ta·ᵃŋwa′t̓·sɩq·w.	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	ma·ᵃva′iʿtïγan·ɩʿ	tᴀʿpu′q·wɪpï-
having kicked it (inv.).	Coyote	far off	again jumped;

γaaic·ᴜ	maᴀma′rɩnaq·ᴜpïγaic·′uŋw.
	again all began to pursue him (inv.).

ųnɩ′c·	a·ᵃnɩ′ŋᴜpïγa	cįna′ŋwav	a′ŋʿ	a·ᵘφɪ
In same way	did	coyote	he,	now

nïa′rïntɪʿqa′ŋ′wɪʿpïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pᴜʿca′γaik·ʿpïγa′aiŋw
turned into wind.	Then	sought (pl.) him (inv.),

qatco′′oŋw	maᴀma′iʿpïả′ᵃ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·w	a′ik·ʿpïγa,
not him (inv.)	found (pl. neg.).	Then	said (pl.),

nïvʷa·′′uŋwat̓·uik̬·a·ᵃva·ᵃraŋw.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tï′vʷɩt·
"Let us cause (pl.) snow to fall."	Then	very

nïvʷa·′ᵃŋwap·ïγa.[27]	cɩna′ŋwav	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tɩŋqa′nɩntsi
snowed.	Coyote	then	little cave (obj.)

ųna·′ᵃγɩt·uγwap·ïγa.	tïvʷi′ts	ava′′an	nïvʷa·′ŋwap·ïγa
went into it.	Very	much	snowed,

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	nïvʷa′t·a·ma′γa·p·ïγa.	ųnɩ′ts·	pi′naŋqw	qa′tc
coyote	went out to see how deep snow was.	Then	soon	not

uvʷɩ′mɪtux·wpïả′ᵃ.	qa·ts	a′ŋ	ʿa·ᵃna·′x·	qa·nɩ′χ̧aip·ïγa.
got out (neg.).	Rat	he	therein	had house.

ʿə′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ,	tïγï′vʷïnʿ	qa·′ts·
"Oh!"	said	coyote,	"my friend	rat,

cǫ·nɩ′mänt·ï′ųmɩnʿ	ma·′x·,	a′ip·ïγa.	ų·′mąiʿ,	a′ip·ïγa
some of your tinder me	give,"	said.	"All right,"	said

qa·′ts	aŋʿ	ųmʷa′ntïᵞa′aŋw	cǫ·nɩ′′aiyaφï	ma·ᵃγa′p·ïγa.
rat	he,	some of it (obj.) him (inv.)	his own tinder (obj.)	gave.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ	na'a′it̓·ïipïγa	ųnɩ′ŋumï·ts·
Then	coyote	caused to burn;	after having done so

pų'ʷi′ŋq'qup·ïγa	ųnɩ′t̓sɩŋw	qa·′tsɩ	pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγa.
made noise by sucking in between closed lips,	then him (inv.)	rat (obj.)	killed.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tɪˣqa′p·ïγa'aiŋw.
Then	ate him (inv.).

miya·′p·utsɩ'	cara′γa'nα′mpuⁱtsɩ	uvʷa′ŋwtux·wpïγa.
Little (obj.)	little shell (obj.)	went into it.

ųnɩ′ts·	nïʳa′t̓·uintɩŋwa′ntsɩaɸï	pa·ᵃva′i'pïγa'	nïa′t̓·u'ɩnt
Then	his own little wind-causer (obj.)	commenced to call,	causing to blow

a′r	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pɩ′tcɪpïγa'.	iya′t·uχwa·ᵃŋ'	nïvʷa′vɩ
it	then	arrived.	Here through him	snow (obj.)

'a·va″a·x·ɪ	ya·ŋwɩ′χwa'aip·ïγa'.	u′vʷa	tcᴀˣqï′ip·ïγa.
thereover	went carrying along.	There	stopped moving.

pïŋqa′vaaip·ïγa'aik·w	a′iʏᴜcampaŋw	qa′tc'	nɩ'yu′x·ʷpïá'.
Kept calling it (inv.);	although he (inv.) said,	not	moved.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna′ŋwaɸɪ	pïnɩ′k̭·aip·ïγa'	tɩŋqa′nɩvïatsɩαɸï
Then	coyote	saw	his own little cave (obj.),

uvʷa′ŋw	qa·rï′p·ïγa'.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	uvʷɩ′mɪtux·w
therein	sat.	Then	out of it

ts·pi′ŋᴜpïγa'.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	nɩŋwï′aai'yaŋw	pa·ᵃvɩ′aɸï
emerged.	Then	his (inv.) body (obj.)	his own elder brother (obj.)

tᴀ'cɩ′antï	uru′q·wᴀ	tᴀ'cɩ′aχa·nɩvï	u′vʷa·ᵃn'	wa·ᵃtcɩ′p·ïγa'.
dawn (obj.)	under it	ant-hill (obj.)	on it	placed.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pa′iyɩq·wᵓ'aip·ïγa'	qa·nɩ′väntuγwauɸï.
Then	went and returned	to his own house.

anι′aŋ‘ɔ	a′imι‘	pa·ᵃvι′n	uŋw,	a′ip·ïγa‘,	qatcu′aq·
“What he (inv.)	always say	my elder brother	he (inv.)”,	said,	“ ‘Not them (inan.)

itcï′‘	pï̹nι′k̯·aiva·ᵃŋwa’ᵃ	a′iχ̯a‘,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cιna′ŋwaφɪ
these (inan. obj.)	shall look at (neg.),’	saying?”	said	coyote.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·′ᵃvïa’aŋw	ma·ᵃnɔ′q·ᴜ	pï̹ⁱni′n’nip·ïγa
Then	his (inv.) clothes (obj.)	all (obj.)	looked over;

ųni′χ̯a’aik·w	pᴜ‘cu′t·ᴜqwι’yaŋ	ᴜ‘pa′ŋᴜpïγa‘.	ųnį′ŋᴜqwa’a-
while doing it (inv.)	his (inv.) medicine (obj.)	untied.	When he (inv.) did

q·wa’aŋw	tïvʷi′ts·	tuγwa′r’ιŋᴜpïγa‘.	‘a′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa‘
it (inv.)	very	became dark.	“Oh!”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	ⁱ’i′tcιyaŋ	‘a′imι‘	qatcu′αq·‘	pï̹ni′k̯·aiva·ᵃŋwa’
coyote,	“This (obj.) he	always say,	‘Not it	shall look at,’

aiχ̯a‘.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ˣᴜ	naŋqa′p·ïγa’aiŋw	‘ɔ·rɔ·′ŋwιχ̯u’uŋw
saying.”	Then	heard him (inv.)	his (inv.) roaring

uvʷa·′’ai	watci′k̯·ai’naŋw.	cι‘na′ŋwaφɪ	wa’a′ŋɪpïγa‘
there	his (inv.) having been put.	Coyote	yelled

naŋqa′t̓sιq·w,	ya·′n,	‘a′ip·ïγa‘,	ma·va·′ac·	arï′‘
having heard it (inv.),	“Here (I) am,”	said,	“in that same	it (obj.)

tιŋqa′nιvïatsiαφï,	a′ip·ïγa‘.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ
own little cave (obj.),”	said.	Then	coyote

qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγa	ᴀ‘ta′q̇·wɔtsi	wᴀ‘cι·′yai’aŋw	u′mᴀ	uru′q̇·wantï‘
shot,	crow (obj.)	his (inv.) feathers (obj.)	there-with	feathered arrow (obj.)

qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγa‘.	‘ųnι′ŋᴜqwa’aŋw	tïvʷi′t·	tuγwa′r’ιŋᴜpïγa‘.
shot.	When he (inv.) did	very	became dark.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·ᵃnï′n·ɩ	ᴡᴀʻcɩ·′yav	aʀ	tᴜʻpʷɩ′k·ᴜpïγaʻ
Then	all	feathers	they (inan.)	gave out,

ma·rï′c·amp	aŋqa′q·wa·ᵃnaŋ’wantsɩ	aŋʻ	ᴡᴀʻcɩ·′yaa·ŋʻ
only that	red-shafted flicker[28] (obj.)	he	his feathers

piya′ɪɪpïγaʻ.	ï′vʷaiyauq́·ɔq·ᴡ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	qᴜʻqwɩ′p·ïγa’aik·ᴡ
were left.	Then it (inv.)	coyote	shot it (inv.)

tuγu′ntux·ᴡᴀ.	ųnɩ̧′ŋᴜqwa’aq·wa’aŋᴡ	tcaᴀˣpï′nɪkiŋᴜpïγain·ɩʻ
upward.	When he (inv.) did it (inv.)	became clear-like in appearance,

sɩʻna′ŋwaφɪ	cuwa′iʻpïγaʻ.
coyote	was glad.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pïvʷa′’aŋwaφï	watci′k·ainᴀ	ᵘ’u′raip·ïγa.
Then	whereat his own him (inv.)	having put	went towards it.

ʻuvʷa·′ᵃntux·ᴡpïγ	ųnɩ′ŋuts·	qatc	ųnɩ′ts	u′vʷa	ʻa·vɩ′p·ïȧ’ᵃ
To that former (obj.)	having done,	not	then	there	lay (neg.)

pa·vi′ya·ᵃŋ	aŋʻ	nɩŋwï′’ᵃ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
his elder brother (obj.)	he	body.	Then	coyote

na·mpu′c·aγaip·ïγaʻ	qatcu′’uq·ᴡ	maa′ip·ïγaʻ.	pina′ŋqᴡᴀsampaq·ᴡ
looked for tracks,	not it (inv.)	found.	But soon it (inv.)

ųnɩ′χ̧aic·ᴜ	maa′ip·ïγa.	o·′x·p̓a·’aŋᴡ	na·ntï′nᴀpïγaʻ
again doing	found.	Through yonder him (inv.)	tracked

cɩ̧na′ŋwav	aŋʻ	pa·vi′av	ųnɩ′ts·	qa·nɩ′ʻ	maa′ip·ïγaʻ.
coyote	he	his own elder brother (obj.);	then	house (obj.)	found.

ʻaa′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγaʻ,	wa·a′iyumɩķ·aitcuaŋᴡ	m·ʷarï′aq·,
"Oh!"	said,	"two traveling, it turns out, (inter.) he (inv.),	that it,"

a′ip·ïγaʻ	na·mpï′n’ini·ⁱχ̧aʻ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tuγwa′r’ɩŋᴜpïγa
said	while looking around for tracks.	Then	became dark,

ųnι′ts·	qɔ′′ɔip·ïγaʿ.	ųnι′ts	ɔ·ᵊnɔ′t·ᴀʿcιaŋqᴜ	cιna′-
then	all went to sleep.	Then	when was early dawn	coyote

ŋwav	aŋ	ᴜˣqwa′iyanaχw′aip·ïγaʿ.	ųnι′ts·	ma·ᵃnɔ′q·ɔ
	he	went to get wood.	Then	all (obj.)

ma·′ᵃvïʿ	tïvʷi′ŋᴜpïγa,	ʿimi′ntcu	aro′′ᵃ	qᴜʿpa′raχavatcʿ
plants (obj.)	asked,	“You (inter.)	are	being wont to pop in burning?”

a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	qa·′tcᴜ,	a′ik·ˣpïγaʿ	cʊ·′yuc
said	coyote.	“No,”	said (pl.),	one

ųnι′ts·	pi′yaiʿpïγaʿ.	cιna′ŋwaφɪ	tïvʷι′ŋᴜpïγa′aik·w,
then	was left.	Coyote	asked it (inv.),

i′m	ʿa·ni′avatcʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	nį′′ʿ
“You	accustomed to do what?”	said	coyote.	“I

qᴜʿpa′raγavatcʿ,	a′ip·ïγa	ɔγɔntava′c·up·ï.
(am) wont to pop in burning,”	said	dried-up fir.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwav	a′ŋʿ	ma·ᵃnɔ′q·	ʋmʷa′ntï
Then	coyote	he	all (obj.)	thereof (obj.)

iyɔ′nᴀpïγaʿ.	ųnι′t̓siq·w	na′a′it̓·u′ιp·ïγa	uru′c·
carried in arms.	Having done it (inv.)	made fire;	that (inan.)

ųni′ŋuts·	qᴜʿpa′raχap·ïγaʿ.	muru′′ιva·ᵃntu′γwamɪ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ,
then	popped in burning.	“On to your blankets!”	said,

qo′nᴀ	pa·ᵃvi′nɪ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
“fire,	my elder brother,”	said	coyote.	Then

pa·ᵃvi′yaŋ	aŋʿ	tɔ·ᵊmpï′n′a·p·ïγaʿ	tï′ŋwini	aŋa′c.
his elder brother	he	doubled up legs	quickly	he.

cιna′ŋwaφɪ	maa′ip·ïγa′aiŋw	mauma′′utsïʿ	pa·ᵃvi′av	aŋʿ
Coyote	found her (inv.)	woman (obj.)	his own elder brother (obj.)	he

pi·ⁱŋwa′iʿ.	ʿanι′an	ʿa′ik·ˣ	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
wife (obj.).	“That I	said,”	said	coyote.

ïʹvʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pa·ᵃvïʹaŋ	aʹŋʻ	aʹip·ïγa,	ïvʷïʹʼcaʼᵃ
Then	his elder brother	he	said,	"Go ahead!

cɩnaʹŋwaφɪ	tïna·ʹᵃχwaʼᵃ.	ʻų·ʹmąiʻ,	aʹip·ïγaʻ
coyote,	go to hunt."	"Yes,"	said

cɩnaʹŋwaφɪ	ïʹvʷaiyauq·	o·ʹx·p̓a·ᵃp·ïγa	uvʷ	ųnɩʹŋuts
coyote.	Then	through yonder went,	there	then

a·ʹγaʼmʷïciʹa·vɩp·ïγaʻ	ρinaʹŋqwᴀ	pa·ᵃvɩʹyaŋ	aʹŋʻ
lay in hiding;	soon	his elder brother	he

tïna·ʹᵃχwaʼaip·ïγaʻ.	ïʹvʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩnaʹŋwav	a·tcïʹauφï
went to hunt.	Then	coyote	his own bow (obj.)

ma·χɔʹp·ɩʹnap·ïγaʻ.	ųnɩʹts·	paiyüʹŋᴜpïγaʻ	qa·nɩʹ	ʼuʹraʻ.
broke.	Then	started back	house (obj.)	toward.

ïʹvʷaiyauq·w	aʹip·ïγaʻ,	pa·ᵃvïʹtcuanʼ	uʹŋᴀ	qïmaʹq·uc·ᴜ
Then	said,	"My elder brother (inter.)	he (inv.)	another (obj.)

qaʹte	atcïʹʸaʼᵃ,	aʹip·ïγaʻ,	nį̈ʹniɑntcï	ɑʀï
not	has (neg.) bow?"	said;	"mine (perf.)	it

ʻa·ᵃtcïʹnɪ	qɔʻpɔʹq·w,	aʹip·ïγaʻ	cįnaʹŋwaφɪ.	qa·tcuʹa·ŋʻ
my bow	break,"	said	coyote.	"Not he

qïmaʹq·uc·ᴜ	ʻatcïʹaʼᵃ	pa·ᵃvïʼʼɩn	uʹŋwᴀ,	aʹip·ïγaʻ
another (obj.)	has (neg.) bow	your elder brother	he (inv.),"	said

maŋaʹc·ᴜ	maumaʹʼuts	aŋʻ.	ʻų·ʹmai	ʻaʹip·ïγaʻ	cɩnaʹŋwaφɪ.
that	woman	she.	"Yes,"	said	coyote.

uvʷa·ʹᵃntïγwʼaŋw	wį̈ⁱnaʹïʻpïγaʼaiŋ	tïvʷɩʹp·ïvʷa·ᵃntux·wᴀ
To there he (inv.)	threw her (inv.) down	on to ground;

ųnɩʹt̓süŋw	yɔ·χɔʹmʼmɩap·ïγaʼaiŋw.	ųʹnɪcamp̓an	o̜·nɪ,
having done to her (inv.)	kept copulating with her (inv.).	"Enough me	do!"

a′ip·ïγaʽ	ma′uma′uts	aŋʽ.	qa′tc,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	cina′ŋwaφɪ.
said	woman	she.	"No,"	said	coyote.

aŋac·	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	mauma′′uts	aŋʽ	cιya′vï	’u′raip·ïγa
She	then	woman	she	quaking asp (obj.)	moved towards,

ųni′ts	ųna·′ᵃγιt·uγwap·ïγa	ųnι′ŋuts·	cina′ŋwav	aŋʽ
then	went into it;	then	coyote	he

cιa′vï	u′mᴀ	pᴀʽtca′a·p·ïγaʽ.
quaking asp (obj.)	thereon	was fastened.

pina′ŋqᴡ	tïvʷa′ts	aŋʽ	pɪʽpi′tcɪpïγa.	ųni′ts	aŋa′c·ᴜ
Soon	wolf	he	arrived.	Then	he

cina′ŋwav	a′ŋʽ	a′ip·ïγaʽ,	pa·ᵃvi′t·ŋ̥[29]	iya′nuntcanɪ
coyote	he	said,	"My dear elder brother,	I have been here

cι′avï	ʽa′na·ᵃx·	pᴀʽtca′′a·ʽ,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	pina′ŋqᴡᴀ
quaking asp (obj.)	therein	be fastened,"	said.	Soon

a′iχ̧’uŋᴡᴀ	aŋa′c·ᴜ	tïvʷa′ts	aŋ	ᶦ’ï′t·a·mpᴀˣqap·ïγain·ιʽ.
his (inv.) saying	he	wolf	he	grew tired of.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ts·qa′p·ι’nap·ïγa’aik·w	wï’a′iyaŋw	cιʽna′ŋwavι.
Then	cut it (inv.) off	his (inv.) penis (obj.)	coyote (obj.).

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cina′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγaʽ,	pa·ᵃvi′nɪ	w’a′p·ɪʽtɔp̓·its·
Then	coyote	said,	"My elder brother,	short-penised

qa′iva·ᵃc·aɪmpanι·′χ̧a’ᵃ,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
I shall be satisfied, then, merely,"	said	coyote.	Then

tïvʷats·	pa·ᵃnɔ·′ᵒγw’ait̓·uip·ïγa’aiŋw.	ų·′mąiʽ,	a′ip·ïγaʽ
wolf	caused him (inv.) to go to carry water.	"Yes,"	said

cina′ŋwaφɪ.	ᵒ’o·′pa’ᵃ	pa·ᵃnɔ·′ᵒγw’aip·ïγa.	ųni′ŋuts·
coyote.	Off yonder	went to carry water.	Then

paiyi′k·ɪpïγaʿ	pi′tcɪpïγa	qa·nι′vaʿ.	ụni′ŋuts·	ɔʿtca′iᴀ
came back,	arrived	at house.	Then	water jar (obj.)

pa·ᵃnι′va·ᵃts·	qatcu′′q·w	qwï′ï′p·ïá′ᵃ	ʿɔ·′aiyav	u′mᴀ
being about to take off	not it (inv.)	took (neg.),	his own back (obj.)	thereon

pᴀʿtca′i′k̯ɛiʿpïγaʿ.	i′i′n·in·i·ⁱväʿcampani·ⁱχ̯a′ᵃ
remained stuck.	"I shall be doing in this way, then, merely

ɔʿtca′n′ɔ·ntn̥ni·ⁱväʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ
always about to carry water jar,"	said	coyote.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tïvʷa′ts	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï′′ʿ	ᴜˣqwa′n·ɔ·ᵊγwa′ᵃ
Then	wolf	said,	"Go ahead!	go to carry wood."

ụ′mąiʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cina′ŋwaφɪ.	ᵒ′o·′xpa′	ᴜˣqwa′n·ɔ·ᵊγw′aip·ïγa
"Yes,"	said	coyote.	Off yonder	went to carry wood,

ụnι′ts·	ɔʿtca′i′yaq·w	na·ᵃrï′iyava	ᴜˣqwa′p·ι	nɔ·′ᵒp·ïγaʿ.
then	water jar (obj.) it (inv.)	between	wood (obj.)	carried on back.

qa·nι′väʿ	pi′tcɪpïγa	ụni′ŋuts·	ma·ᵃrï′c·	ᴜˣqwa′p·	aʀ
At house	arrived,	then	that (inan.)	wood	it

qa′tcᴜ	ʿɔ·′aiya·ŋ	uγu′m·a·ŋwιt·uγwap·ïá′ᵃ.	ïvʷï′nιχ̯a′ᵃ
not	his back (obj.)	came off of it (neg.).	"Let me, then,

ᴜʿqwa′n·ɔ·ᵊntsιtcʿ	′a·′ʿ[30]	niya·′ᵃχaiväʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ
carrying wood on back	thus	shall have name,"	said

cina′ŋwaφɪ.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	na′a′it′uip̓·ïγa′aik·w	ụnι′ts
coyote.	Then	caused it (inv.) to burn,	then

ụmʷa·′′ᵃ	na·ᵃγu′tc′uap·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwav	aŋʿ.
together with it	burned up	coyote	he.

TRANSLATION.[1]

Wolf and his brother dwelt there. When it was early in the morning, Wolf sang, "Go ahead, now! Go to our aunt and ask for grass seeds.[2] What are you doing, lying down and looking?" "All right," said Coyote, "you are waking up now, but I have been awake long ago, ever since it was early morning." Coyote started off towards his aunt's house, on his way to ask for grass seeds. To her there he went and arrived at his aunt's house. His aunt was not there in her house, only her two sons were sitting there in her house. "Where is your mother?" said Coyote. "She has gone to gather seeds," said the two sons of Grizzly Bear; "she will come back soon," thus they said.

Coyote waited, lying down there in her house, and soon his aunt arrived. His aunt said, "Soon you will eat mush," thus said his aunt. "Affer instrumentum meum masturbationis[1] quod ibi jacet," said his aunt, and the children gave their mother instrumentum ejus masturbationis. Their mother took it and lay on her back. Coyote saw her and said, "My aunt, let me do it for you by means of this,[4] my auntie," said Coyote, et cum amita sua copulavit. "Enough!" said his aunt. "No," said Coyote, and Grizzly Bear put her claws into his back flesh. "Enough!" said Coyote. "No," said Grizzly Bear. Coyote got up quickly and ran off. Grizzly Bear arose and said, "Look at Coyote's back."

Coyote returned home and lay down on his back, did not allow (Wolf) to see it. His elder brother killed a young deer and brought home his back flesh. Coyote was ashamed and did not allow his back to be seen, but Wolf knew. Then he caused him to sleep, and Coyote rolled over towards him. "Did I not say so?" said Wolf. When (Coyote) rolled over, there was no back flesh of his there; in its place (Wolf) fastened on the back flesh (that he had obtained). Thereupon Coyote's back flesh again became as it had been.

Then Wolf again sang, "Go on! proceed again to her and carry this liver for her to eat. Then, having killed her, all things of her house whereon she has been accustomed to look, all her things shall you carry off on your back, having killed her," said Wolf. "Yes," said Coyote. And then Coyote walked along towards his aunt's house. Now he arrived there where were her sons—there the two of them were staying in their mother's house. "Here," said Coyote," is your uncle's liver which he says you are to eat." The two boys ate it and fell asleep. Coyote killed both of them, and then caused them to appear to be sleeping.

After a while their mother arrived home. Then she said, "Affer meum instrumentum masturbationis quod ibi jacet!" Thereupon Coyote said, "They are sleeping," said he, and of his own accord gave it to her. "Here," said Coyote, "is this liver." And then Grizzly Bear ate the liver and fell asleep. (When) she got up, she jumped and reached for Coyote. Coyote dodged quickly, and then he killed her. All her things he gathered together, butchered her, and hung up her bladder on a bush.

And then he remembered (what Wolf had told him). Thereupon all her things he carried away on his back, and those things of hers were (piled up) like a plateau. And then he started off with them on his back and walked along for a short distance, when he remembered that bladder which he had hung up. So he went back along the same road, and reached for it. And then the bladder fell down to the ground, whereupon Coyote said, "Why don't you get a leg?" said Coyote. "Walk!" he said, "act like a person!" said Coyote. He went for his bow and brought it back (with) his arrows. And then he shot his arrows at it (till) they were all used up. Then he struck at it with his bow. Then he let it go and started off back towards (his things).

Coyote heard the bladder talking, "I will go to call my children to help." "All right," said Coyote, and then started back towards his house. He arrived at his house, whereupon Coyote said, "Just one thing did I forget of her belongings,"said Coyote. Then Wolf said, "Go ahead! go and hang yourself with your feet downward." Coyote said, "All right," and went off in yonder direction. Then he hung himself on a cedar branch, remained hanging for one day. Then he started off for home, and arrived at his house. And then early in the morning Wolf sang; Wolf said, "Go ahead, Coyote! Go and hang yourself again." "All right," said Coyote, and went off in that same direction. Then in that same place he hung himself, and again for one day remained hanging. And then he started off for home when it was evening, and arrived at his house.

Always Coyote kept on doing thus. After that Coyote obtained sticks for arrows from a service-berry bush. He started to return towards his house, arrived at his house, and threw the arrow sticks down in a pile. And then Wolf picked the arrow sticks up in a hurry, pulled off their bark, and made a shirt for Coyote, from the outer bark he made a shirt for him. And then for himself he made one from their inner bark, pulled it off. And those (sticks) then turned into arrows, and then he fastened feathers on to them. Thereupon said Wolf, "Go ahead! go and hang yourself." "All right," said Coyote, and went off in that direction; there Coyote stayed. He asked all parts of his body, until only that was left—his tail. Then Coyote said, "You who are always coming after me, have you a mouth? What did my elder brother mean when he said, 'Go and hang yourself'?" His tail said, "You know about it, that indeed you always say. 'Go and hang yourself,' that is not what he really means. 'Go and get sticks for arrows,' that indeed he always says." "All right! stop talking! I know about it," said Coyote.

Thereupon Coyote obtained arrow sticks, very many of them he carried on his back, and came home to his house. Then his elder brother prepared arrows and made very many shirts with which they were to fight in battle. Now then Wolf sang in the morning, "Go ahead!" said Wolf, "O Coyote, go and hang yourself again," said Wolf. Coyote understood whereof he spoke; this time he did not hang, but gathered very many arrow sticks. Now then he saw lightning way off to the west from the edge of the land. "Oh!" said Coyote, "I wonder what that means that it appears thus!" said Coyote. "Why! I wonder if I am getting to be a medicine-man!"[5] said Coyote. "I have always been a medicine-man," said Coyote.

And then Coyote returned home, ran along, and arrived at his house. Then Coyote said, "I have seen lightning," said Coyote, but his elder brother understood that lightning very well. Thereupon his elder brother said, "Go on! go and get arrow sticks." "All right," said Coyote. Coyote went off in that direction, there he gathered arrow sticks. Once again did Coyote see lightning. Coyote jumped a big distance, and then Coyote returned home, ran along. Now he was frightened; Coyote arrived at his house. "Oh, my elder brother! near at hand now have I seen lightning."

And then his elder brother said, "Coyote, go ahead! go once more to get arrow sticks," he said. "All right," said Coyote, and went off in yonder direction. Then at that place he gathered arrow sticks. Now then lightning got to be very near. In a hurry Coyote started home, and arrived at his house. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what are you doing, lying down and looking? That is not how you should act." Although he was about to be attacked (by enemies), that Wolf kept lying down. And then into a cave the two of them escaped.

And then Wolf said, "Go ahead, you! go and fight!" said Wolf.

"All right," said Coyote. "It is not you on whom I depend. You will be acting like that when I go out to fight." Thereupon Coyote put on a light gray (shirt) and came out of the cave. "Oh, it is Wolf," said the children of Rain. "It is not Wolf, it is Coyote," said some among them. Coyote jumped over the canyon, and returned through the same way.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! do you now go and fight!" "All right," said Wolf. "You shall not look at what I do, you shall keep your eyes covered." "All right," said Coyote. And then Coyote lay down, while his elder brother put on a very good (shirt)—blue it was, and he looked like a soldier. And then he came out from the cave. "Oh, that one it is," said the children of Rain. Wolf shot at this end of the line, and then that (end) was mowed down. Then he shot also at the other end of the line, and in the same way it fared with them—they were mowed down. Now Coyote was looking at his elder brother. "Oh!" he said, "those (clothes) it is that my elder brother has been hiding from me. Would that he would get shot!" thought Coyote to himself. Sure enough Coyote's elder brother was killed. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my elder brother has been killed," said he. The other people took off all his clothes.

And then they all returned home. "Right there in his cave let Coyote die!" said they, and then they left Coyote in the cave. Then they returned home. As they were journeying along, dancing took place; all the clothes they threw on them—on two old women the clothes they always threw, Wolf's clothes. When it was morning the two old women, their mothers, went into the dance.

Now then Coyote said, "Let me go and bring my elder brother's clothes!" said Coyote. So then Coyote proceeded in their tracks; exceedingly lean was Coyote. And then, "Right here I shall put away bow and arrow," said Coyote. Thereupon he did so, the bows in several places along the trail Coyote put down. While on his way, following in the track, Coyote became fat. He nearly caught up with them at the camps that they had just occupied; the fires were burning yet in several places. "Oh!" said Coyote, and then proceeded on his way, following in the traveled track. And then Coyote said, "I wonder what it is that makes this so," said Coyote, "right here at this little divide!" said he.

Now then all parts of his body Coyote set to asking. He asked his ear, "What is it that makes this so?" said Coyote. Thereupon his ear fluttered, but did not talk. (He asked other parts of his body until) only that tail of his was left. Thereupon Coyote said, "Have you a mouth, you that always come behind me?" said he. And then his tail said, "You are one that knows about it, that indeed you always say." And then Coyote's tail said, "This, whereof you say, 'This little divide there,' is the work of two old women," said his tail. "The old women are always saying, 'Yonder in his cave let him die!' say those two old women." And then Coyote said, "That's enough, my tail! I knew it all," said he.

And then Coyote proceeded on his way, following along in the traveled trail. Then he saw how two old women at yonder divide were hitting the ground several times with their canes. Thus they were saying, "Over there let Coyote die with his crying," said the two old women. Now Coyote watched them from his hiding place as they were doing thus; he was very angry as he saw them. "I shall cause you two to die," said Coyote. And then Coyote started off in another direction away from the trail; when far away, he came back to it far in front of the two old women.

Coyote acted as though looking for tracks. "Oh!" said the two old women, "you are acting like Coyote," said they. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what is it that this means?" said he. Thereupon the two old women said, "This means that they have just killed Coyote's older brother; but him, Coyote, they have left at that same place yonder." And then Coyote said, "Ha, I would have killed him. What did you two let Coyote go for?" said Coyote. And then Coyote said, "Over there I have left my children, and now I am about to return," said he.

And then Coyote started for home and hid from them at the divide. And then the two old women again did as they had done, and Coyote killed them. All of their bones he shook out; deinde Canis suum penem gummis infixit per cutem unius feminae, whereupon she appeared just as before. And then into one woman Coyote went himself. Both of them went along on the traveled trail and arrived at the camp. "Oh! it looks like Coyote with our mother's skin put on himself," (said the children of Rain). "You are always teasing me," (said Coyote). And then the two old women arrived, and much they ate. "Oh! it looks like Coyote with our mother's skin put on himself. See how fast they eat." "We are tired of what you keep saying about us, calling us by that Coyote's name. Indeed we always act in this way when we are journeying a long distance; when very hungry, we are wont to eat quickly."

And then, when it was evening, the round dancing took place.

Those two old women were sitting nursing babies, and then all of them they killed. Then, when it was early morning the two old women went into the round dance. And then two very good runners stood opposite them. Now those clothes of Wolf fell on them, the two old women. Coyote jumped on to her two children[6] and said, "Let my skin be on them!" And then those two children got to have on themselves that same skin of the two old women. Thereupon Coyote ran as hard as he could, very far on his way was he.

And they said, "That is what I said, it is Coyote," said they, and gave chase to him. Coyote started to give out; over a little mountain ridge he ran close ahead of them. Then he was no longer visible there; they hunted for him at that place, but did not find him. Thereupon one of them said, "Perhaps it is this one," as he kicked some old dog excrement. Coyote yelled out. Having jumped way off, he ran as fast as he could, and they gave chase to him. It happened to Coyote as before. Over a little ridge he ran and barely escaped; he turned into a gopher pile. It happened to them as before. They hunted for him there but could not find him, when one of them said, "Perhaps it is this one," and kicked the gopher pile. Again Coyote jumped far off and again they gave chase to him.

Again Coyote did as before. This time he turned into wind; and then they hunted for him but could not find him. Then they said, "Let us cause snow to fall," so then it snowed very much. And then Coyote went into a little cave. Very much snow had fallen, and Coyote went out to see how deep it was. After a while he was unable to get out. Rat was living therein. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my friend Rat, give me some of your tinder,"[7] said he. "All right," said Rat, and gave him some of his tinder. And then Coyote built a fire, and, after he had done so, he began to imitate Rat's squeaking. And then he killed Rat and ate him up.

He went into a little shell and started to call his own wind. The wind then arrived; in this direction it went, carrying him over the snow. Yonder (his shell) stopped. He kept calling upon (his wind), yet despite his words (his shell) did not move. And then Coyote saw his own little cave, therein it was sitting. And then he came out of it. Thereupon before daybreak he put his elder brother's body on an ant-hill. And then he went back to his house.[8]

"What does my elder brother mean," said he, "when he says, 'Do not look at these things'?" said Coyote. And then he looked over all of (Wolf's) clothes, while engaged with them he untied (Wolf's) medicine. As soon as he had done so, it got to be very dark. "Oh!" said Coyote, "this is what he means when he says, 'Do not look at them.' " And then he heard (Wolf) howling there where he had put him. Coyote shouted when he heard it, "Here I am," said he, "in that same place, that little cave of mine." Then Coyote shot, he shot an arrow feathered with a crow's feathers. As soon as he had done so, it got to be very dark. Now all the feathers gave out, except that the flicker's feathers were left over. Then Coyote shot the (arrow) up in the air. As soon as he had done so, it cleared up and Coyote was glad.

And then he went towards where he had put (Wolf). He came there but, having done so, he did not find his elder brother's body there. So then Coyote hunted for tracks but did not find them. But after a while, continuing his search, he found them. Going in yonder direction, Coyote tracked his elder brother; and then he found a house. "Oh!" said he, "it looks as though there are two. Look at that!" said he, as he looked around for tracks. And then it got dark and they all went to sleep. Then, when it was early morning, Coyote went to get wood. And all kinds of wood he asked, "Are you one that pops always when you burn?" said Coyote. "No," said they, until only one was left. Coyote asked it, "What are you accustomed to do?" said Coyote. "I am one that is accustomed to pop when burning," said a dried-up fir.

And then Coyote took along all that he could carry of it in his arms. Then he built a fire of it, whereupon that popped. "On to your blankets! Fire, my elder brother!" said Coyote. Thereupon his elder brother quickly doubled up his legs (that he had had stretched out). (In this way) Coyote found the woman, his brother's wife. "That is what I said," said Coyote.

And then his elder brother said, "Go ahead! Coyote, go hunting." "All right," said Coyote. So then he went off in yonder direction, and then he lay there in hiding. Soon after his brother went out hunting. Thereupon Coyote broke his bow and started home toward the house. And then he said, "Has not my elder brother another bow? My bow broke," said Coyote. "Your elder brother has not another bow," said the woman. "All right," said Coyote, and right there on the ground he threw her down. Deinde cum ea copulavit. "Stop doing thus to me!" said the woman. "No," said Coyote. So then that woman moved towards a quaking asp, and then she went into it. Then Coyote was left fastened to the quaking asp.

After a while Wolf arrived home, and then Coyote said, "My dear elder brother, here am I fastened in the quaking asp," said he. Not long after he spoke, Wolf got tired of it et tum penem Canis abscidit. Deinde Canis dixit, "mi frater, satis me habeam ita brevem penem habere," inquit. And then Wolf told him to go and carry water in a water-jar on his back. "All right," said Coyote, and off in yonder direction he went to carry water on his back. And then he turned back and arrived at the house. And when he was about to take off the water-jar (and put it on the ground), he could not take it off—it was fastened to his back. "Let me, then, be wont always to do in this manner merely, just carrying a water-jar always on my back," said Coyote.

And then Wolf said, "Go ahead! go and carry wood on your back." "All right," said Coyote, and off yonder he went for wood to carry on his back. And then he carried wood between (his back and) water-jar. He arrived at the house; now that wood would not come off his back. "Let me, then, have 'Wood-carrier' as name," said Coyote. And then he set fire to it, and Coyote burned up together with it.

2. Po·′p̓·a·′q·w ya·γa′p·ï tɪˣqa′ŋ′wɩp·ï.

HOW IT OF CRY HAVING ARISEN.

wï·′t·uc·	i′ϕα	tïvʷa′ʿ[31]	tantï′vʷaip·aʿ
Long ago	far off	down	in distant west

ma·n·ɔ′q·ˣɔpantcʿpa′a′vɩŋw	amʿ	nara′q·wüntcumpʿpïγaʿ.
all sorts of animals	they	assembled together.

uvʷa·′iʿ	wa′ix̯pïγaʿ.	maŋa′cᴜ	cï̜na′ŋwav	aŋʿ	a′ip·ïγaʿ,
There	had a council.	That one	coyote	he	said,

aχa′n·iχ̯aiam	ʿa·nɩ′miʿ	ta·ŋwa′iy	aŋʿ[32]	nɩŋwï′a·ŋwaraŋwᴀ
"How doing they	always do	of us	they	our people

ma·nu′n·ɩ	tcą̈wu′k·ˣqwa.ɩχ̯aʿ,[33]	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɩna′ŋwaϕɪ.
all	dying off?"	said	coyote.

ïvʷï′raŋw	pa·′m·anïn·ɩʿ	na·ra′q·wɩtcumpavaʿ.	u̜nɩ′ŋuts·
"Let us	quite all	shall assemble together	Then

ya·γa′ŋqʿq̓ɔik̯a·va·amʿ	ᵘ′u′mʷï̜ʿ	tcaŋwu′k·ˣqwa′ɩtcï̜mʷï̜ʿ.
shall (pl.) cry ahead for them	them	dying off (pl. obj.)."

umʷa′vac·	o’ᵘ	na·ra′q·wιtcumpᴀpϊγa‘	ma·nϊ′va·ntïp·a’atsιvιŋw
Just there	really	assembled together	all about to be animals

am‘.	na·ra′q·wιntcumpaŋumϊitc	‘ɔa̧i‘	uvʷi′t·ᴜˣqwap·ϊγa‘
they.	After having assembled together	(past)	sang (pl.) songs.

maŋac·	ϊ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwav	aŋ	a′ip·ϊγa‘,
That one	then	coyote	he	said,

‘ϊvʷϊ′nɪ	nį’	qa·χa·′ᵃva‘.	ų·′ma̧i‘,	a′ik·‘pϊγa‘.
“Let me	I	shall begin to sing.”	“Yes,”	said (pl.).

cιna′ŋwav	aŋ	o’ᵒ	cᴜ·′q·uc·	uvʷι′amantïaφϊ	qa·χa′‘pϊγa‘.
Coyote	he	so	one (obj.)	of his own songs	began to sing.

ᵘmʷa′‘campa’a·′,	ma′ik·‘pϊγa’aiŋw.	qa′tc,	a′ip·ϊγa‘
“Only that you,”	said (pl.) to him.	“No,”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	qϊma′q·ᴜcun	qaχa·′ᵃva·ᵃc·,	a′ip·ϊγa‘.
coyote,	“another (obj.) still I	shall again begin to sing,”	said.

ϊ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜcu’ᵘ	qϊma′q·uc·	qa·χa·′‘pϊγa‘	tïvʷi′t̓s	at·ι
So then again	another (obj.) again	began to sing	very	good (obj.)

uvʷi′aiauφϊ.	cιna′ŋwav	iŋᴀ	na·va′cᴜ	cϊt̓ca′ŋwaip·ϊγa’aim‘
his own song (obj.).	Coyote	this	for fun	fooled them

na·mϊ′χaχa·n·av	u′mᴀ.
his own first beginning to sing	therewith.

uvʷaiyauq̓w	ɔ′ip·ϊγa‘	cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	ïvʷi′ya·q·‘
Then	said	coyote,	“Go ahead (pl.)

ma·n·ïn·ι‘	pampa′n’na·q·‘qwɔ’ᵃ	tïvʷι′p·ïaiyaŋumɪ
all	go off and return (pl.)	your lands (obj.)

uvʷa·′ᵃntux·w	puvʷa′iyαŋumwɪ	ųnι′k·ɪpϊγaŋumɪ.	ų·′ma̧i‘,
thereto	whence you	you did hither.”	“Yes,”

a'ik̯·aŋup·ïγa'	ma·n·ïn·ι'	na·ntca'p·uruɪpïγa'
said (pl.)	all,	scattered apart

tïvʷι'p·ïaq·ayaφï	ᵘ'u'ra'.	marï'c·ᴜ	pïvʷa'iyuam
their own lands (obj.)	towards them.	that	whereat their

aʀ	kia'q·'qain'	tümpʷi't·ɪˣqaŋ'wɪ'pïγa'.	ųnι'ts
it	having danced (pl.)	turned to stone.	Then

ųmʷa'nt'ιmanaŋqwᴀ	pɔ·vɔ·'ᵓaγaip·ïγa	ⁱ'i'tcuwaiʏᴜ	po·'p·a·'q·w
from that	became trails;	in this way	how it

yaγa'p·ï	t·ɪˣqaŋ'wιp·'.	a'in'	naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ.
of cry	having arisen.	That (is) my	what I heard.

TRANSLATION.[9]

(HOW THE "CRY" ORIGINATED)

Long ago way down in the far western country all sorts of animals were assembled together. There they had a council. That Coyote said, "For what reason is it that our people are all dying off?" said he. "Let us, every one of us, assemble together, and then let us cry for those who are dying off." There indeed were assembled together every kind of animal that was to be.[10] After they had assembled together, they commenced singing songs.

Thereupon that Coyote said, "Let me begin the singing." "All right," said they. So Coyote began the singing of one of his songs. "Enough for you!" they said to him. "No," said Coyote, "I shall begin the singing of still another one," said he. Then again he began the singing of another one, a very good song of his. This Coyote had been fooling them just for fun with the song that he had first sung.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! all of you go back home, each to your own land, to there whence each of you has come." "All right," said they all, and scattered off towards their own lands. That place where they had danced turned into stone, and then from it trails arose in all directions. It is in this way that the Cry has come to be. That is what I have heard.

3.	Mauma′q̇ɔ·m'ɪʻpïʻ	po·′ṗ·a'ᵃ	tɪʻqa′ŋ'wɩp·ï.
	OF BEAR-DANCE	HOW	HAVING ARISEN.

wa·′n'aiφpïtsɩŋw	tïvʷɩ′tc	'at·ï	na·rɩ′γïvʷïγαntïmw
Two youths	very	good	being friends to each other;

uru′an·umpïγaʻ.	u′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ya·a′iŋqw'ɔip·ïγa'aimʻ	na·ŋwa′'ᵃ
always were.	Then	they (2) went out to hunt	with each other;

u′vʷa·'mʻ	qwɩtcu′vʷarï	u′mᴀ	qa·rï′p·ïγaaimʻ.	u′vʷaiyauq·,
there they	knoll (obj.)	thereon	they (2) sat.	Then

tiγï′v'ïŋw	a′ip·ïγaʻ,	nï′	ïγïʀ	nǫ·nɔ′s·ɩʻ	qwɩya′tcɩtcɩ-
his friend	said,	"I	indeed	dream	having turned

qaŋ'wɩts·,	a′ip·ïγaʻ	tïγï′vʷ'ïŋw.	ïvʷïn	ų′nɩŋuts·
into grizzly bear,"	said	his friend.	"Let me	then

qwɩya′tsɩ	aŋʻ	qa·nɩ′	ʻana·′ᵃγɩt·uᵞwampaʻ	imin	ųnɩ′ŋuts·
grizzly bear (obj.)	he	house (obj.)	shall go into;	you me	then

qatcu[34]	nį̈ni	tïni′ava·ᵃŋwa'ainɪ	tïvʷi′ŋᴜqwat·u'α′c·ampan
not me	me	shall tell (neg.) on me,	even if they (indef.) ask about me

ʻɔąiʻ	qatcun	tïni′ava·ᵃŋwa'ainɪ.	ųnɩ′ts	ɔ·nɔ′t·a·m·ar'uiŋqᴜ
(past)	not me	shall tell (neg.) on me.	Then	when it turns to early spring

wᵃ'a′p·umαntï	wïˣqa′vinavaʻ	ųnɩ′ŋᴜtsïq·w	ųmʷα′ntïʻ
being from cedar (obj.)	shall cut off (one),	having done it	being therefrom (obj.)

wi'yα′ŋqï·n'avaʻ	ųnɩ′ŋuts	ʻɔ·ra′vaʻ	tïvʷɩ′p·ï	ųna·′ᵃγït·ïʻ
shall cut notches;	then	shall dig	ground (obj.)	into it,

nï'	ʻųnɩ′ts	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	pɪʻpɩ′tcuvʷa·ntï	ʻų·′mai,
I	then	thereupon	being about to begin to arrive."	"Yes,"

a′ip·ïγaʻ	tïγï′vʷ'ïŋw,	nï'	o·′p·a'	anɩ′va·n·ɩ	imi
said	his friend,	"I	in that manner	shall do	of you

a′i’namɪ,	a′ip·ïγa‘	tïγï′vʷ’ïŋw.	ï′vʷaiyauq·	aŋac·
your saying,”	said	his friend.	Then	he

tïγï′vʷ’ïŋw	a′ŋ‘	ma·n·ɔ′q̇·oq·‘	ma·a′vïαφï	tcʌˣqo′itcap·ïγa‘.
his friend	he	all (obj.) of it	his own clothes (obj.)	took off.

ïvʷï′n‘	pünɪ′ķ·ain‘	nį’	ma·n·a·′γɪt·uγwaŋq̇unɪ	qwɪya′tsï
“Go ahead me!	look at me	I	as I go into that	grizzly-bear’s

qa·ni′‘.	ï′vʷaiyauq·	ai′γaic·ᴜ	pa·γa′inʸˣqwɪp·ïγa‘
house (obj.).”	Then	after saying	went off

qwɪya′tsïŋqa·nɪ	’u′ra‘.	ŋnɪ′ŋuts	ŋna·′ᵃγɪt·uγwaŋᴜpïγa‘.
grizzly-bear house (obj.)	toward.	Then	went into it.

mą·c·ᴜ	tïγï′vʷïaŋ	αŋ‘	ma·va·′c·	qa·rï′γa‘	pina′ŋqw
That one	his friend	he	just there	sitting	after a while

pa′iyɪq·wᵊ’ɔip·ïγa‘.	ïvʷï′’	ᴜˣqwai‘	nį′ni	tïγï′vʷïanɪ
went and returned.	“Go ahead!	that (obj.)	of me	my friend (obj.)

o·′ṗ·a’	‘a·nɪ′q̇·wɔ’aiŋᴜ,	a′ip·ïγa‘	pɪ′tcɪpïγa‘	qa·nɪ′vą‘.
in that way	go off and do!”	said,	arrived	at house.

pinaŋqw	o′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cuwa′rɪγɪk·ˣpïγa’aiŋw	a′iφpïtsɪ	ŋa′i‘.[35]
After a while	then	commenced to miss (pl.) him	youth (obj.)	this (obj.).

tï·′vʷïa·ŋ‘[36]	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tïvʷi′ŋᴜqwαp·ïγaa′iyaŋ‘,	imi′ntcu’a·ŋ‘
His friend (obj.)	then	asked (pl.) him,	“You (inter.) him

pį̈ni′ķai’ɪŋw	tïγï′vʷïa’ɪn	u′ŋwʌ.	qatcu′’ɪŋ	iya′nuŋwa’ᵃ.
see him	your friend (obj.)	he?	Not he	is here (neg.).

cʊ·′warɔa·ŋ’axain·ɪ	i′mɪ	pʌˣqa′ŋᴜqwa’ɪŋw	imi′ŋ’waia·ŋ	ïŋqï
Perhaps (inter.) him	you	kill him off,	with you he	indeed

ʿɔą'iʿ	ya'a'iŋqw'ɔiʿ.	qatcu''uŋw	nï'	p·į̈ni'ŋwa'	a'ip·ïγaʿ.
(past)	goes to hunt."	"Not him	I	see (neg.),"	said.

u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	o·'p̓·	a·n·ɩp·ïγaʿ	tïγï'vʷïav	uŋwa'i
Then	in that way	did	of his own friend	of him

a'ip·ïγa'aŋw.	ʿɔ·nu't·a·m·a'r'uiŋqᴜ	maa'vï	ŋma'ntïʿ
as he had said.	When it turned to early spring	tree (obj.)	being there-from (obj.)

wi'yα'ŋqï·n'ᴀˣpïγaʿ.	ɔ'vʷaiyauq̇w	a'ik̭·a·ŋup·ïγaʿ
cut notches.	Then	said (pl.)

qa·nɩ'aγantɪ,	a'ik·w	qwɩ'aγantïraŋw	ŋni'vitci·ⁱraŋw,
being provided with houses,	"Oh!	grizzly-bear us	comes to attack us,"

a'ik·ˣᴀpïγaʿ	mintɔ'n'nɩts·.	qatcu'iʿ	mintɔ'n'ɩa·p·ʿ,
said (pl.)	running away.	"Not (pl. imper.)	run away (neg.),"

a'ip·ïγ	a'iφputs	ɩŋᴀ,	umʷα'ŋ	anɩk·ɪ	nį̈'ni	a'iφᴀʿ-
said	youth	this,	"that one	does	of me	my

pïγarïγïvʷïnʿ,	a'ip·ïγaʿ.	ɔ'vʷaiyauq̇·	ą·mu'c·ᴜ
formerly-youth friend,"	said.	Then	they

mintɔ'n'nintcɩmʷ	αmʿ	mį̈ni'c·kip·ïγaʿ.	maŋac·	u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
running (pl.)	they	turned hither.	That one	then

qwɩya'tsɩaiφᴀputs	ɩŋ	ovʷa'.iʿ	mauma'q̇·ɔ·n'auvʷi't·ᴜʿpïγaʿ.
grizzly-bear youth	this	there	sang bear-dance songs.

mą·ac·	ŋnɩ'ŋuts·	qwiyα'tsim·auma'ᵘts	iŋʿ	wï'ï'm'iap·ïγaʿ.
That one	then	grizzly-bear woman	this	danced back and forth.

u'vʷaiyauq·	uvʷa·'i	mauma'q̇·ɔ·ᵓ'mip·	aʀ	tɩγa'ɪʿpïγa
Then	there	bear-dance	it	took place;

'i'tcuvʷaiʿ	po·'p·a·'q·w	mauma'q̇·ɔ·'miuvʷɩ'avïʿ	po·'p̓·a'ᵃ
in this way	how it	of bear-dance singing	how

tɪʿqa'ŋ'wɩp·ï.	ma'i	nį̈ni[37]	naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ.
having arisen.	That my	of me	what I heard.

TRANSLATION.[11]

(HOW THE BEAR DANCE ORIGINATED.)

Two youths were very good friends to each other. And then both of them went out to hunt; there the two of them sat on a knoll. And then one said to his friend, "I truly dreamt that I turned into a grizzly-bear," said he. "Now I will go into a grizzly-bear's den. And you shall not betray me; even if they ask about me, you shall not betray me. And then, when it has got to be early spring, you shall cut off a branch from a cedar, and, having done so, you shall cut notches into it. And then you shall dig into the ground, and thereupon I shall be arriving." "All right!" said his friend, "I shall do thus as you say," said his friend. Thereupon that friend of his took off all of his clothes. "Now look at me as I go into that Grizzly-bear den," and, having spoken thus, he went off towards the grizzly-bear den. And then he went right into it.

That friend of his, after sitting in that same place, went off home after a while. "To think of my friend going and doing thus!" said he, and arrived at the house. And then after a while they commenced to miss this young man. And then they asked his friend, "Did you see your friend? he is not here. Perhaps you have killed him; with you, truly, he went out hunting." "I did not see him," said he. And then he did just as his friend had said. When it got to be early spring, he cut notches into the branch of a tree. Now the people of the camp said, "Oh! a grizzly bear is coming to attack us," said they as they ran away. "Do not run away," said this young man, "that one is my former young friend," said he. Thereupon they who were running away turned back. And then that grizzly-bear youth there sang bear-dance songs, while that grizzly bear woman danced back and forth. Now there took place the bear-dance, and this is how bear-dance songs arose. That is what I have heard.

4. THE ORIGIN OF PEOPLE.

i′φα	tïvʷa′ʽ	mauma′′ᵃcaγʷɔits·	pa·tcι′ŋw′aiφ
Far off	down west	old woman	with her daughter

qa·nι′γaip·ïγa′aim‘.	ï′vʷaiyanq·	ŋnιts·	maŋac·
they two had house.	Thereupon	then	that one

mauma′′ᵃcaγwɔits	aŋ‘	a′ip·ïγa‘,	ïvʷï′′cą′ᵃ	nιŋwι′φι·caγai′ι-
old woman	she	said,	"Go ahead!	go to look for person,

χwa'	ų̇nι′ŋᴜtsιŋw	ma·a′ït′sιŋw	imi′ŋwa'aiŋwᴀ	paiyι′k·ιva‘.
	then him	having found him,	with you he	shall come home.”

ï′vʷaiyauq·	ų̇nιts·	maŋac·	pa·tcι′aŋ	aŋ‘	ᵒ'o′x·pa'ᵃ
Thereupon	then	that one	her daughter	she	through that direction

pᴜ‘ca′γaiχw'ɔip·ïγa‘.	tïvʷi′p·ï	‘ai	ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔaq·‘
went to look for.	Land (obj.)	it (obj.)	all (obj.) of it

pᴜ‘ca′γaip·ïγaiyaq·‘	qa·tc‘	nιŋwu′maip·ïa'ᵃ	maŋa′iᴀcamp
she looked over it,	not	found (neg.) person,	that one (obj.) only

o′wai‘	cι̨na′ŋwavιy	aŋ‘	pï̹ni′k̯·aip·ïγaiyaŋ‘.	ų̇nι′ŋut[38]
	coyote (obj.)	he	saw him.	Then

tᴀ‘cï′ṗ·aŋqwai'ιx·ᴜ	paiyι′k̇·wɔip·ïγa‘	pɪ‘pι′tcιχw'aip·ïγa‘
when it went off towards evening,	went and returned	went and arrived

qa·nι′va·'aŋw	pi′yaiyauφï.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	maŋac·	piya·′ᵃŋ
at her house	her own mother’s.	Then	that one	her mother

aŋ‘	tïvʷi′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ‘,	qatcu′ru'ᵘ	nιŋwï′ntsivï̹nιŋwa'ᵃ
she	asked her,	“Not (inter.) you	see (neg.) person?”

qatcu′anɪ,	a′ip·ïγa‘	mauma′′uts·,	ᵘ'ų′waiya‘campa·'an‘[39]
“Not I,”	said	woman,	“him only I

cï̹na′ŋwavιy	uŋ‘	pï̹ni′k̯·ai'ιŋw,	a′ip·ïγa‘	maŋac·
coyote (obj.)	he	see him,”	said	that one

pa·tcï′aŋ‘.	ïvʷï′′ca'aŋwaχa'ᵃ	pa′iyι'χwaai'ŋw	cι̨na′ŋwav
her daughter.	“Go ahead, then, him	go to call him	coyote

uŋ‘.	ʋ·′mai	‘a′ip·ïγa‘	patcι′′ŋ	u′ŋwᴀ.
him.”	“Yes,”	said	her daughter	she.

ų̇nι′ŋuts·	'o′xpa·m·ι'ᵃp·ïγa‘	cι̨na′ŋwavιy	uŋwᴀ	qa·nι
Then	through that direction journeyed	coyote (obj.)	he	house

’u′ra‘.	uvʷa	p·ι′tcιχw’aip·ïγa	uŋwa′iac·ᴜ	qa·nι′vą‘
toward it.	There	went and arrived	of him	at house

cįna′ŋwavι‘.	ï′vʷaiyauq·w	a′ip·ïγ	ų′warux·ᴡᴀ,	nį′ni
of coyote.	Then	said	to him,	“Of me

uŋᴡᴀ	piya′nɪ	pa′iy’ïm‘,	a′ip·ïγa‘.	qa′tc,	a′ip·ïγa‘
she	my mother	calls you,”	said.	“Not,”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	nį’	ųnι′va·ŋwa’,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
coyote,	“I	shall do (neg.),”	said	coyote.

nį′nia’	pιŋwa′ruvʷa·n·ιan‘,	a′ip·ïγa‘	mauma′’uts·.	qa′tc
“Me you	will make me wife,”	said	woman.	“Not,

a′ik̯·an	ųnι′va·ŋwa’,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·‘
I said,	shall do,”	said	coyote.	Then

cįna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï′n·ιx̯a’ᵃ	qᴜˣqwι′va·q·ᴡᴀ	si’i′p·ïˠa·’m
coyote	said,	“Let me, then,	shall shoot it	your urine (obj.)

‘ɔ̜ąi‘.	ï′vʷaiyauq·un	ųnι′ŋuts	imi′’ŋw’aimpa‘	piyai’yam
it.	Then I	then	with you shall proceed	of your mother

u′ŋᴡᴀ	qanι	uvʷa·′ntux·ᴡᴀ,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
she	house (obj.)	to it,”	said	coyote.

ïvʷï′’χa’	uvʷa′nᴜ	na·m·ï′χa’nintcuxwa’ᵃ	ï′vʷaiyauq̇·oq·wa’
“Go ahead then,	yonder	first go and make a house,	then it you

‘ɔai‘	ts·qur’uvʷa·′q·w	cïnï′mpïαnɪ.[40]	ų·′mai,	a′ip·ïγa‘
	will tamp it	my vulva.”	“Yes,”	said

cιna′ŋwaφɪ.	’o′x·pa’	ɴᴜˣqwi′ŋqw’aip·ïγa	ųnι′ŋuts	ᴜ·′vʷa·ntï‘
coyote.	In that direction	ran along,	then	being there (obj.)

qa·nι′ntcᴜqup·ïγa	ųnι′m·auq·ᴜpïγai’ïq·w.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
started to make a house,	finished doing it.	Then

pïnι′ŋwįnιp·ïγa’aiŋw	pïnι′k̯·aip·ïγa’aiŋw	pa·na′ŋqwaχo’oŋw.
stood watching for her,	saw her	as she came down.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	a·vɩ't·ɩγa·n·ɩ'p·ïγa	uvʷa'uŋwɪ	k̯a·nɩ'ntcᴜqwainaφï.[41]
Then	practiced lying down	therein	his own house he had made.

u̧nɩ'ts	aŋac·	ma·m·a''uts	aŋ	ᴜʿtu'c·uŋwï'ɩp·ïγaiaŋ
Then	she	woman	she	caused him to fall asleep

aŋa'iac	cɩna'ŋwavɩy	aŋʿ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·	aŋac·	cɩna'ŋwav	aŋ
him	coyote (obj.)	he.	Then	he	coyote	he

ᴀʿpu'ɪʿpïγa	aŋac·	u̧nɩ'ŋuts·	ma·ma''uts	aŋʿ	aŋa'v'anᴀ
slept,	she	then	woman	she	on him

pɪʿpɩ'tcɪpïγaʿ.	tɔʿtsï'a·ŋʿ	cɩ̧nα'ŋwavɩy	aŋʿ	qa'nɩ'χ̯a-
arrived.	His head (obj.)	coyote's	he	at

va·ntux·wᴀ	si'i'p·ïγaʿ	cïmʷï'ˣpïγaiaŋ	ava·'ntuγwac·ᴜ
side	urinated,	left him	at the same place

ᴀʿpu'iχ̯uaŋʿ.	mi'ʏɔ	tɪʿqa'ŋ'wɩts·	cuwa'p·ɩtcut·ᵘɩp·ïγaiaŋᴀ.
(where) he was sleeping.	Far away	having become	caused him to wake up.

maŋac·	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna'ŋwav	aŋʿ	cuwa'p·ɩtcup·ïγaʿ.
That one	then	coyote	he	awoke.

ʿaa'ik·w,	a'ip·ïγa,	aa'itcaŋw	aγa'xɔpïa·ŋʿ	ivä·'n'ɩa·ŋ'aχ̯ain·ɩ
"Oh!"	said,	"Where has she	in what direction she?	Surely she here was

wᴀˣqï'k·ɪ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pï̧nɩ'k̯·aip·ïγa'aik·w	si'i'k̯·ai'naŋwᴀ
come here."	Then	saw it	what she had urinated;

uvʷą'u̧ŋwɪtï[42]	ma·n·ɩ'm'yap·ïγaʿ.
being therein (obj.)	did thus to while moving.

ï'vʷaiyauq·	u̧nɩ'ŋumïαts·	ma·rï''nᴀˣpïγa'aiŋw
Then	after doing so	pursued her,

wᴀʿtcu'ŋᴜpïγa'aiŋw	u̧nɩ'ŋuts·	tca'a'ip·ïγa'aiŋ	u̧nɩ'ŋuts·,
caught up with her,	then	caught hold of her,	then,

ïvʷï'q̓·wαnɪ	tɔna'va·'q·w	si'i'p·ïʸa'am,	a'ip·ïγaʿ
"Let me it	shall stab it	your urine,"	said

cina'ŋwaφɪ.	qa'tc',	a'ip·ïγa'	mam·a''uts·,	qa·ni'ntcuχwaai',
coyote.	"No,"	said	woman,	"go to make a camp,"

a'ip·ïχa'aiŋw,	qatc	a'ïφ	ᴀ'pï'iva·ŋwa'ᵃ.	ʋ·'mai',	a'ip·ïγa'
said to him;	"not	now	shall sleep."	"Yes,"	said

cina'ŋwaφɪ.	ᵒ'o'xpa	ɴᴜˣqwi'ŋqwɔip·ïγaaic·ᴜ	ŋnι'ŋuts
coyote.	Through yonder way	again ran along,	then

ʋ·'vʷa·ntï	qa·nι'ntcᴜpïγaaic·ᴜ.	ŋnι'ts	o·'p̓·ac·	a·ni'ŋupïγa
being there (obj.)	again made a camp.	Then	in that same way	did,

ᴀ'pï'iq̇·wɔip·ïγa'	qa·nι'ntcuŋumïïts·.	maŋac·	mam·a''uts
went in order to sleep	after having finished the camp.	That one	woman

o·'p̓·ac·	a·nι'ŋᴜpïγaia·ŋ'.	ŋnι'ŋuts	ⁱ'i'tcι	aup̓·ac·
in that same way	did to him.	Then	this (obj.)	in that same way

a·ni'χa'	piya'iyav	u'ŋᴡᴀ	qa·nι'	uvʷa'	pɪ'pι'tcιχw'ɔip·ïγa'.
doing	her own mother (obj.)	she	house (obj.)	there	went and arrived.

cina'ŋwav	aŋ	aŋa'vιnaŋqwac·	ava''	qanι''	pι'tcιχw'ɔip·ïγa'.
Coyote	he	again behind her	there	house (obj.)	went and arrived.

maŋac·	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·m·a·''caγwɔitc	aŋ	a'ip·ïγa',
That one	thereupon	old woman	she	said,

cina'ŋwav	ïvʷï''	i'tc'	qwau'	tιn·a·'xwa'ᵃ.	'ʋ·'mai,
"Coyote,	go ahead	(in) this (direction)	off	go to hunt."	"Yes,"

a'ip·ïγa'	cina'ŋwaφɪ	'o'x·pa'ᵃ	cina'ŋwaφɪ	tïn·a·'xw'aip·ïγa'.
said	coyote,	through yonder way	coyote	went to hunt.

ʋ·'vʷa·ntux·ᴡᴀ	tïγi'ai'	pᴀˣqa'p·ïγa'	paiyι'k·ɪpïγ	ŋnι'ŋuts·
At yonder place	deer (obj.)	killed,	came back home;	then

ma·mu′c·u’q·w	na·vi′aŋw	αmï̜	tɪˣqa′p·ïγaaiya·q̓·am‘	tʊ‘qo′avι
those it	mother and daughter	they	they two ate it	meat (obj.)

‘ai‘.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	maŋac·	ma·m·a′′ut̓c	aŋ‘	tïγi′ai	ɔɔ·′ai‘
it (obj.).	Thereupon	that one	woman	she	deer’s	bones

na·ru′q·ᴡᴀ	yų̈na′p·ïγa‘.	ųnι′ts·	qaa′iʏᴜpïγa’aik·w	ma·rï′c·
under herself	put.	Then	ground them up	that

cï̜nï′mpïaŋ	aʀ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ	tïna·′χw’aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ
her vulva	it.	Then	coyote	again went to hunt;

tïvʷi′t̓c	at·ümpᴜ‘tcu′tcuγwαp·ïγa‘	ma·m·a′′utsι	aŋᴀ	ta·ŋwa·′-
very	well knew	woman (obj.)	she	that had it toothed

γax·qoαq·‘	marï′ac·	cιnï′mpïa·ŋ	‘ai‘.	ųnι′ŋuts	ʊ·′vʷa·ntï‘
	that (obj.)	her vulva (obj.)	it (obj.)	Then	being there (obj.)

na·γa′x·um·aiy	aŋ‘	pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγa‘.	ųnι′ŋᴜtsιa·ŋ‘
mountain-sheep buck (obj.)	he	killed.	Then he

nɔ·′ᵓq̓·wɔip·ïγaiaŋ‘	qa·nι′va·ntux·ᴡᴀ.	maŋac·	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
went and carried him on back	to house.	That one	then

ma·ma′′ut̓c	aŋ‘	na·χa′iy	aŋ‘	qu·ra′iya·ŋ‘	ɔɔ·′ai‘
woman	she	mountain-sheep’s	he	of his neck	bone (obj.)

na·ru′q·ᴡᴀ	tsi’nι′k·ɪpïγa.	ųnιŋᴜqwa·′ŋ	arïc·ᴜ	ta·ŋwa·′q·
under herself	stuck.	When she did so	of that	its teeth

aʀï	cï̜nï′mpïa·ŋ‘	ma·n·u′n·ιᴀ	mimi′ᵓ’ɔip·ïγa‘.	ųnι′ŋuts·
they	of her vulva	all	broke off.	Then

tuχwa′r’uiŋuq·ᴜ	ma·nι′mɪkup·ïγa‘.	ⁱ’i′n·ιvä‘tsιan	ani′k·ˣ
when it became dark	started to do thus.	“Going to do in this way I	do

tï'ŋwum·anɩmints·kain·ɩ'.	tï'ntɪˣqap·ïγ	ɥwα'ŋwantï'
while being wont to do thus hurriedly."	Ate finely	being from her (obj.)

yuʷu'tsɩmantɩa'aŋw.	ï'vʷaiyauq̓·	a'ip·ïγa'	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ,
from her fat.	Then	said	coyote,

ⁱ'i'tc'	wïγαmp	a·	n·ia·'χaiva·ntï	qa'tcʊ	ta·ŋwa''aiva·ntï.
"This	vulva	thus	being about to have as name,	not	being about to have teeth."

ï'vʷaiyauq̓·w	a'ip·ïγa'	maŋa'c·ʊ	ma·ma''caγwɔitc	aŋ',
Then	said	that one	old woman	she,

ïvʷï''ca'ᵃ	tïvʷi'p·ïai'yam	o'u'ra'	paiyɩ'k̔·wa'ᵃ	itcï'
"Go ahead!	your land (obj.)	towards it	go and return,	this (obj.)

ʊˣqwai'	qɥna'vɩ'	nɔ·'m'iyava'.	qatcu'a·q·	ʊ'qwai
it (obj.)	sack (obj.)	shall carry on back while going.	Not it	it (obj.)

ʊ'pɔ'v'a·ŋwaiyaq·	'ava'ŋwɪtï	ampa'iyan·ɩ	a'iʏʊcampᴀ.
shall untie it,	being therein (obj.)	noise going on	even if says."

'ɥ·'mai	a'ip·ïγa'	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	ᵒ'o'xpa'	paiyɩ'k̔·wɔip·ïγa.
"Yes,"	said	coyote.	Through yonder way	went and returned.

ᵘ'ʊ·'vʷai	a'ip·ïγa,	'ani'aŋ'ɔ	aik·ˣ	qatcu'aq·	ʊ'pɔ'va·ŋwa'
At that place	said,	"What she	said,	'Not it	shall untie,'

a'iχa',	a'ip·ïγa'	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ʊ	cɩna'ŋwavɩ'q·w
saying?"	said	coyote.	Then	coyote it

quna'vï	ʊ'pa'ŋʊpïγa'aik·w.	ma·va'ɪ'tɔγɔn·ɩ	ɥnɩ'ŋuts·
sack (obj.)	untied it.	At yonder distance	then

qwitca'χarïp·ïγa.	'aa'ik·w,	a'ip·ïγa'	cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	wa·q̓·
sat and defecated.	"Oh!"	said	coyote.	Come

u'ra'	qʊ·'navï'	pɔ·'yaŋqip·ïγa'	tɩ'ŋwɩnɩya·'q·w	ma·ntcu'n'pïγa-
toward it	sack (obj.)	came running,	quickly it	shut it (inv.).

ʼaik·w.	na·n·i′naŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ	pɔvɔ·′aγaip·ïγaʿ	po·′p̓·a·mɩʿ
	In different directions	trails arose	whereby they

ma·n·ɔ′q·ᴜpatcɩnɩŋwï′ntsɩŋwaʼ	mimi′aŋoq·wainᴀ.	piya′ŋ’wintcïʿ
all kinds of persons (obj.)	traveling here and there.	Being left over (obj.)

quna′vïʿ	kwɪʿtu′a·vaʿ	nɩŋwu′ʀᴜpïγa’aik·w.	ŋnɩ′ŋumʷïx·qa·ŋʿ
sack (obj.)	at bottom	made people thereof.	After he did so

ma′up̓·at·ï	uŋwa′uaax·tuγwantïʿ	qaŋqa′nɩ	ʼo·′p̓·at·ï
being through there	being round about him (obj.)	houses here and there (obj.)	being through there

na·na′′aip·ïγaʿ.
fires burned.

TRANSLATION.[12]

Way down to the west dwelt an old woman and her daughter. Now then that old woman said, "Go ahead! go look for a person and then, having found him, let him come home with you." And then that daughter of hers went off to seek in yonder direction; through all the lands she sought, but she found no person. Only that Coyote did she see. Then, when it commenced to be evening, she went off home; she arrived at her mother's house. And then that mother of hers asked her, "Did you not see a person?" "I did not," said the girl; "only that Coyote did I see," said her daughter. "Go ahead then! go after Coyote." "All right," said her daughter.

And then she travelled yonder towards Coyote's house. There she arrived, in his, Coyote's, house. Thereupon she said to him, "My mother calls for you," said she. "No," said Coyote, "I shall not do so," said he. "You will take me to wife," said the girl. "I said I shall not do so," said Coyote. And then Coyote said, "Let me, then, in urinam tuam immittere,[13] and then I shall go with you there to your mother's house," said Coyote.

"Go ahead, then! first go and make a camp over there, and then vulvam meam fodes."[14] "All right," said Coyote. In yonder direction he ran along, and then there he began to make a wickiup; he finished making it. And then he stood watching for her, and saw her coming down. Then he tried lying down in the camp he had made. Now that woman made Coyote sleep, and then that Coyote slept. Then the woman came up to him. Apud Canis caput urinam ea fecit, and left him sleeping at that same place. Having got to be far away, she caused him to wake up. Then that Coyote awoke. "Oh!" said he, "where has she gone to? Surely she was coming here." Deinde urinam ejus conspexit; in it he did thus in motion.[15]

And then, after he had done so, he pursued her and caught up with her. Then he caught hold of her. And then, "Feriam urinam tuam,"[16]said Coyote. "No," said the girl. "Go and make a camp," said she to him; "do not sleep this time." "All right," said Coyote. Yonder again he ran along, and then in that place he made a wickiup again. Then it happened to him just as before, he went to sleep after he had made the camp. That girl did to him just as before. Now by acting (several times) in this same way she arrived at her mother's house. Coyote arrived at the house right after her still.

And then that old woman said, "Coyote, go ahead! go off to hunt in this direction." "All right," said Coyote, and off yonder Coyote went to hunt; at that place Coyote killed a deer. He came back home, and then the mother and daughter ate the meat. Deinde illa virgo ossa cervi sub se posuit et illa vulva ejus ea moluit. And then Coyote again went off to hunt. Very well he knew virginem vulvam habere dentatam. Then at that place he killed a mountain-sheep buck and brought him on his back to the house. And then that girl stuck the mountain-sheep's neck bone under herself. When she had done so, illi dentes ejus vulvae relaxati omnes facti sunt. Then, when it got to be night, he started to do so in motion.[17] "In this way I always want to do, always doing so hurriedly," (said Coyote). He ate well of her fat.[18] And then Coyote said, "Hoc 'vulva' appellabitur neque dentes habebit."

Then that old woman said, "Go ahead! go and return to your land. Take this sack along; do not untie it, even if sounds are heard inside of it." "All right," said Coyote, and proceeded to return in yonder direction. When at that place, he said, "What did she mean saying, 'Do not untie it'?" said Coyote. And then Coyote untied the sack, and some distance from it consedit et defaecavit. "Oh!" said Coyote. He came running towards the sack and quickly shut it. In different directions trails arose, through which all kinds of persons travelled in different directions. Of what was left over at the bottom of the sack he made people. After he had done so, all around that place, among houses scattered round about him, fires were burning.

5. Sparrow Hawk and Gray Hawk contend for a Woman.

umʷα′va	qa·mï′χanιχaip·ïγai′t̔uai̔.	’u′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
There	people had jack-rabbit camp.	Then

a·mï′ŋwant	aŋ	cʋ·′yuc	pιŋwa′iaφ	pᴀˣqa′p·ïγa̔.
being from among them	he	one	his own wife	beat.

ï′vʷaiyauq·	u̥nιts	aŋa′c·ᴜ	ma·ma″uts	aŋ̔	tɔγɔ′q·̔pïγa̔
Thereupon	then	she	woman	she	ran off

qa′ivay	ïruq·ᴡᴀtux·ᴡᴀ.	maŋac·	caγwa′xᴜcav	aŋ	mʷα′va
mountain (obj.)	to under it.	That one	gray hawk	he	there

qanι′γaip·ïγa̔	*nïvʷa′xantï*	*a′mᴀ*	*piya′iyav*	*aŋ*
had house	snow-having (obj.)	thereon	his own mother (obj.)	she

aŋa′ŋwa’ᵃ.	maŋac·	u′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	’u′xpa’ᵃp·ïγa̔
with her.	That one	then	went in yonder direction

caγwα′xcav	aŋ̔	maŋa′iac·	u̥nι′ŋuts	ʋ·′vʷa·ntuγwa·ŋ̔
gray hawk	he;	that one (obj.)	then	yonder her

qa′ivai	̔aiᴀ	tɔγɔ′t·ιraχwɔava·ntuχwa·q·̔	maa′ip·ïγaiaŋ̔
mountain (obj.)	it	just at its middle	found her

ma·ma″utsι	aŋ̔.	paiyι′k̔·wɔip·ïγa̔	ma·ŋa′ŋwa’ᵃ
woman (obj.)	she.	Turned back home	with that one

qanι′va·ntuγwauφï.
to his own house.

ma·mu′c·	u′vʷaiyauq·̔	qa·mï′xa·nι′χantιmʷ	αm̔
Those	then	having (pl.) jack-rabbit camp	they

cuwa′rιγιk·ɪpïγa’aiŋᴡ	ma·ma″utsι	aŋ̔.	u̥nι′ŋut·̔[43]
commenced to miss her	woman (obj.)	she.	Then

maŋa′iac·	thω′p·aiya′mpatsι[44]	aŋ̔	ᴍᴜˣkwi′χ̣·qap·ïγaiyaŋ̔.
that one (obj.)	white-breasted one (obj.)	he	called (pl.) on him.

maŋac·	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	tïvʷi′p·ï	kɩŋwa·′ᵃvantɩmanaŋqwa·q·ʿ
That one	then	earth (obj.)	starting from its edge

pᴜʿca′γaip·ïγaiyaq·ʿ	ma·rï′c·amp	uvʷai	piya′iʿpïγa′
looked around it,	only that	then	was left over

qa′ivaχarïr	αʀ.	tʌʿcɩ′p·aŋqwai′ɩχ̯·ᴜ	pɩ′tcɩxw′aip·ïγa′
mountain peak	it.	When it went off towards evening	went and arrived

qa·mï′χani′aγantïmʷïʿ.	qatcų′uŋwαnɪ	pį̈nɩ′ŋwa’,	aip·ïγa’,
having (obj. pl.) jack-rabbit camp.	“Not her I	see,”	said,

marï′c·amp	piya′.iʿ	nïvʷa′χant	aʀ,	a′ip·ïγa’
“only that	is left	snow-having	it,”	said

thω′p·aiyampats·.	i′tcuq·ᴜ	pᴜʿca′γaixw’aip·ïγa’aik·w
white-breasted one.	When it was morning	went to look for it

nïvʷa′χantïʿ	ma·m·a′ntuγwa·ŋʿ	ma·m·a′’ut̓sɪ	aŋʿ
snow-having (obj.);	thereon her	woman (obj.)	she

maa′ip·ïγaiyaŋʿ	saγwa′xᴜcavɩya·ŋ·	αŋ	piŋwa′xa·q·ᴜ.
found her	gray hawk (obj.) her	he	that had as wife.

paiyɩ′ŋᴜpïγ	o·′p̓·αc·	qamï′xanɩva·ntux·wᴀ.	aγa′nʸ˟k̯ava·tsɩŋwa-
Returned home	in the same way	to jack-rabbit camp.	“In what way being about to do (pl.)

ŋw	a′ik̯·ai’,	a′ip·ïγa’.	saχʷɔ′xᴜcavɩya·ŋ	u′ŋwᴀ	qa′tcᴜ
to him you	say (pl.)?”	said.	“Gray hawk (obj.) she	he	not

piya′xaŋqïŋ’wa′it·ɩmį̈	ųŋwα′φα	qa·rï′i	uŋwα′c·	mam·a′’uts
to be overcome by others (obj.)	at him	stays	she	woman

uŋw.	aχa′nʸ˟k̯ava·′ŋwaŋ	ųnɩ′ŋuts·,	a′ip·ïγ	a·ŋac·
she.	How will you do (pl.) to him	then?”	said	he

thω′p·aiyampatc	aŋʿ.	ïvʷï′’ɩŋwaraŋw	witsï′ųwaratsï	uŋw
white-breasted one	he.	“Let us him	bird hawk	he

ᴍᴜˣqwi'x̯·qava·ŋw.	ʻy̥·'mai,	ʻa'ik·ʻpï̆γaʻ	ᴍᴜˣqwi'χ̯avaiˣkap·ï̆γa'-
shall call (pl.) *on him.*"	"Yes,"	said (pl.),	returned (pl.) from *calling on him*

aiŋw	maŋa'iac·	wɩtsï'uŋwaratsï	aŋw.	u̦wa'ruγw	aik·ʻpï̆γa,
	that one (obj.)	bird hawk (obj.)	he.	To him	said (pl.),

ʻï̆vʷï̆''ⁱŋw	ma·m·a''uts	uŋw	uŋwa̦'uŋwantuxw[45]	saγwɔ'xᴜcavɩy
"Go ahead her	woman	she	away from him	gray hawk (obj.)

uŋw	tïvï̆'n·axaxwa'ᵃ.	u̦nɩ'vaiyɩŋumïxtsï''ⁱŋwa'	ʻɔaiʻ
he	go and lead away.	You, after returning from doing so to her	(past),

imi''ɩŋwᴀ	pɩŋwa'xaivaʻ,	a'ik·ʻpï̆γaʻ	ma̦·mu'c·	qa·mï'xanɩ'-
you her	will have as wife,"	said (pl.)	those	having (pl.) jack-rabbit camp

γantɩn	ɑmʻ.
	they.

maŋac·	ï̆'vʷaiyauq·	witsï''uŋwarats	aŋʻ	m·ʷɑvaʻ
That one	then	bird hawk	he	there

yïᵞï'vaʻ	qa·rï'p·ï̆γaʻ	qa·'nᴀcuvʷ	aip·ï̆γaʻ,	aχa'nʸˣk̯ava·tsɩ-
at doorway	sat	still his own singing	said,	"In what way being about to do (pl.)

ŋwaŋw	a'iʻk̯ai	uŋwa'iac·	saγwɔ'xᴜcavɩy	uŋw	qa'tcᴜ
to him you	say (pl.)	him	gray hawk (obj.)	he	not

piya'χaŋqïŋ'wait·ɩni̦ʻ	tiγwi·'n·an	u̦waiʻ.	mi̦mi'ntcu'a·ŋ
to be overcome by others (obj.)	having great power	him?	You (pl.) (inter.) him

u'ŋwaiʻ	pᴀˣpa'q·ava·ŋw,	a'ik̯·arïp·ï̆γaʻ	ma·va'ʻ	yïᵞï'va
him	will kill him?"	said sitting	there	at doorway

qa·rï'χaʻ.	ma·rï'c·cu'	ʻanɩ'k·arïʻ	nɩŋwï̆'aŋ	aʀ
sitting.	That merely	does so sitting	his body	it

qa·′q·arïχaʻ	marï′c·ᴜ	muχu′aŋ	aʀ	marï′ᴀ	qa′ivaχwɪtcuvarïʻ
sitting and singing,	that	his soul	it	that (obj.)	mountain peak (obj.)

pavi′aŋ[46]	aŋ	aŋa′ϕα	pɪ′tcɪχw’aip·ïγaʻ.	ųnɪ′ts	aŋʻ
his brother	he	to him	went and arrived.	Then	he

ma·m·a″utsï	aŋʻ	tsa’a′ivɪtcɪχw’aip·ïγa	ʻųnɪtc	a′ip·ïγa,
woman (obj.)	she	went and took hold of on arriving,	then	said,

ⁱŋ̣a″	ʻaro″ᵃ	nį′ni	pɪŋwa′m·max·qaiʻpinʻ.
“This one	is	mine	wife who has been given to me (by many).

ïvʷï′aŋan	ųnɪ′ts·	na·′nɪaŋ’waiʏᴜcampa·ŋʻ	nïru′x·w.
Go ahead! her me	then	without saying anything her	to me (give).”

qa·tcu′aŋanʻ	nį’	imi′ntcuχwa’va·ŋ’wainɪa·ŋʻ	nį′ni	’ųwaru″ᵅ
“Not her I	I	shall (neg.) to you her (give);	mine	she is

piŋwa′rų·ŋwaip·ïnɪ,	a′ip·ïγaʻ	saγwɔ′xᴜcav	aŋʻ.	qatcᴜ
having been picked up as wife by me,”	said	gray hawk	he.	“Not,

ma′ian	ʻaik·ˣ	ᵘmʷa′iaŋwaiyu′c·ampᴀ	tɪŋwɪ′niya·ŋʻ	ma′up̓·a·ŋʻ.
that I	say,	though saying (neg.) that,	quickly her	let her go!

nį′ni	ųwaru″ᵅ	piŋwa′mamax·qaiʻpinʻ	ma′ian	ʻaik·ˣ.
Mine	she is	wife who has been given to me (by many),	that I	say.”

nį′niya·xain·ɪ	ųwaru″ᵅ	piŋwa′ruuŋwaip·ïnɪ	aχa′nɪχ̧aiaŋan
“Mine, for my part,	she is	having been picked up as wife by me,	how doing her I

ųnɪ′ts·	nį″	imi′ntcuχwa’va·n·ɪaŋʻ.[47]	qa′tc	ᵘmʷa′iɪŋwaiyucampʻ[48]
then	I	shall her to you (give)?”	“Not	though saying (neg.) that,

tïŋwɪ′nɪya·ŋʻ	ma′up̓·a·ŋʻ	pᴀˣqą′umpą’ųm[49]	uru′ac·,	a′ip·ïγaʻ
quickly her	let her go,	I shall kill you	otherwise,”	said

witsï′uŋwarats·.	‘ų·mąį‘	qatcu′aŋ	ųnι′χ̯a’ᵃ
bird hawk.	“Yes,	not her	so doing

ma′up̓·ava·ŋwainιya·ŋ‘.	ᵘmpa′i‘campanι’	‘ɔai‘	pᴀˣqą′umpa·nɪ,
shall let her go (neg.).	I care not if you me		will kill me,”

a′ip·ïγa‘	saγwɔ′xᴜcaφɪ	tca’a′ik̬·a.iyoaŋ	aŋa′vumaŋqoaŋ‘.
said	gray hawk	holding her	by her arm.

maŋa′c·	witsï′ųwarats	aŋ‘	s·ιŋqwa′nuŋ’qwat·ï	aŋa′vïa·ŋ
That one	bird hawk	he	other (obj.)	her arm (obj.)

aŋa′vumaŋqoaŋ‘	tca’a′ik̬·a.ip·ïγa‘.
by her arm	held.

ų·ma.i,	‘a′ip·ïγa‘	saγwa′xᴜcaφɪ.	imi′’aq·	uvʷai‘
“Yes,”	said	gray hawk.	“You (obj.) it	in that case

na·ŋa′i’aik̬·amɪ	a·χa′n’ɴɪ	tïvʷi′p·ï	tɪˣqa′ŋ’wιχ̯o‘	a′iχ̯ai’
when you are angry,	how	earth	would become	saying you

aik·ˣ.	maŋac·	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	witsï′uŋwarats	aŋ‘
say?”	That one	then	bird hawk	he

a′ip·ïγa‘,	nį′nia·q·‘	na·ŋa′i’aik̬·anɪ	tïvʷi′p·ï
said,	“I (obj.) it	when I am angry,	earth

pa·γι′n·ax·qarïχu‘	imi′	ovʷai‘	ïŋa′’ᵃ.	nį′nia·q·‘
would become foggy;	you (obj.)	in that case,	well?”	“I (obj.) it

na·ŋa′i’aik̬·anɪ	qa·′q·aiva·χαntï	ᴜˣqu′mputsιtsa.iχ̯w’aiŋuŋqu‘
when I am angry,	those that are mountainous	would go off in dust,

ųnι′ŋut·‘	yu·yu·′a·r’ʊ·ŋqu‘,	ma′ip·ïγ	aŋac	caχwa′xᴜcaφɪ.
then	all would become level,”	that said	he	gray hawk.

ï′vʷaiyauq·	ųnι′ts	a′ip·ïγa‘	caχwa′xᴜcav	aŋ‘	piya′iav
Thereupon	then	said	gray hawk	he	his own mother

aŋa'ruxˑᴡᴀ,	nį'ni	'ɔąi'	pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜt̔uɑnɪ	sa'a'vaˑnɪ
to her,	"Me	(past)	they kill me,	shall boil me

maˑnˑɔ'qˑᴜ	nɩŋwï'aiyɑnɪ.	ï'vʷaiyauqˑᴜ	sᴜˑ'qˑucˑ	maŋa'cˑ
all (obj.)	my body (obj.)."	Then	one	that one

pïra'iyaˑŋ'	tɔ'tɔ'ṗˑinapˑïγa'.	maˑnˑɔ'q̇ˑuaq̇ˑam'	maˑmˑa''utsï
her arm (obj.)	pulled out.	All (obj.) it they 2	woman (obj.)

aŋ'	nɩŋwï'aiyaˑŋ'	naˑva'i'pïγai'qa'am'.	ųnɩ'ŋumïxtsïᴀˣqa'am'
she	her body (obj.)	they 2 divided it.	They 2 after having done it

maŋacˑ	witsï'uŋwarats	aŋ'	pᴀ'qa'ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ'	saχwa'xᴜcavɩγ
that one	bird hawk	he	killed him	gray hawk (obj.)

aŋ'.	maˑnˑɔ'q̇ˑuaqˑ	ųnɩ'ŋutsˑ	nɩŋwï'aiyaˑŋ'	maˑmˑa''utsï
he.	All (obj.) it	then	her body (obj.)	woman (obj.)

aŋ'	nɩŋwï'aaxaiķˑainaˑŋ'	coˑ'ṗˑar'uiŋumïˑts	ų'nɩcunɩ'aŋ'[50]
she	that she had had as body	after having gathered together	as had been before her

naya'ṗˑaˑŋˣt̔uipˑïγa'.
caused to appear.

maŋacˑ	ųnɩ'tsˑ	piyaˑ'ŋ	aŋ'	saγwa'xᴜcavi
That one	then	his mother	she	gray hawk (obj.)

sa'a'pˑïγaiyaˑŋ'.	ųnɩ'tsˑ	tïvʷi'pˑï	ɔˑnɔ't·ᴀ'cɩaŋqᴜ
boiled him.	Then	land (obj.)	when it dawned early

tᴜˑχu'mpai'	paiyaˑ'mˑanaŋqw	qoˑ'xˑᴀpïγainˑɩ'	maˑva''antï
sky (obj.)	coming from vault	was noise as of flapping wings,	being on that (obj.)

ųnɩ'ŋutsˑ	pampï'nˑi'	wɩχaˑ'ᵃvaˑntï'	taˑvɩ'pˑïγa'.
then	bucket (obj.)	being at edge (obj.)	lit.

qaˑ'pˑïγa'	mava''an	'ai',	nį'''	pᴀˣqa'x'ɔivaˑ'ŋw
Sang	on that	it (obj.),	"I	shall go and kill him

witsï'ųwaratsï	uŋwᴀ,	a'ip·ïγa'.	maŋac·	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
bird hawk (obj.)	he,"	said.	That one	then

piya·'ŋ·	aŋ	a'ip·ïγa',	qïma'ŋaiac·uru'	aiḵ·
his mother	she	said,	"Stranger (obj.) (inter.) you	say

imι'xïmaŋwɑntï'	pᴀˣqa'xw'ɔitcιχa·ᵃχa'.	qa'tcᴜ	ma'iḵ·anɪ
being strange to you (obj.)	claiming to go and kill?"	"No,	that I say;

ųwa'c·utcɑnɪ	nį'ni	pᴀˣqa'q·w'a'iŋunɪ.	ųnι'ŋuts·
he (past) me	me	kill me off."	Then

qa·mï'xanι	ʽaiʽ	ᵘ'u'raiŋᴜpïγa'.	ʽa'ik·w	saγwɔ'xᴜcavιtcaŋ
jack-rabbit camp (obj.)	it (obj.)	went towards it.	"Oh!	gray hawk us

ųnι'vitci',	a'ik·*ᴀpïγa'	qa·mï'χanι'γantïm'	mιntɔ'n'nιts·.
comes to attack,"	said (pl.)	those having jack-rabbit camp	running off.

maŋa'c·ampᴀ	witsï'uŋwarats	aŋ'	na·va'c·ᴜ	qa·'ᵃvιp·ïγa'
Only that one	bird hawk	he	without concern	lay and sang

piŋwa'iav	aŋ	aŋa'ŋwa'ᵃ.	maŋac	caγwa'xᴜcaφɪ
his own wife	she	with her.	That one	gray hawk

ma·n·ɔ'arup·ïγaiyaŋ'	i'yat·ï	ma·n·ɔ'arup·ïγa'.	ųnι'ŋumïⁱts·
jumped at him in order to hold down,	in vain	jumped at him in order to hold down.	After doing so

maŋa'iac·ᴜ	ma·m·a''utsï	aŋ'	tca'a'ip·ïγaiyaŋ'.
that one (obj.)	woman (obj.)	she	took hold of her.

naŋwa'i'ᵃcuaŋa'amį	narï'tsaŋ'wap·ïγaiyaŋ'am'.	ųnι'ŋuts·
Both they 2 her	they 2 tried to jerk her away from each other.	Then

maŋa'c·ᴜ	saγwa'xᴜcav	aŋ'	qᴀ'sa'vuma·ŋaφï	ʽaŋa'v'a·γιt·ï'
that one	gray hawk	he	with his own wing he	being over him (obj.)

kwɪ'pa'p·ïγa'	tɔ'tsï'a·ŋᴀ	wïˣpï't·'kiŋᴜpïγa'.	ʽa·rι'k·ï
struck,	his head (obj.)	grazed.	"Almost,

pa·vi'tŋ̥	cua'ϕᴀˣqaŋuntsanι'ⁱ.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ʋ	piya·'m·
my elder brother,	you have nearly killed me."	Then	their mother

amʽ	nanι'n·'aŋwɪtuγwa·mʽ	tιvʷï'naxaŋᴜpïγaʽ.	mʷį̈mι'ntcu'
they	in different directions them	led away.	"You (pl.) (inter.)

anιk·ˣ	na·γï'm·aŋuŋuc·ʋ,	a'ip·ïγa'aimʽ'	wa·'m·a·'caγwɔ'ⁱtsιŋw
do so	strangers to each other you?"	they 2 said	two old women

tuwα'tsιŋwα'a'mauϕ	tca'a'ik̥·a.iʽ.
on their own sons	while holding on.

qwaia'ŋqwᴀʽpatcιatca'x·qaŋumɪ	to'mɥ·'uŋun·ιʽ
On the other side (past) you (pl.) it	make rumbling noise

nana'ŋqˣᴀqaitcua·q·aŋwį̈.
you (pl.) (inter.) hear it?

TRANSLATION.[19]

At that place they had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. Now a certain one among them gave his wife a beating, and then that young woman ran off towards the mountain. There Gray Hawk was dwelling on a snow-covered peak, and with him was his mother. And then that Gray Hawk went off in yonder direction and there, right in the middle of the mountain, he found the woman. He returned with her to his house.

Then those who had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits began to miss the woman, and they called upon the white-breasted one[20] (to find her). Then that one, starting from the edge of the land, looked all over it; only that mountain peak there was left. When evening approached, (he returned and) arrived where were those having a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "I have not seen her," he said; "only that snow-covered peak is left," said the white-breasted one. In the morning he went off to look over the snow-covered peak and on it he found the woman whom Gray Hawk was having as his wife. He started back home over his former way towards the camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "What do you all say that you will do to him?" said he. "With Gray Hawk, him who is not easily to be overcome, dwells that woman. What, then, will you all do to him?" said that white-breasted one. (Then someone said,) "Let us call upon Sparrow Hawk!" "All right," said they, and called upon that Sparrow Hawk. To him they said, "Go ahead! lead the woman away from Gray Hawk. After you have done so to her, you shall have her as your wife," said they who had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits.

Then there in the doorway Sparrow Hawk was sitting and kept singing, "What say you all that you will do to that Gray Hawk, him who is not easily to be overcome, who has great power? Will you slay him?" said he, as he sat there in the doorway. Only that body of his is doing so, sitting and singing, but his soul went off and arrived at that mountain peak where his elder brother was. Then, upon arriving, he took hold of the woman and said, "She here is mine, having been given to me for a wife. Do you, then, without saying anything, give her up to me!" "I shall not give her to you; she is mine, having been taken up by me for a wife," said Gray Hawk. "Do not say that, say I, but quickly let her go! She is mine, having been given to me for a wife, that is what I say." "But she is mine, having been taken by me for a wife. Why, then, shall I give her up to you?" "Without saying that, quickly let go! Otherwise I shall slay you," said Sparrow Hawk. "All right, by no means shall I let her go. I do not care if you kill me," said Gray Hawk, as he held her by her arm. That Sparrow Hawk was holding her by her other arm.

"All right," said Gray Hawk. "If you are angered, in what way would the land appear, say you?" And then that Sparrow Hawk said, "When I am angered, the land would become filled with fog. And as for you?" "When I am angered, the mountains would all go up in dust, then all would be a level space," said that Gray Hawk. And then Gray Hawk said to his mother, "Should I be killed, you shall boil all of my body." And then he wrenched off one of (the young woman's) arms. And between them both they divided her body, (each pulling her to himself). After they had done so, that Sparrow Hawk killed Gray Hawk, and after he had gathered together all parts of the woman's body, all that had formed her body, he caused her to appear as she had been before.

Then that mother of Gray Hawk boiled him. Then, when it dawned upon the earth, from the sky was heard a noise as of flapping wings, and on the rim of the bucket (wherein he had been boiled) he lit; thereon he sang, "I shall go and slay Sparrow Hawk," said he. And then that mother of his said, "Do you speak of a stranger, of one who is no kin of yours, since you talk of going to kill?" "No, that is what I say; (but) that one killed me." Then towards the camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits he proceeded. "Oh! Gray Hawk comes to attack (us)," said those having a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits, as they ran away; but that Sparrow Hawk lay with his wife, as though nothing were happening, and sang. That Gray Hawk swooped down upon him to hold him down, swooped down in vain. After doing so, he caught hold of that woman; both of them tried to tear her away from each other. And then that Gray Hawk struck above him with his wing, but merely grazed his head. "Nearly, my elder brother, did you kill me," (said Sparrow Hawk). And then their mothers led them away in different directions. "Do you act as though you were strangers to each other?" said the two old women, as they held on to their sons.

Did any of you hear something make a noise on the other side?[21]

6. Coyote sets the Parturition Customs.

cιna'ŋwavιyaγw	aŋᴀ	m·ʷα'va'	qanι'γa'	piŋwą·'ŋ	aŋ
Coyote, it is said (past),	he	there	dwell,	his wife	she

aŋa'ruχw	a'ip·ïγa',	cïï'xaŋqïxw'ain'	'a'ⁱc·ιtcuvʷa·t·ŋ̥n
to him	said,	"Go to get squaw-bush twigs for me	being about to make gathering-basket I

aik[51]	ųmα'ntï'.	ų·'mai,	a'ip·ïγa'	cιna'ŋwaφɪ.	ųnι'ŋuts
say	being there-from (obj.)."	"Yes,"	said	coyote.	Then

o'xpa·ŋqw'aip·ïγa'	cïï'vʷïmpï'aiyauv	'u'ra'.	tïvʷι'tc'
went off in yonder direction	his own squaw-bush	towards it.	Very

miɔ'n·ι	ųni'n'nip·ïγa'	naŋqa'p·ïγa'	qa·'p·i'.	'a'ik·w,
far distant	was doing along	heard	singing (obj.).	"Oh!"

a'ip·ïγa'	cιna'ŋwaφɪ,	pua'ru'a'iyuruɔn·ιχain·ι'	cu'wαru'anɪ
said	coyote,	"Seems I am getting supernatural power,	almost (inter.) I

nɔ·n·ɔ'c·i'	narï'vʷi	puα'xant	ųŋwarï	nį''ɪ.
dream,	already	medicine-man	am	I."

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	naŋqa'ts̓aŋwį̈nι'p·ïγaʻ	qatcu''uq·ʻ	naŋqa'p·ïγaʻ.
Then	stood and listened,	not it	heard.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ʻ	paγa'inʸˣqwι'p·ïγa	ųnι'ŋut·	naŋqa'p·ïγai'cuq·w
Then	started off,	then	again heard it,

tιra'c·kwɔp·ïγa'ic·ᴜ.	ųnι'ŋut·	naŋqa'ts̓aŋųnιp·ïγaic·u''q·w
again stopped.	Then	again stood and listened to it,

'a't·ιnaŋqˣpïγaik·	ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʻ	qa·'q·ʻpiʻ.	nį̈nʷι''
heard it well	then	singing of many (obj.).	"We

anι'k·a·ᵃ[52]	kwi·'mυ·ᵘrαntιk·amι'aγaʻ,[53]	a'ik·ᴀpïγaʻ
are doing	journeying in order to eat people,"	said (pl.)

qa·'m'mιaγa	tuγumpapaiya·'ᵃruq·ʻ	nɔntsι'k·amιaγaʻ	ma·m·u'c·
singing along	beneath sky-vault	flying along	those

ɔva'n·aŋqaŋw	αmʻ.	waa'n·ιya·'vιŋw	amʻ	nanι''naq·wɔyaγa·'-
geese	they.	Two chiefs	they	at both ends of it

maxqam	wį̈nι'm·ιap·ïγaʻ.	cιna'ŋwav	aŋʻ	pį̈nι'k̂·aip·ïγa'aimʻ.
they	stood while journeying.	Coyote	he	saw them.

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·w	a'ip·ïγaʻ,	nį̈''ɪ	ma·n·ɔ'q̇·woq·ʻ	qa·nι't·ιrï'aiʻ
Then	said,	"I	all (obj.) them	camp-places (obj.)

pa·'p·a·γantïʻ	qa·'q·aiva·ntsιγαntïʻ	mį̈mʷι'a·ntsιγαntïʻ
spring-having (pl. obj.)	mountain-having (pl. obj.)	divide-having (pl. obj.)

kwɪʻkwi'tcuva'tcιtcïʻ	pa·va·'n'nɔantsιγαntïʻ	ma·n·ɔ'q·ᴜ
knoll-having (pl. obj.)	valley-having (pl. obj.)	all (obj.)

nιŋwï'ai'yaq·w	pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwai'yιq·w.	ïvʷι'an	ųnι'ŋuts·
their people (obj.)	know them.	Go ahead (pl.) me	then

nį̈'[54]	na'up̓·an	ma·m·a·'nɪ	nį̈'ŋum	ųnι'ŋuts·	mǫį'mpa·ŋumʻ,
I	like self me	make (pl.) me,	I you	then	shall lead you,"

a'ip·ïγaʻ	cina'ŋwaφɪ.	ʻanι'aŋ	a'ik·ˣ	cina'ŋwav	aŋʻ,
said	coyote.	"What he	say	coyote	he?"

a'ik·ʻpïγaʻ	narï'vʷiŋuq·waχaʻ.	ma·n·ɔ'q·oya·q·ʻ	pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwar
said (pl.)	while asking each other.	"All (obj.) them, (he) says,	knowing

a'iyaŋ	ʻaik·ˣ	uru'ac·	tïvʷi'p·ïʻ	pu'u'rainaŋ[55]	ųni'nᴀ.
that he	say	them	lands (obj.)	whither our	doing.

maŋa'c·	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	nιa·'vιŋ'wa·m·	aŋ	a'ip·ïγaʻ,
That one	then	their chief	he	said,

ⁱᵐpʷa'iaŋ	a'iva	mʷα'ŋʻ	cina'ŋwav	aŋʻ	qa'tcᴜ	'a'iyuŋwai't·ï̧mʻ
"Let him	shall say	that	coyote	he,	not	being good (neg.);

maa'it·ιŋkʻtïvʷa·ŋaraŋᴡᴀ.
he will cause us to be found out."

cina'ŋwav	ųmu'ʀqwa·x·	ɴᴜˣqwι'm'mιap·ïγaʻ	wa'a'ŋɪpax·pïγaʻ.
Coyote	moving under them	ran along,	shouted while journeying.

ʻaa'ik·w,	a'ip·ïγaʻ	nιa·'vιŋ'wa·mï,	anι'χaiaŋaraŋᴡᴀ
"Oh!"	said	their chief,	"so doing he us

maa'it·ιŋkʻtïx·qw'aiva.	ïvʷï'aŋaraŋᴡᴀ	na·'p̓·antuγwa·ŋ
will perhaps cause to be caught.	Let us him	together him

wïʻcι'amamaxava·ŋʻ,	a'ip·ïγaʻ	nιa·'ᵃvιŋ'wa·mʻ.	tïvʷa
shall give him feathers,"	said	their chief.	Down

ųnι'ŋut·	a·ŋa''vantux·w	yuwα'k·ɪpïγaʻ	cina'ŋwavιʻ.
then	on to him	flew down (pl.)	coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwaφɪ	na'q·ʻtιŋqʻpïγa.[56]	wïʻcι'amamax·pïγaiyaŋ
Coyote	dodged several times.	Gave (pl.) him feathers

na·'p̓·antux·ᴡᴀ	cina'ŋwavι	a'ik·ʻpïγaʻ,	ïvʷï''ca'ᵃ	nɔntsi'q·ᴜ
together,	coyote (obj.)	said (pl.),	"Go ahead!	fly off

marï	avι'tcιtcïʻ	a'o'raʻ	ma·m·a'i	ųnι'ŋuts·	paiyι'ŋumpaʻ.
that (obj.)	little ridge (obj.)	towards it,	from on that	then	shall return."

ų·′mai,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cina′ŋwaφɪ	nǫ·ntsï′q·ᴜpïγa	a·vι′tcιtcï‘
"Yes,"	said	coyote,	flew off,	little ridge (obj.)

qwaia′ŋqwɔp·‘	nǫ·ntsï′p·ïγa‘.	anι′an	‘aik·ˣ,	a′ip·ïγa‘
beyond	flew.	"That I	say,"	said

nιa·′vιŋ′wa·m‘.	umʷα′nιva·nt	ųwaru′′ᵅ	mʷα′ŋᴀ	cina′ŋwav
their chief.	"About to be doing thus	he is	that	coyote

aŋ‘	qatcu′raŋᴡᴀ	tïvʷι′tsιχava·ŋ′wa′it·ιraŋᴡᴀ.	cina′ŋwaφɪ
he,	not us	being about to obey (neg.) us."	Coyote

qǫ·′nɪpïγa	a·vι′tcιtcï‘	mana′ŋqwpai′yιq·w	‘a·mu′φᴀ
came back	little ridge (obj.)	from its other side,	at them

pι′tcɪpïγa‘.	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘	maŋac·	nιa·′v	aŋ	a′ip·ïγa‘,
arrived.	Then	that one	chief	he	said,

qatcᴜ	nǫ·ntsï′n′ιva·ŋwa′	nïmʷi′ɔax·tux·ᴡᴀ	qatcᴜ
"Not	shall be flying around	around us,	not

wa′a′ŋιva·ŋwa′	qatcᴜ	qa·′va·ŋwa′	pa′a′n·i‘.	ų·′mai,
shall shout,	not	shall sing	loud.	"Yes,"

a′ip·ïγa‘	cina′ŋwaφɪ.
said	coyote.

ma·′n·un·ι	ya·′c·ιŋup·ïγa‘	tuγu′mpai	′aura‘.
All	started to fly	sky (obj.)	towards it.

tï′vʷa	ųnιts·	ya·′c·pïγa‘	pu′u′raiv	ųnιŋ	ᵘ′u′ra‘.
Westward	then	flew (pl.)	whither their own	do	towards it.

cina′ŋwav	aŋ	a·m·ɔ′ax·tux·w[57]	nɔntsï′vurup·ïγa‘.
Coyote	he	around them	flew hither and thither.

ï′vʷaiyauq·w	a′ip·ïγa‘	nιa·′vιŋ′wa·m‘,	wï‘cι′aia·ŋaraŋᴡᴀ
Then	said	their chief,	"His feathers (obj.) we

ɔva′q·aŋ·ᵘᵐpa·c·	maa′it·ιŋk‘tïvʷa·ŋaraŋw	uru′ac·	ani′χa‘.
shall again pull out (pl.),	he will cause us to be found out	that (obj.)	doing."

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ɔaŋ‘	tcatca′i’p·ïγaiam‘	tuγu′mpapaiya·′ᵃva·ntux·w		
Then him	they took hold of	at sky-vault,		
wï‘sι′aiya·ŋ	ɔva′q·aŋup·ïγa‘.	cina′ŋwav	aŋ‘	pɪ‘tcu′′ɑmɪ
his feathers (obj.)	took off (pl.).	Coyote	he	downward
cu′r’urup·ïγain·ι‘	tïvʷi′p·uvʷa·ntï	kwɪ‘pa′p·ïγa‘	tᴀ‘pa′c·pïγ	
made noise of whizzing,	being on ground (obj.)	fell,	lay senseless,	
u̥nι′ŋuts·	pina′ŋqwᴀ	cuwa′p·itcιp·ïγa‘.	sa’a′p·i‘	
then	soon	came to.	Mush (obj.)	
pi̥nι′k̥·aip·ïγa‘.	a′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa‘,	tïγï′vutsιŋwu̥nι′anɪ	
saw.	“Oh!”	said,	“my friends, it seems,	
sa’a′m·amax·qainɪ,	a′ip·ïχa‘	tɪ‘qa′xaik·w.		
have given (pl.) me mush,”	said	while eating it.		
pinaŋqw	ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘	tɪ‘qa′m·au’p·utsïq·w	cɪˣpï′χïru-	
Soon	then	having finished eating it	felt like	
tca·q·aip·ïγain·ι‘,[58]	maa′inɪpïγ	u̥nι′ŋuts·	tɔ‘tsï′va·ntïɑφï.	
cold thrill going through head,	touched	then	being at his own head (obj.).	
‘aa′ik·w,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cina′ŋwaφɪ,	tcɔˣpι′k·ιar’ɔn	
“Oh!”	said	coyote,	“brains (obj.) (inter.) I	
u̥nι′k̥·a‘	tɪ‘qa′χa‘,	a′ip·ïγa‘.	pɪ‘pι′t·a’nι′t·ιγax·pïγa‘.	
was indeed doing	eating?”	said.	Tried to vomit.	
na·ŋa′i’aip·ïγa‘	cina′ŋwaφɪ,	ïvʷïn	naŋwa′x·pa·ɪnpa’amï.	
Was angry	coyote,	“Let me	shall follow their tracks.”	
tïvʷa′im’mιap·ïγa‘	cina′ŋwaφɪ	‘a·vι′ŋᴜpax·pïγa‘.	pinaŋq	
Traveled west	coyote,	passed night after night on journey.	Soon	
ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘	naŋqa′p·ïγa’aimï	qa·′m·ιa’nam‘.	cina′ŋwav,	
then	heard them	their singing while moving along.	“Coyote,”	

a'ik·ʽpïγa,	u'vʷa·ŋʽ	nιŋwï'rïraxwɔ̇p·aʽ	a·vi'ʽ	ma·m·a''utc
said (pl.),	"there she	right among people	lies	woman

uŋʽ	imi'	uŋwᴀ	'a'c·ιntuina'ᵃmɪ.	ʊ·'mai,	a'ip·ïγaʽ
she,	of you	she	your liking.	"Yes,"	said

cina'ŋwaφɪ.	ʽava	ʽarï'ac·	qanι'p·ï	ʽava	pι'tcιxw'aip·ïγaʽ
coyote.	There	that (obj.)	former camping place (obj.)	there	went and arrived

pᴜʽca'χaip·ïγaiaŋʽ	mam·a''utsïʽ	ųnι'χaic·uaŋʽ	maa'ip·ïγaʽ.
looked for her	woman (obj.),	so doing her	found.

axa'n·ιva·'ŋan	u'vʷaiʽ,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cina'ŋwaφɪ.
"How shall I her do	then?"	said	coyote.

uŋwa''vantïγwa'ŋᴜpïγaʽ	saχwι·'ai'aŋw	uvʷa''anʽ	wïwï'n'ɪˣqup·ïγaʽ
Got on top of her,	her stomach (obj.)	on it	began to stand stamping.

ųnι'χ̯cu'uŋw	wï'ï'k·ᴜpïγaʽ	maŋa'c·	ïŋa·''pitc	aŋʽ.
So doing to her,	fell out	that one	baby	he.

axa'n·ιva·ŋan	uvʷaiʽ,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cina'ŋwaφɪ.
"In what way shall I do to him	then?"	said	coyote.

ï'vʷaiyauq̇·uŋwᴀ	yï'ï'k·ɪpïγa'aiŋwᴀ	paiyι'k·ʽpïγa	'u'ra
Then him	swallowed him,	came back	towards it

tïvʷι'p·uaiauφï.	a·vι'ŋᴜpax·pïγaic·ᴜ	saχwι·'a·φᴀˣqa'ŋqïpïγaʽ.
his own country (obj.).	Again passed night after night on journey,	had stomach-ache.

ma'm·	un·ιvä·ntï	mam·a''uts·,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cina'ŋwaφɪ.
"In that way	being about to do	woman,"	said	coyote.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ʽ	qumu'ntuaʀïpïγaʽ.	ųnι'ŋumïts·	wa'a'p·ïʽ
Then	heated stones on fire.	After doing so	of cedar

pᴀʽpa·′raŋqai	o′mᴀ	pïri′′rïp·ïγa	ɥnι′x̯'uŋw	ïŋa·′′pitc
limb (obj.)	on it	hung on;	while he did so	baby

aŋʽ	wï'ï′k·ʊpïγaʽ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ʽ	mʷιɔ′t·ιγan·ιʽ
he	fell down.	Then	when at considerable distance

qʊʽqwa′iɔnaγw'a′iŋup·ïγaʽ.	pι′tcɪpïγaʽ	na'a′it·ιp·ïγa'aik·w
went to get armful of wood.	Arrived,	caused it to burn;

qumu′ntïaʀïqwainaφï	uvʷa′′a·χ	a·vι′p·ïγaʽ	yu·′t·uitcïʽ
his own having heated stones on fire	on top of it	lay,	being warm (obj.)

pa·i	ivi′p·ïγaʽ.	ɥnι′ŋuts·	tsï′q·uŋ'wanumpuʀpïγa	ɥɪn
water (obj.)	drank.	Then	made hair-scratcher,	with it

ɥnι′ŋuts·	nantsï′x·quŋ'ᵃpïγaʽ.	i'in·	ɥnι′vä·ntɪ
then	scratched himself in hair	"In this way	being about to do

ma·m·a′′uts·	nïntu′aŋqïŋuts·,	a′ip·ïγaʽ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ.
woman	having given birth to child,"	said	coyote.

Translation.[22]

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream.[23] Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those with valleys—all their people I know. Do you, then, make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along. "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it, then, you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.

7. The Theft of Fire.

m·ʷα′vaʻ	qa·mï′χanι′aγaip·ïγaiʻtuaiʻ	cina′ŋwav	aŋ
There	people had jack-rabbit camp,	coyote	he

aro′′ap·ïγaʻ	nι′a·vιŋ’wa·mï.	qa·mï′ya′ik·ˣpïγa.
was	their chief.	Hunted (pl.) for jack-rabbits.

umu′vʷ’antuχw	ųnι′ŋuts·	maa·′φï	tuγų′ŋ’wιp·ïγa.	uvʷa′
On to them	then	thing	fell down as from sky.	There

ųnι′ŋuts·	ma·n·u′n·ι	nara′q·witcump’pïγa.	imp	aro′′ᵃ,
then	all	gathered together.	"What	is?"

a′ik·ˣpïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	sįna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγa,	ι′ι′tcʻ
said (pl.).	Then	coyote	said,	"This

qυ·′nan·ι	nayava′iʻ	miyɔ′t·ïm·anaŋqwᴀ	na’a′intï	ųmant
like fire	seems,	from far distant place	burning (obj.)	being from it

aro′′ᵃ.	tą·ŋwa′′	ʻaroam·ιʻ	qa′tc·ᴜ	quna′′ap·aiʻ
is.	We	are wont to be	not	fire (neg. obj.)

taŋwa′i	aʀ	na’a′it·uik̂·anaraŋwᴀ.	ųni′ts·	ta′ŋwᴀ
of us	it	our causing (pl.) to burn.	Then	we

tιʻqa′q·anaraŋwᴀ	sa·′ŋqaχoóq·w	tιʻqa′q·amιʻ.	tïvʷι′ts·
our eating (pl.)	when it is raw	always eat (pl.).	Very

’a′iyuχuwaq·ʿ	’ɩ′tcɩaraŋwᴀ	qu·na′iʿ	pïvʷa·′ntïm·anaŋqwa·q·
it would be good	this (obj.) we	fire (obj.)	from being where it

ų̇nɩ′ŋᴜqwainᴀ	ta·ŋwa′i’yaq·w	mam·a′aik·ˣ	’a′iyuχu·p·
having done	of us it	find (pl.).	Good would

ur	uru′′aiʿ	ta·ŋwa′iʿ	tɪʿqa′q·anaraŋwᴀ	qwᴀʿsɩ′t̕·uik̭·a·q·ɔ-
it	is	of us	our eating (pl.)	when it is cooked,

waq·ʿ	tɪʿqa′q·aχuᴀˣqaraŋw	uru′aχuʿ	sᴜ·′′aiyuχᴜ·p·ï,
	when we eat (pl.) it	would be	would very good,”

a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.	m·ʷa′va	n·ara′q̇·omʿqa·′yuc·ᴜ
said	coyote.	There	as were still gathered (pl.) together

sɩna′ŋwav	aŋ	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï′aq·ʿ	wa′n·uyuaq·ʿ
coyote	he	said,	“Go ahead, it	there being it

tuγumpapaiya·′m·aiʏᴜ	pï̯nɩ′k̭·aiχ̭w’a′iŋᴜ	pïma′naŋqwa·q·	uʀ
from sky-vault	go in order to see	wherefrom it	it

’i′tcïʿ	tuγų′′wina·q·ʿ.	maŋa′iac·	aŋa′ruxw	maa′ivätcaiya·tcï
this (obj.)	it falling down from sky.”	That one (obj.)	to him	chicken-hawk (obj.),

imi′′	ʿaro′′ᵅ	nɔntsɩ′n’ivätc·,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.
“You	are	being wont to fly around,”	said	coyote.

ʿų·′mai,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	maa′vatcaiya·tc·.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ʿ
“Yes,”	said	chicken-hawk.	Then

nɔntsi′k·ᴜpïγaʿ	tuγu′ntux·w.	ų̇nɩ′ŋuts	ų̇nɩŋuts·
flew off	upward.	Then	having so done

tïvʷɩ′p·ï	ʿava′′a·x·ɪ	qwauʿ	nɔntsɩ′p·ïγaʿ.	mava′iyun·ɩ
earth (obj.)	over it	off	flew.	From a distance

ų̇nɩ′ŋuts·	wa′q·	am·u′uraic·ᴜ	paiyɩ′ŋᴜpïγaʿ.
then	hither	towards them again	returned.

ĭ′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	cɩna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγa,	ïvʷĭ′′ca′	i′m
Then	coyote	said,	"Go ahead,	you

ᴀʻta′q̇·ɔts·	nɔntsï′q·ʻ	tuγu′ntux·w.	ų′mai,	a′ip·ïγa
crow	fly off	upward."	"Yes,"	said

ᴀʻta′q̇·ɔts·.	ųnɩ′ŋut·	nɔntsɩ′k·ᴜpïγa	ųni′c·	ani′χw′aip·ïγaʻ
crow.	Then	flew off,	in that same way	went and did,

tïvʷɩ′p·ï	mava′a·x·ɪ	nɔntsï′γw′aip·ïγa.	uvʷa·′aiuc·ᴜ
earth (obj.)	over that	went and flew.	From there again

waq·ɪ	mïni′c·ɪpïγa	wa·q·	ųmu′′ura	ųmu′ϕ	pɩ′tcʻpïγaic·ᴜ
hither	turned around	hither	toward them,	at them	again arrived.

ma·n·ĭ′n·ɩ	wïwɩ′c·′ya·χαntïmʻ	tᴜʻpʷi′p·ïγaʻ	ma·ŋa′c·amp
All	having feathers (pl.)	were used up,	only that

uvʷaiʻ	pa·γï′	aŋʻ	piya′iʻpïγaʻ.	cɩna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγa,
then	fish	he	was left.	Coyote	said,

imi′ntcu′	aru′′ᵃ	wɪʻcɩ′a·χant	ųnɩ′ts·	nɔntsï′va·ts·.
"You (inter.)	are	having feathers	then	being about to fly.

ïvʷĭ′′ca′ᵃ	nɔntsɩ′mᴍᴀʻqïŋ′ᴡᴀʻ,	a′ip·ïγaʻ	cɩna′ŋwav
Go ahead	try to fly,"	said	coyote

aŋa′rux·ᴡᴀ.	ų·′mai,	a′ip·ïγaʻ	paγï′	aŋʻ.	ųnɩ′ŋuts·
to him.	"Yes,"	said	fish	he.	Then

tuγu′ntux·ᴡᴀ	nɔntsï′q·ᴜpïγaʻ.	cɩna′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγaʻ,
skyward	flew off.	Coyote	said,

pĭʻpĭ′t·ɩnaiya·ŋʻ.[58a]	ma·m·u′c·uaŋᴀ	pĭ′t·ɩnap·ïγaiyaŋᴀ
"Follow (pl.) him with your eyes."	Those him	followed (pl.) him with eyes

tuγu′mpaiya·ŋ	a′a′ɩraʻ	tï·′iyaŋʻ	nɔntsï′χuaŋʻ	ųni′tsɩaŋʻ
sky (obj.) he	towards it	up he	as he flew,	then him

ma·m·a·′′aŋɩť·ɩp·ïγaiyaŋʻ.	ma·va	ųnɩ′ŋuts·	mantcu′′aik·ʻqai-
(pl.) caused him to be lost.	There	then	waited (pl.) for him,

p·ïγaiaŋʽ	pina'ŋqw	ųnι'ŋuts·	pι'tcʽpïγa.	ïvʷi'n·iya'ᵃ
	soon	then	arrived.	"Go ahead quickly

tïnι',	a'ip·ïγaʽ,	pį̈nι'k̭·aik̭·ai'namɪ,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cιna'ŋwaφɪ.
tell,"	said,	"what you saw,"	said	coyote.

iva'tcʽ	tïvʷι'p·ï[59]	qïŋwa·'ᵃva·ntï	na·'na'aintcïniʽ
"Far off	of land	being at edge	like burning (pl.)

pį̈nι't̓·uαq·a,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	pa·γï'	aŋʽ.	ani'an	ʽaik·ˣ,
looks something,"	said	fish	he.	"What I	say?"

a'ip·ïγaʽ	cιna'ŋwaφɪ.	ïvʷï'raŋwᴀ	qu·na'i	ʽɔaiʽ
said	coyote.	"Let us	fire (obj.)	it (obj.)

ya·'m·ιava'aq·w	ųmu'ŋwantux·w	ųmï'ac·ᴜ	quna'q·aχantïmï'aq·w.
shall go (pl.) to fetch it	away from them	them	having (pl.) it as fire.

ι'itc	arɔ''amiʽ	qa'tcᴜ	qu·na''ap·α	ta·ŋwa'i	aʀ
This	is wont to be	not	(real) fire (neg.)	of us	it

na'a'it·ιk̭·anaraŋwᴀ,	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cιna'ŋwav	aŋʽ.	ų·'mai,
which we cause (pl.) to burn,"	said	coyote	he.	"Yes,"

a'ik·ˣpïγaʽ	ma·n·u'n·ιʽ.	ïvʷï'raŋwaxa'ᵃ	qu·na'i	ʽɔaiʽ
said (pl.)	all.	"Let us, then,	fire (obj.)	it (obj.)

ya·'m·ιava·'aq·w.
shall go (pl.) to fetch it."

ma·n·u'n·[60]	ųnι'ŋuts·	ta·va'iʽ	yaa'uq·win	u'u'raʽ
All	then	sun's	setting	towards it

pɔru'q·ᴜpïγaʽ.	cιna'ŋwavιyaŋamï	moi'm'mιap·ïγaʽ	qwa·vι'ŋᴜpax·-pïγa.
started out (pl.).	Coyote he them	led along,	stopped to camp (pl.) while traveling.

u'vʷai	a'ip·ïγaʽ	cιna'ŋwaφɪ,	ïvʷï''ca'	i'mɪ
At that place	said	coyote,	"Go ahead!	you

mo'ť·utcats·	tuγu'ntuxwᴀ	nɔntsï'k·ᴜ	ŋ̣nɩ'ŋuts·
humming-bird	upward	fly off,	then

na'a'int	uʀ	p̯ïnɩ'k̭·aiχ̯wa'ᵃ.	'a'iŋumïx·qa'aŋw	tuγu'ntuxw
burning	it	go and see."	After he had said so	upward

maŋa'c·ᴜ	mo'ť·utcatc	aŋ'	nɔntsɩ'k·ᴜpïγa'.	qa·'tc·ᴜ
that one	humming-bird	he	flew off.	Not,

ŋ̣nɩ'ŋᴜtsïc·ampᴀ	p̯ïnɩ'k̭·aip·ïä'aik·w	pɪ'pɩ'tc'pïγa'.	maŋac·
although having so done,	saw (neg.) it,	arrived back.	That one

ɔ'vaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna'ŋwav	aŋ	a'ip·ïγa,	ïvʷï''ca'
thereupon	coyote	he	said,	"Go ahead!

i'mɪ	paγï''	nɔntsï'q·uc·ᴜ	tuγu'ntux·wᴀ	maŋac·
you	fish	fly off again	upward."	That one

ɔ'vaiyauq·ᴜ	pa·γï'	aŋ'	tuγu'ntux·w	nɔntsɩ'k·ᴜpïγa'
then	fish	he	upward	flew off,

pinaŋqw	ŋ̣nɩ'ŋuts·	pi'tc'pïγa.	ŋ̣nɩ'ŋuts	a'ip·ïγa',
soon	then	arrived.	Then	said,

tca·χɩ'ṗ·aq·w	aïvʷ	uru''ᵃ,	maŋac·	paγï'	aŋ'.
"It near	now	is,"	that one	fish	he.

ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	pɔru'q·ᴜpïγaaic·ᴜ	qwa·ᵃvɩ'ŋᴜpax·pïγaaic·ᴜ.
Thereupon	again set out (pl.),	again stopped to camp (pl.) while traveling.

su·'tcaχɩp·	ï'vʷaiyauq·	uru''ᵃp·ïγa'	marï'c·ᴜ	qanɩ'aγant
Very near	thereupon	was	that (inan.)	provided with houses

aʀ	pu'u'raiyam	'an·ɩ'n·a·mï.	maŋac·	ï'vʷaiyauq·'
it	whither they	their so doing.	That one	thereupon

sɩna'ŋwav	aŋ	a'ip·ïγa',	mʷï̯'mɪ	ma·n·u'n·ɩ'	qaŋqa'ni
coyote	he	said,	"You (pl.)	all	each house (obj.)

o·'n·auq·wᴀ	ï̯mʷï'iχ̯w'aiva'.	nɩ'χain·ɩ'	nia·'ᵃvɩ	uŋwᴀ
among them	shall go and arrive	I also	chief's	he

qanι′vaauŋᴡɪ	pi′tcιχwa’aiva‘.	ųnι′ŋuts·	mʷį̈mɪ	mama′x·piαφϊ
in house	shall go and arrive.	Then	you (pl.)	what has been given to selves (obj.)

qatco′’ᵒq·w	ma·n·ɔ′q̇·oq·w	tɪ‘qa′q·ava·ŋwa’ᵃ,	a′ip·ϊχa‘
not it	all of it	shall eat (pl. neg.),”	said

maŋac·	cιna′ŋwav	aŋ‘.	umʷa′ntï‘	taŋa′na·χ’ι′k·waφϊ
that one	coyote	he.	“Being thereof (obj.)	into own knees it

mara′ŋˣk̯ava.	ųnι′tsιtsaŋᴡᴀ	cʋ·′it·uγwanumʷac·ᴜ
shall put (pl.).	Then we	on one night

naiya′ŋwιŋqït·uα′xava‘	nį̈′’ᴵ	qɔ‘cɔ′vurup·ïanɪ	ⁱ’ι′tcï‘
shall have hand-game with them;	I	my prepared roll to catch fire (obj.)	this (obj.)

pa·′γïanɪ	pϊma′’aq·ᴡᴀ	ᴡɪ‘tca′q·ain	a′mᴀ	quna′q·wïï′va‘.
my head-hair (obj.)	to which it	having been tied	therewith	shall take fire.

tᴀ‘cï′antï‘	tιγa′ix̯·ᴜ	qu·na′ian	‘ɔai‘	uvʷa′’a·x·ɪ
Dawn (obj.)	when appearing	my fire (obj.)	it (obj.)	over it

ᵃ’a′p·ɪ‘qova	‘a′ŋwai’ιn·ι	ani′vä‘	mʷį̈mʷ	ϊ′vʷaiyauq·
shall lean back and forth	like signalling	shall do,	you (pl.)	thereupon

i·′pɔ·tsιnɪˣqa′q·aiva‘.	‘ų·′mai,	a′ik·ᴀpϊγa‘.
will all be ready to start off (for race).”	“Yes,”	said (pl.).

ųnι′ŋuts·	pɔ·ru′q·ᴜpϊγaaic·ᴜ	tïvʷa′‘.	uvʷa′iya·ᵃruq·ᴡᴀ
Then	again started off (pl.)	down.	Next to it

qa′ivavιtcï	umᴀ	pį̈nι′uγwιp·ϊγa‘[61]	ta·va′iˣk̯ap·ι‘.
mountain ridge	thereon	sat down (pl.) and watched	(bushes) set fire to by several (obj.).

ųnι′k̯·aŋumϊⁱts·	mį̈n·ï′s·’its	uŋwa′t·ιk̯·aŋup·ϊγa	uvʷa′’antux·ᴡᴀ
After having so done (pl.)	having gone back home (pl.)	caused (pl.) to rain	thereon

ta·va′i᷾k̯aq·a′in·aφï.	ma·n·ɔ′n·ι	ųnιtc	arï′c·ᴜ	qu·′n	aʀ
their own having-been set-on-fires.	All	then	those	fires	they

tʊ·γwi′navιtcʻpïγaʻ.	ųnι′ŋuts·	ma·va′ʻ	yuχwι′χ̯aaic·ᴜ
went out (pl.).	Then	there	again sitting

pɔru′q·ᴜpïγaaic·ᴜ	qanι′aγant	u′u′raʻ.	ma·va′	ųnι′ŋuts
again started off (pl.)	camp	toward it.	There	then

ïmʷï′iχ̯w′a′ip·ïγaʻ.	cina′ŋwav	a′ip·ïγaʻ,	nį̈mʷι	ʻanι′k·᷾
went and arrived (pl.).	Coyote	said,	"We (excl.)	are doing

na·va′c·ᴜ	qanι′vaγιk̯·ani·ⁱχ̯aʻ	tïvʷι′p·ïa′ianį̈mwɪ	u′vʷa·i
just for fun	visiting around in houses,	our country (obj.)	from it

anι′k̯·ani·ⁱχ̯aʻ.	ïvʷι′anïm	ųnι′ŋuts·	naia′ŋwιŋqïq·anïmɪ,
doing about.	Go ahead (pl.) us (excl.)	then	play hand-game (pl.) with us,"

a′ip·ïχaʻ	maŋac·	cina′ŋwav	aŋʻ	nιa·′vιampaχaŋwïnιχ̯aɪ.
said	that one	coyote	he	standing and talking as chief.

ïvʷι′a·m	ųnιŋuts	i′mï	ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ	a′ivaiyaŋwan	ɑmï
"Go ahead (pl.) they	then	these	all (obj.)	my companions	they

qa·nι′aŋum	a′up̓·a′ᵃ	nana′c·ʊ·′yuŋqwaiyuc·	ïï′m′ɔivaʻ
your houses	throughout them	being just one to one another	will arrive (pl.)

qa·nι′aŋum	ana′uq·wᴀ,	a′ip·ïγaʻ	cina′ŋwaφɪ.
your houses (obj.)	among them,"	said	coyote.

maŋac	cina′ŋwav	aŋʻ	nιa·′vιŋ′waiya·mʻ	qanι′vaʻ
That one	coyote	he	their chief's	at house

pι′tcʻpïγaʻ.	cina′ŋwavι	aŋʻ	wa′a·′mpi	sa′a′ŋqïpïγaitʻ·uaiyïaŋʻ
arrived.	Coyote (obj.)	he	cedar berries (obj.)	they made mush for him.

cina′ŋwaφɪ	tï′ntɪˣqap·ïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	naia′ŋwιp·	aʀ
coyote	ate well.	Thereupon	hand-game	it

tïγa′iʿpïγaʿ	sina′ŋwav	aŋ	a′ivιaŋuŋwai′aiφï	naia′ŋwιŋqïtʼ·uαq·ˣᴀ-
took place,	coyote	he	with his companions	were hand-game

pïγa.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	ma·m·u′c·	a′ik·ˣᴀpïγaʿ,	cιna′ŋwavin·ιʿ
gambled with.	Thereupon	those	said (pl.),	"Coyote, it seems,

qu·na′i′niaraŋwᴀ	ya·′x·ɪk̭aaiʿ	taŋwa′ŋwantux·wᴀ.	qa′tcᴜ,
our possessed fire (obj.)	has come to get	from us."	"No,"

a′ip·ïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwaφɪ,	nï′mɪ	na·va′c·ᴜ	ʿanι′k̭·an·i·′ιʿ	miya′q·a-
said	coyote,	"we (excl.)	just for fun	are doing about	travel-

ni·ⁱχ̭aʿ	tïvʷι′p·ïʿ	ma·va′ȧ·x·ɪ	nï′mwɪ	qa′tc·ᴜ	qu·na′iʿ
ing around	earth (obj.)	over that,	we	not	fire (obj.)

warï′χιŋwaitʼ·ïmʿ.	nïmʷι′χ̭ain·ιʿ	qu·′naq·aχantïmʿ	mʷi̹mι′c·amp
being (pl.) in need of (neg.).	We also	having fire (pl.),	you only

ŋ̥nι′ŋuts·	qa′tc·ᴜ	qu·nai′ni′k̭·aitʼ·ïmʿ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ʿ
then	not	possessing (pl.) fire (neg.)."	Thereupon

naia′ŋwιp·	aʀ	tïγa′iʿpïγaʿ	cιna′ŋwav	a′ŋ	a′ivιaŋuŋwa′i′aiφï
hand-game	it	took place,	coyote	he	with his companions

naia′ŋwιŋqïtʼ·uαq·ˣpïγaʿ	tu·χwa′vaiʏᴜ.	ŋ̥nι′ŋuts·	tᴀʿcï′aŋqïx·ᴜ
hand-game gambled with	at night.	Then	when dawn came

cιna′ŋwav	aŋ	o′n·ιc·	an·i′p·ïγa	a′ik̭·ain·aφï	qu·na′i
coyote	he	in that same way	did	as he had said,	fire (obj.)

uvʷa·′ax·	aȧ′p·ɪˣqup·ïγa.	ʿaa′ik·w	cï̹′naŋwavin·iʿ
over it	bent back and forth.	"Oh!	coyote, it seems,

qu·na′iaraŋᴡᴀ	qwïï′va·ts·	‘aŋ·i′k·ˣ	‘a′iaŋ‘	qu·na′i
our fire (obj.)	being about to take	does,	it (obj.) he	fire (obj.)

ava′å·x·	‘aa′p·ɪˣqui‘,	a′ik·ˣpïγa‘	ma·m·u′c·ᴜ	qa-
over it	bends back and forth,”	said (pl.)	those	house-

nɩ′χantïmʷ	ɑm‘.	qa′tc·ᴜ,	a′ip·ïγa‘	cɩna′ŋwaφɪ
having (pl.)	they.	“No,”	said	coyote,

na·va′c·un	ani′k·ˣ	nï′′ɪ	pïŋqa′ma·n·ɩm′yaxa‘,	a′ip·ïχa‘
“just for fun I	do	I	while doing so moving very fast,”	said

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ.
coyote.

ma·m·uc·	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ	cɩna′ŋwavɩ	aŋ	a′ivaiaŋwa·ŋ
Those	thereupon	coyote (obj.)	he	his companions

i·′inɩk·ˣqa′i‘pïγa‘.	maŋa′iᴀcu	’umuφᴀ	‘a′iŋqïqain
were ready.	Of that one	to them	having been said to

ųnɩc·	a·n·ɩ′p·ïγa‘.	cɩnaŋwav	ï′vʷaiyauq·‘	qɔ‘cɔ′vïaφï
in that same way	did.	Coyote	thereupon	his own tinder

qu·na′i‘	wå′xava·’q·w	tcɩ′nɩ′k·ˣpïγa‘.	ųnɩ′ŋᴜtsïq·w
fire (obj.)	into it it (inv.)	stuck.	Having done it

ma·ᵃva′i‘tïγan·ɩ‘	tᴀ‘pu′q·wɪpïγa‘	wa′a′tcɩγɩŋᴜpïγa.
far off	jumped,	whooped.

ųnɩ′ŋumïⁱts	ᵘm·a′uxpa′ᵃ	nɩŋɔ·ᵘet·ux·w[62]	pïŋqa′muγwin·in·iiŋ-
After doing so	through that way	in front of people	ran very quickly

qïp·ïγa.[63]	aa′ik·ˣ[64]	qatcu′t·ɩγa′iyïnɪ,	a′ip·ïγa‘
moving head from side to side.	“Oh!	I become not,”	said

cɩna′ŋwaφɪ	qu·na′i	‘ai‘	yaŋwɩ′m’mɩaxayaq·‘.	ïvʷï′aq·
coyote,	fire (obj.)	it (obj.)	while going along carrying it.	“Go ahead, it

i'mɪ	tcɔɔ́'iŋkˣ	yaŋwɩ'mᴍɪˣquaq·ʿ,	a'ip·ïγaʿ
you	bluejay,	take and carry it along,"	said

cɩna'ŋwaφɪ.	ųnɩ'ŋuts	ʿo''ᵘ	maŋa'c·	tcɔ.i'ŋk̭
Coyote.	Then	so	that one	bluejay

aŋᴀ	qu·na'iʿ	yaŋwɩ'm'mɩaq·ᴜpïγaiyaq·ʿ.	ʿaa'ik·w
he	fire (obj.)	took and carried it along.	"Oh!

qaᴀtcu't·ɩγaiyïnɪ	mïm̥ʷɩ'ŋwαntïαq·	a'ïφɪ	yaŋwɩ'm'ᴍɪˣqʊ·vaʿ,
I become not.	Being of you it	now	shall take and carry along,"

a'ip·ïγaʿ	tcɔɔ'iŋk̭	aŋᴀ.	cɩna'ŋwavɩaq·	aŋʿ	yaŋwɩ'm'ᴍɪqup·ï-
said	bluejay	he.	Coyote it	he	again took and

γaic·ᴜ.	ųnɩ'ŋuts	ᵘmʷα'va·ntuγwa·ŋʿ	tcɔ.i'ŋki	aŋᴀ
carried along.	Then	at that place him	bluejay (obj.)	he

pa'q·aŋup·ïγaiyaŋʿ	cɩna'ŋwavɩ	a'ive·eya·ŋᴀ.	tcᴀˣpa'γaitcaq·ʿ-
killed (pl.) him	coyote's	his companion (obj.).	Tore (pl.) him

pïγaiyaŋʿ	na·nɩ'n'naŋwɪtuγwa·q·ʿ	nɩŋwï'aiya·ŋʿ	tcᴀʿpu'ruik·ˣpïγa.
up to pieces,	towards different directions it	his body (obj.)	threw (pl.) about.

ųnɩ'tc	aa'ik·ʿpïγa,	ʿi'mɪ	tcɔɔ́'iŋkiχaiva·ntï.	taŋa'n·a·x-
Then	said (pl.),	"You	being about to be bluejay."	In his

tuγwa·ŋʿ	tïvʷa'iʿ	ma·m·a'ɪpïγa	a·'γamᴍᴀʿcɩ'k·wqaina·ŋʿw
knee	pine-nuts (obj.)	found (pl.)	which he had hidden

ɔaiʿ.
(past).

ʿųnɩ'ŋuts	ᵘm·a'ux·p̓aåmï	cɩna'ŋwavɩ	aŋ	a'ivɩaŋuŋwa''ᵃ-
Then	through there they	coyote (obj.)	he	with his

q·uaŋʿ	mam·a'rïnap·ïγaiʿťuaiyïamï.	ųnɩ'ŋuts·	pina'ŋqwᴀ
companions (obj.)	they were pursued.	Then	after a while

cina'ŋwav	aŋ	a'ive·yaŋwa·φï	tᴜ'pi'x̯·ᴜcuam'
coyote	he,	his own companions (obj.)	when they were also used up,

a'ip·ïγa'	maŋa'iac·	aŋa'rux·ᴡᴀ	ᴡɪ'tca'iy	aŋ',
said	that one (obj.)	to him	roadrunner (obj.)	he,

ïvʷï'aq·	i'mɪ	yąwɩ'mᴍɪ'quaq·	i'tc'	qu·'n·	aʀï.
"Go ahead, it	you	take and carry it along	this	fire	it."

ųnɩ'ŋuts·	wïï'tc	aŋ'	yąwɩ'mᴍɪ'qup·ïγaiyaq·'	nampa'iaφï
Then	roadrunner	he	took and carried it along;	his own feet (obj.)

nanɩ'n'naŋwɪtux·ᴡᴀ	tcᴀ'tca'p·aγaitc'pïγa'	ma·m·u'c·ᴜ
in two different directions	tore apart,	those

ma·m·a'rïnarïmʷï'am	aŋ	ᴡɪ'tca'iy	aŋ'
chasing (pl.) they	him	road-runner (obj.)	he

ma·m·a·''aŋɩt'·ɩp·ïχaiyaŋ'.	ųnɩ'ŋᴜtsiaŋ'	na·ntï'navuʀᴜqwɔp·ïγaiyaŋ'
lost (pl.) him	Then him	tracked (pl.) him back and forth

na·nɩ'n'naŋwɪtux·ᴡᴀ.	itcï	'aru'q·wtux·ᴡᴀ,	a'ik·ˣpïγa'
in different directions.	"This (obj.)	under it,"	said (pl.)

na·nɩ'n'naŋwɪtux·ᴡᴀ	yu·nɩ'vuruχwa'.	ma·m·u'c·ᴜ	cina'ŋwavɩ
in different directions	while running about.	Those	of coyote

aŋ	'a'ivɩaŋuaŋ'	qa'ivamantï'	qᴜ'tsɩ'k·ɪk̑ap·ïγa'.
he	his companions	being on mountain (obj.)	built (pl.) a fire.

tïna'ŋqwantïᴀcuyaχwɔn·o'	pïmpï'n'ɴɪˣk̑aiiŋuŋqo·p·ᴜ'cu'yaχwɔn·o',
"Would that upwards	would that would look (pl.),"

a'ik·ˣᴀpïγa'	cina'ŋwavɩ	aŋ	a'ivɩaŋuaŋ'.	ï'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
said (pl.)	of coyote	he	his companions.	Thereupon

ma·m·ï'ŋwantï	pïni'k̯·aiiŋᴜpïγaʿ	qa'ivai	u'u'raintïʿ.
being of them	looked	mountain (obj.)	being toward it (obj.)

aa'ik·w	ma·rïvʷ	aro''ᵃ	i'mpï	ua't·	aʀ	qa'ivai	a·ma'ntï.
"Oh!	at that	is	what	being thereat	it	mountain (obj.)	being thereon?

aa'ik·w	na'a'int̕	ur	anι'k·ˣ,	a'ik·ˣᴀpïγa.	ʿïvʷï'raŋw
Oh,	burning	it	does,"	said (pl.).	"Let us

ava''antux·wᴀ	uŋwa't̕·uik̯·aŋumpa',	a'ik·ˣᴀpïγaʿ.	tïvʷι'c·amp
upon it	shall cause (pl.) to rain,"	said (pl.).	Sure enough

ʿo''ᵘ	tʊ·''uŋwap·ui'k̯·antï	tɔγˀi'm·a·va'anᴀ	qᴀʿqa'ʀïpïγa.
so	being black-clouded (pl.)	right on that	settled.

a'ik·w,	a'ik·ˣᴀpïγaʿ	cina'ŋwavι	a'ivaiyaŋw,	uŋwa'ŋumpa·n·ι-
"Oh!"	said (pl.)	of coyote	companions,	"It's going to rain

'aq·w	taŋwa''vantux·wᴀ.	maŋac·	ŋ̥nι'ŋuts	ï'vʷaiyauq·
	upon us."	That one	then	thereupon

a'ip·ïγaʿ	cina'ŋwaφɪ,	ama'ntïaraŋwᴀ	a·'γaŋwaŋwantcʿqaivaʿ
said	coyote,	"being thereof (obj.) we	shall hide (pl.)

qu·na'i	ʿaiᴀ,	a'iγaic·ᴜ	cina'ŋwaφɪ	qʊ·na'ιmantï
fire (obj.)	it (obj.),"	while just saying	coyote	being of fire (obj.)

wïʿqa'm'ᴍɪʿk̯aip·ïγaʿ.	ma·rï'c·ᴜ	na'a'int	aʀ	ma·n·ɔ'n·ιʿ
covered over.	That	burning	it	all

tʊ·γwa'ʿpïγaʿ	ma·n·u'n·ι	a·m·u'c·	a'ivιaŋwa·ŋ	aŋʿ
went out,	all	those	his companions	he

patca'q·wιnavιtcιp·ïγa.	ŋ̥nι'ŋuts·	marï'c·ᴜ	qʊ·'n·	aʀ
got wet (pl.).	Then	that	fire	it

cua'ruγwιp·ïγaʿ.
nearly went out.

ŋ̥nι'ŋuts	a'ip·ïγaʿ	cina'ŋwaφɪ,	i'mɪ	qa'mï	tï'ravaʿ
Then	said	coyote,	"You	jack-rabbit	out in open

qa′rïvatcʻ	ïvʷï′aq·	ι′tcʻ	qu·′n·	ar	a·′γaŋwantc·kaʻ.
being wont to sit,	go ahead it	this	fire	it	hide!"

maŋac·ᴜ	qa·m·	a′ŋ	um·ʷαvaʻ	parï′iaravaʻ	ma·va′′anʻ
That one	jack-rabbit	he	there	out in rain[65]	on that

qutcu′ŋ′wa·q·arïp·ïγa.	ᵘmʷα′nιaq·un	a′intcuan	a′ik̥·,
sat on his haunches.	"In that way I	it (inter.) I	say?"

a′ip·ïγaʻ	cina′ŋwaφɪ.	aᴀtcï′αφï	tu′u′m·αts·	qᴜʻqwι′vap·ïγain-
said	coyote.	His own bow (and arrow)	having taken	acted as though about to

′nι′aŋwᴀ.	ụnι′ts·	marï′c·	uŋwa′r	aʀ	qᴀʻpa′q·ɪpïγaʻ.
shoot at him.	Then	that	rain	it	stopped.

ï′vʷaiyauq·	ụnι′ts·	maŋa′c·ᴜ	qa·′m·	aŋ	uγu′m·aŋwιt·ux·wᴀ
Thereupon	then	that one	jack-rabbit	he	away from it

qwauʻ	savï′tcaχιp·ïγa.[66]	ụnι′ŋuts·	marï′c·ᴜ	tïvʷι′ts
off	hopped off.	Then	that	very

aŋqa′x·pïγaʻ.
was red.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ʻ	cina′ŋwaφɪ	maa′vïʻ	ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ
Thereupon	coyote	plants (obj.)	all (obj.)

tïvʷi′ŋᴜpïγa	a′ip·ïγa,	imi′ntcu′	aru′′ᵅ	pa·n·ɔ′x·qwa′i′-
asked,	said,	"You (inter.)	are	even when wet

yucampᴀ	na′a′ivätcʻ.	qa′tc·ᴜ	nï′′ɪ	pa·n·ɔ′x·qwaaiʏᴜ
	being wont to burn?"	"Not	I	when wet

na′a′in·uwa′ait·ï,	a′ik·ˣpïγaʻ	ma·rï′c·ᴜ	maa·′v	aʀ.
being wont to burn (neg.),"	said (pl.)	those	plants	they.

marï′c·amp	uvʷaiʻ	saŋwa′v	aʀ	piya′ï′pïγa.	aruγw
Only that	then	sagebrush	it	was left.	To it

a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɪna′ŋwaφɪ,	imi′ntcu′	aru″ᵅ	pa·n·ɔ′x·qwaiʿ
said	coyote,	"You (inter.)	are	when wet

na″aivätcʿ.	ï′ï′ŋᴀ	nï′	ʿaro″ᵃ	pa·n·ɔ′x·qwaaiyucampᴀ
being wont to burn?"	"Yes,	I	am	even when wet

na′a′ivätcʿ,	a′ip·ïγaʿ	sa·ŋwav	a′ʀ.	ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ
being wont to burn,"	said	sagebrush	it.	Thereupon

cɪna′ŋwaφɪ	na′a′it·ɪp·ïγa	ʿa·ma′ntïʿ	saŋwa′vïʿ.
coyote	caused to burn	being from it (obj.)	sagebrush (obj.).

ma·n·ɔ′q·ᴜ	maa′vï	imi′n·a·x·ɪ	quna′ŋwaxaivä·ntï,
"All (obj.)	plants (obj.)	in you	being about to contain fire,"

a′ip·ïγaʿ	cɪna′ŋwav	aŋʿ.	ųnɪ′ŋuts	o″ᵘ	ma·n·ɔ′n·iʿ
said	coyote	he.	Then	so	all

maa′v	aʀ	quna′ŋwaχaiŋu′p·ïγaʿ.
plants	they	came to contain fire.

qwaia′ŋqʿpatcɪatciᴀˣqa″ᵃmɪ	tʊ·′mʊ·ŋ·u′n·ɪʿ	nana′ŋqˣᴀ-
Somewheres on other side did you it	make like rumbling noise	you (pl.) hear

qaitcu′aq·aŋwï.
(pl.) (inter.) it?"

TRANSLATION.[24]

At that place people had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits; Coyote was their chief. They hunted for jack-rabbits; and then a thing fell down upon them as from the sky. There, then, they all gathered together. "What is it?" they said. And then Coyote said, "This looks like fire, it is from far away from something burning. That which we have been burning as fire is not real fire, and what we eat we always eat raw. It would be very good if we find out whence this fire has come; it would be very good if what we eat were cooked, it would be extremely good if we ate it," said Coyote. As they were still gathered together there, Coyote said, "Go ahead! *go over there in order to see whence came this which has fallen down* from the sky." To that one, Chicken Hawk, "You are accustomed to be flying about," said Coyote. "Yes," said Chicken Hawk. And then he flew up into the air. Then, having done so, off over the earth he flew; then from a distance back hither to them he returned.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Crow, fly up into the air." "Yes," said Crow; then off he flew. He went, and it happened to him in like manner, over the earth he went and flew; from there he also turned round hither, hither towards them, and he also arrived where they were. All those provided with feathers were used up, then only that Fish was left. Coyote said, "Have you feathers, then, so as to fly? Go ahead! try to fly," said Coyote to him. "Yes," said the Fish. Then up into the air he flew. Coyote said, "Do you all follow him with your eye!" Those watched his flight closely, as upward toward the sky he flew, then they lost sight of him. There, then, they were waiting for him; then, after a while, he arrived. "Hurry up and tell what you saw," said Coyote. "Way off at the edge of the land it looks as though fires were burning," said the Fish. "What did I say?" said Coyote. "Let us go to fetch that fire from those who are having it as fire. This of ours that we cause to burn is no real fire," said Coyote. "Yes," said they all. "Let us, then, go to fetch that fire."

And then all started out towards the setting sun. Coyote led them along; they stopped to camp over night while on their way. At that place Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Humming-bird, fly up into the air, and then go and see that which is burning." After he had said it, that Humming-bird flew up into the air. Though having done so, he did not see the (fire), and returned without result. Then that Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Fish, fly up again into the air." And then that Fish flew up into the air; then, after a while he came back. Then that Fish said, "Now it is near." Then they started off again; again they camped over night while on their way. Now that camp was very near towards which they were going. And then that Coyote said, "All of you will arrive (and be) distributed in each house. I for my part shall arrive and go into the chief's house. And then you shall not eat all of what has been given to you," said that Coyote, "(but) shall put some of it in your knees. Then one night we shall have a hand-game with them. I shall seize fire with my hair with which this cedar-bark tinder of mine is tied; when morning comes, I shall be signalling by leaning back and forth over that fire, then you shall all be ready to start off." "All right," said they.

Then they started off again downward. On the mountain ridge next to the (camp) they sat and watched bush-fires that had been made (by those that had fire). After they had done so, having returned home, (these) caused it to rain on the bush-fires that they had made; then all those fires went out. And then, when they had sat there, (Coyote and those with him) set off towards the camp. Now there they arrived. Coyote said, "We are visiting around in various camps without particular purpose, having come from our land. Go ahead! play, then, a hand-game with us," said that Coyote as he stood and talked like a chief. "Go ahead! then these fellow-men of mine throughout your houses will enter one by one, in each of your houses," said Coyote.

That Coyote arrived at their chief's house. They prepared mush out of cedar-berries for Coyote; Coyote ate heartily. Then the hand-game took place; they gambled with Coyote and his companions. And then those (who possessed fire) said, "It seems that Coyote has come to get our fire from us." "No," said Coyote, "we are engaged in traveling around without particular purpose over the land; we are not in need of fire. We also possess fire, so that you are not alone in having fire." Then the hand-game took place; they gambled with Coyote and his companions during the night. Then, when it dawned, Coyote did just as he had said, he bent back and forth over the fire. "Oh, it looks as though Coyote is about to take our fire, seeing that he is bending back and forth over the fire," said those camping there. "No," said Coyote, "I do so without purpose, when playing very fast," said Coyote.

And then those companions of Coyote were ready; what that one had said to them, just in that manner they acted. And then Coyote stuck his tinder into the fire. Having done so, he jumped far away and whooped. After so doing, he very quickly ran through there in front of the people, moving his head from side to side. "Oh, I am giving out," said Coyote, as he was running and carrying the fire. "Go ahead! you Bluejay take it and carry it along," said Coyote. So then that Bluejay took the fire and carried it along. "Oh, I am giving out. One of you now will take it and carry it along," said Bluejay. Coyote again took it and carried it along. Then at that place (those who were pursuing) killed Bluejay, Coyote's companion. They tore him to pieces and threw his body-parts about in different directions. Then they said, "You shall be a bluejay." In his knees they found pine-nuts which he had hid there.

And then through there they pursued Coyote and his companions. Then, after a while, when his companions had been used up too, Coyote said to that Road-runner, "Go ahead! you take and carry along this fire." And then Road-runner took and carried it along; he tore apart his feet (so that they left tracks) in different directions; those who were in pursuit of them lost track of Road-runner. Then they tracked him back and forth in different directions.[25] "(He is) under this," said they, as they ran hither and thither in different directions. Those companions of Coyote built a fire up on the mountain. "Would that they would look up this way!" said Coyote's companions. And then one of those looked towards the mountain. "Oh, what is that there on the mountain? Oh, it is something burning," said they. "Let us cause rain to fall on it," said they. Sure enough, then, black clouds gathered right over that place. "Oh," said Coyote's companions, "it is going to rain upon us." And that Coyote then said, "Let us keep some of the fire hidden." As soon as Coyote had spoken, he covered some of the fire. All of that fire (which was uncovered) went out; all of them, his companions, got wet. And then that fire (which was covered) nearly went out.

And then Coyote said, "You Jack-rabbit, who always sit out in the open, go ahead! hide this fire." That Jack-rabbit sat on his haunches over that (fire) out there in the rain. "Did I say (it should be done) in that way?" said Coyote; having taken up his bow and arrows, he acted as though about to shoot him. Then that rain stopped; and then the Jack-rabbit hopped off away from the (fire). Now that (fire) was very red.

Then Coyote asked all bushes and said, "Are you accustomed to burn even when wet?" "I never burn when wet," said all those bushes. Then only that sagebrush was left. To it Coyote said, "Are you accustomed to burn when wet?" "Yes, I am accustomed to burn even when wet," said the sagebrush. And then Coyote built a fire out of the sagebrush. "There shall be fire in all of you bushes," said Coyote. So then all bushes got to contain fire.

Did any of you hear something make a noise on the other side?

8. Iron-Clothes.

ųmʷα′va cina′ŋwav aŋ‘ qa·nι′χ̯aiŋq‘tu’αp·ïγa‘ qa·mï′yaik̯·a·nïmpïγa‘· cina′ŋwav aŋ‘ na’a·′c·ᴜ yaa′iŋqw’ainïmpïγa‘ qïma′ŋwɪtux·w tümpʷι′‘ tιna·′i u’u′raintï ï‘tï′c·ampᴀ na’a·′c·ᴜ yaa′imɪpïγa‘. cina′ŋwav aŋ‘ pina′ŋqᴡᴀ tιmpι t·ιna·′i u’u′raintïʸan·ι‘ tï·‘ yaa′ip·ïγa‘ tavu′ts ιvä′ɪʏᴜ qwïri′k·ɪpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· tümpʷι′‘ tιna·′i u’u′ra‘ tï′‘ cina′ŋwav aŋ‘ marï′ɴᴀ‘pïγai’iŋᴡᴀ. ųni′χ̯ai’iŋᴡᴀ tümpʷι′‘ tιna·′ᵃva·ntux·ᴡᴀ wιa′mpιvï‘ tɔγɔ′iq·ᴡᴀcιrï‘ maa′ip·ïγa. ‘aa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ uvʷa·′i um·a′ntï‘ tɪ‘qa′p·ïγa‘. pina′ŋqᴡᴀ ta·va′ï‘ ya′uq·ᴡɪpïnιmιyaγoαq·ᴀ paiyι′q·w’ɔip·ïγa‘. m·ʷa′vaiyuαq·‘ pᴀ‘tca′iauφï tᴀ‘ta′p·ɔrɔ’p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· qanι′vä·φï pɪ‘pι′tcɪpïγa. ï′vʷaiyauq· ɔ′ip·ïγa, ‘ιtcï′n‘ pᴀ‘tcan·α′ʀ tɔ‘tɔ′q·waáŋqï, a′ip·ïγa‘ piŋwa′iav uŋwarux·ᴡᴀ. ιtcï′tca’ᵃ pᴀ‘tcan·a′ʀ pa·γᵋi′tcaiŋᴜ wantsι′t·ïnavuruχunɪ. ųnι′tsιtca·mï ιyu′p̓·a’ᵃ qwa′u‘ yo·′n’nιŋᴜ, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ piŋwa′iav uŋwa′rux·ᴡᴀ. piŋwa′‘ˣqa·ŋ’aŋ‘ pᴀ‘tca′iaŋ‘ tɔ‘tɔ′p·ᴀˣqa·ŋqïpïγaiyaq̓·aŋ‘ pᴀ‘tca′iaŋ ‘ai‘.

ï′vʷaiyauq· ųnιc· a·n·ι′p·ïγa‘ qïma′ŋwɪtux·ᴡᴀ yaa′iŋqw’aip·ïγa. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cina′ŋwav aŋ‘ tɔγɔ′mᴜquntaŋqw’aip·ïγa‘ wιa′mpιvï u’u′ra‘. uvʷa pι′tcιχwáaits· cina′ŋwaφɪ tɪ‘qa′p·ïγa umʷα′ntï‘. ųni′x̯·ᴜcu’uŋw cuwa′ʀᴜpιk·ᴜpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· paiyι′k·w’aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ. ųni′c·’uq·w a·n·ι′p·ïγa‘ pᴀ‘tca′iauφï tᴀ‘pï′rup·ïγaáik·w. ųnι′c· a′ip·ïγa ųwa′rux·ᴡᴀ piŋwa′iaφï, itcï′n‘ pᴀ‘tca′n· a′ʀ tɔ‘tɔ′p·ᴀˣqa·ŋq, a′ip·ïγa‘ piŋwaiav ųwa′rux·ᴡᴀ. ιyu·′p̓·at̓ca·′mï wantsι′t·ïnavuŋwαn‘ qwa′u‘ yʊ·′n’nιŋᴜ qatcu′t·ιγai’yïa·m ųnι′ŋuts·, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ųnιc· a·n·ι′p·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ na’a·′c·ᴜ yaa′iŋqw’ɔip·ïγa‘ cʊ·′ᴍᴜˣqunta’mιap·ïγa‘ tümpʷι′ t·ιna·′i u’u′ra‘. ava pι′tcιχw’aip·ïγa‘ wιa′mpιvï‘. ma·va′iyuαq·‘ tɪ‘qa′p·ïγaic·uαq·‘[67] maŋa′c·ᴜ cina′ŋwaφɪ. cʊ·′yuc·ᴜ qwιvʊ·′á·m·a·q·‘ wια′mpιvï‘ piya′ɪ‘pïγa‘. cina′ŋwav aŋ ‘aru′q̓·wanaŋqwpïγa‘ wιa′mpιvï‘ mantca·′ŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·‘ wια′mpια qwιvʊ·′a·m·a·q·‘ wια′mpιvï‘ pᴀ‘tca′i’k̯·αntï‘. ᴍᴀ‘tca′iaŋqïq·a·ŋ‘ wïï′k·ᴜpïγa. ‘ą̈′, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ ųna′p̓·aŋᴡɪ wιampιvï ι’ʸa′q·ɪpïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsïq·w ᴍᴀ‘tsa′iaŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·‘ marï′ac·ᴜ wια′mpι‘. ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ tïvʷι′p·ïna·x·ɪ yι’α′q·a·p·ïγa. ‘ą, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ, nï′χain·ι‘ qatc·ᴜ ɴï‘cι′m·uαp·ïáit·ï, a′iχ̯aic· ɔ·′aγιt·uχwαntï ɔra′p·ïγa‘ marï′ac·ᴜ wιa′mpι‘. ųnι′χ̯aic·ᴜ mɔγwα′p·ï‘ ma·ŋwï’’ųna·ŋqïp·ïγa. ‘a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ, impï′αnɪ maa′ivä·n·ι‘. pina′ŋq ųnι′γaic· ιya′p·uγo‘piᴀ maŋwï’’ųna·ŋqïp·ïγa. a‘a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwaφɪ, ini′ntcan niŋwu′runɪ. ųnι′ŋuts· waa′ɪʏᴜ quna′vï‘ tɪ‘qa′c·uaŋᴜpïγa‘ paiyι′k·w’aip·ïγa‘ qa·nι′av ’u′ra‘. ųnιc· a·n·ι′p·ïγa‘ pᴀ‘tca′iaφï tᴀ‘pï′rï’p·ïγa’aik·w ųnι′c·ïk·w a·n·ι′p·ïγa‘ maŋac· piŋwa·′ŋ aŋ‘ cιna′ŋwavι‘ pᴀ‘tca′ia·ŋ‘ tɔ′q·wa·’p·ïγa.

8. Iron-Clothes.

There Coyote was camping with people; they were hunting jack-rabbits. Coyote always went off to hunt by himself, he would always go off in another direction towards the base of a cliff to hunt by himself. After some time Coyote hunted up close towards the cliff-bottom. Right here a cotton-tail rabbit started up; and there Coyote chased him up towards the base of the cliff. While he was thus engaged with him up to the base of the cliff, he found a wiamp-berry[26] bush that was just ripe. "Oh!" said he, and ate of it there. After a while, when the sun was just about to set, he turned home. Yonder he pounded his moccasins with a stone.[27] And then he came back to his house and said, "Patch these moccasins of mine for me," said he to his wife. "These moccasins of mine have become worn out while I was chasing around after antelopes. And then they ran off in this direction," said Coyote to his wife. His wife patched his moccasins for him.

And then he did the same thing, went off to another place to hunt.[28] Then Coyote went on straight ahead towards the wiamp-berry bush. Having arrived there, Coyote ate of it; in doing so again, they were nearly all gone. Then he turned back home again. He did to his moccasins what he had done before, he pounded them with a stone. He said the same thing to his wife, "Patch these moccasins for me," said he to his wife. "The antelopes that I have been chasing have run off in this direction; they are nearly tired out, then," said Coyote. Coyote did the same thing, went off to hunt by himself; he went right ahead towards the cliff-bottom, and there he arrived at the wiamp-berry bush. There that Coyote ate them again (until) one (berry) was left on top of the wiamp-berry bush. Coyote climbed the wiamp-berry bush and reached for the wiamp-berry that was hanging on top of the bush. As he reached for it, it fell down. "Hą̈," said Coyote, and climbed down the wiamp-berry bush. When he had done so, he reached for that wiamp-berry. As he did this, it went into the the earth. "Hą," said Coyote, "I, for my part, have never let anyone go." So saying, he dug around that wiamp-berry and, in doing so, he tore some cedar bark out of the ground. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what shall I find?" After a while, while still engaged (in digging), he tore out of the ground dried deer meat that had been cached. "Oh!" said Coyote, "who has regarded me as a person?"[29] Then he ate up two sacks of meat and started off back towards his house. He did the same thing, he pounded his moccasins again with a stone. That ι·′tcuq· ųnιc· a·n·ι′p·ïγa’ cina′ŋwaφɪ tümpʷι′ t·ιna·′i u’u′raiŋqw’ɔip·ïγa uvʷa pι′tcιχw’ɔip·ïγaʻ cina′ŋwaφɪ.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ maŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋᴀ qa·′p·ïγaʻ, qatcu′tcɑnɪ ’a′t·ïnɔnɔs·ιȧp·ï cina′ŋwavιan ųw a′ik̯· ιya′p·ïγa’aŋw[68] cuwɑ′q̇·waaix̯·ᴜ. ïvʷι ųnι′ŋuts uvʷa·′ntï’mʻ p̯ïnι′k̯·aiχ̯wa’ᵃ, a′ip·ïγaʻ pa·tcι′ŋwa·v ųmu′rux·ᴡᴀ. ma·va′aiʏᴜ pɔrɔ′q·ᴜpïγa u’u′ra ιya′p·uγʋ·′’q·waiyaφï. ᴀˣqa′naŋqwɔp·a·mï tɪʻtï′χaaix̯·ᴜ marï′c·ᴜ pïmʷa′x·qa’am a′ʀ tᴜʻtu′tcuwɑp·ï qatc uvʷɑ wïnι′p·ïγa. ʻanι′an ʻaik̯·, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋac·ᴜ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋʻ. maŋa′c·ᴜ cina′ŋwav aŋʻ ma·va′aiʏᴜ tï′ntɔγɔq·ᴡɪpïγaʻ qa·nι′av ’u′raʻ mam·a′rïnap·ïγaiaŋʻ qanι′aγantï u’u′raʻ. cina′ŋwaφɪ qanι′aγantï w’a′xarux·ᴡᴀ mu′q·untᴀ tɔγɔ′q·ᴡɪpïγaʻ. mava·′ntuγwa·q·ʻ qanι′aγantïʻ man·ɔ′q·ɔ nιŋwï′aiya·q·ʻ qɔγɔ′’ip·ïaγaiʻťuaiyïaq·ʻ. ma·m·a′’caγwᵓits· m·ʷa′uʻpa’ᵃ ᴡɪʻtsι′tsιaφï yaŋwι′m’mιap·ïγa. a′ip·atcιtcu’ aro′’ᵃ, ʻa′ik·ᴀpïγaʻ tïvʷι′ŋᴜqwaxaiyaŋᴀ maŋa′iac·ᴜ mam·a′’caγwɔitsιʻ. qa·′tc·ᴜ na’a′ints·tsι’ aru′’ᵃ, a′ip·ïγaʻ mam·a′’caγwɔits·. maŋa′iac·ᴜ wï’ɑ′tsïa·ŋʻ pɪʻtcu′ɑ’mιaq·ʻ pina′rïyaγïaŋʻ tca’a′ik̯·ai’yιq·ᴡ maŋac· u′’ᵘ na’a′ints·tŋ̥nιᴀ naya′φᴀˣqaip·ïγaʻ. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ pa·n·a′x·qw’ɔip·ïγaʻ qanι′av ’u′raʻ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋʻ pa·tcι′ŋuŋwa’aiφï. ųnι′ŋuts· maŋa′iac· a′ip·ätsιaŋʻ pιyä′iya·ŋ aŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋʻ pιŋwa′χw’ïp·ïγaiyaŋʻ.

m·ʷava′ʻ mam·a′’caγwɔits aŋ ᴡɪʻtsι′tsιŋwa’aiφï qarï′nïmpïγaaimï. tɔ’ɔ′ivï ɔra′n·ïmpïγaʻ maŋa′c· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋ a′ip·ätsιʻ. maŋa′c·ᴜ mam·a′’caγwɔitc aŋ a′inïmpïγaʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivï χwai[68a] ɔra′xaʻ, ’i′tc ᴡɪtsι′tsιanʻ w’a′tsιvaɪʻtŋ̥nι ιtcï′ca’ᵃ cina′ŋwavι aru′ȧnȧ·ŋᴡ to·′ṗ·a·n·ɔaγant aʀï, a′iminïmpïγaʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivï ɔra′xaȧik·ᴡ. ųnι′ts· maŋa′c· a′ip·ats aŋʻ nana′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· pa·γa′in’nip·ïγa ųnι′γaic·ᴜ na·n·ɔ·′c·ᴜ tɔ’ɔ′ivï ɔra′p·ᴜʻtcutcɔγwɔp·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· tɔ’ɔ′ivï ɔra′n’naŋw qa′tc uvʷa·′ntux·wpïγaʻ tcaŋwï′k·inïmpïγaʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔran’naŋw aʀ. aγa′n·ιχ̯aaik·w ųni′m·iʻ tcaŋwï′k·iχ̯aʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔran·an ɔʀ[68b], a′ip·ïγa aŋac· a′ip·ats aŋʻ. a′ïvʷιn ʻɔa′iʻ pina′s·ιgax·ᴜṗa·nɪ p̯ïni′k̯·aiva uvʷa·′ntïʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔra′n·ɑnɪ, a′ip·ïγa aŋac· a′ip·atc an[68c] naru′x·ᴡᴀ. ï′vʷaiyauq· ɔra′p·ïγa uvʷa·′ntïʻ yu·na′n’naq·wɔφï p̯ïnι′k̯·aip·ïγaʻ pina′c·ιγax·ᴜṗa·φï. ųni′k̯·a·q·uɑŋ ʻɔaiʻ tï′ŋwïna·vaip·ïγain·ι′aq·ᴡ waa·′vas· aŋʻ nantsι′n’ɴᴀˣqɑntï. ųnι′ŋuts· qwau una·′ᵃγιt·ux·ᴡ ya′uq·wa·p·ïγaʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïʻ. maŋac· ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ wιa′v umʷantïʻ ma·vɔ′x·tɔq·ᴡᴀpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts ɔra′p·ïγaaic·ᴜ navι′naŋqwɔṗ·aq· uvʷa·′c·ᴜ yu·na′p·ïγaʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔran·aφï pina′s·ιγa′x·ᴜpa’aφï pïni′n’nιp·ïγaʻ. maŋa′c· ųnι′ts· yu·′’arïaq· aŋʻ tɔ’ɔ′ivïɔra′n·a·ŋᴀ wɑ′q·ɪ a′xavatcumanaŋqw tɔ’ɔ′ivïʻ ts·pι′ŋᴜpïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsïaq·ʻ tï′ŋwïnιya·q·ʻ ma’na·′γιp·ïγa. ųni′χ̯uwaq̇·aŋʻ m̯ïnι′s·ɪpïγa

wife of Coyote did the same thing to them, she patched his moccasins. In the morning Coyote did as he had done before, he went towards the cliff-bottom. There Coyote arrived.

Now[30] then that Iron-Clothes[31] sang, "I did not dream well, dreaming, as I did, that Coyote is eating up my dried meat. Go ahead, then, you two, yonder; go and see!" said he to his daughters. From there they started off towards their dried meat that had been cached. When they got near it, that which they had used as a landmark[32] was not standing there. "What did I say?" said that Iron-Clothes. That Coyote ran away from there as hard as he could towards his house, and they pursued him towards the village. Coyote ran straight ahead through the village; there all the people of the village they killed. An old woman was carrying her great-grandson along in that direction. "Is it a boy?" said they, asking that old woman. "No, it is a little girl," said the old woman. Parvum penem illius (pueri) deorsum inter ejus crures ea tenebat, so that he looked like a girl.[33] They, Iron-Clothes and his daughters, went back home towards their house. And then that Iron-Clothes took that boy's mother as his wife.

Yonder the old woman and her great-grandson were living. She, the boy's great-grandmother, would dig bulrushes, and that old woman would say while digging those bulrushes, "Haec (junci radix) peni mei pronepotis est similis magnitudine, but this one is like Coyote's, black and hollow," she would always say when digging bulrushes. And then that boy grew up; then he walked around and, in so doing, he learned how to dig bulrushes by himself. Now what bulrushes he dug up did not stay there (where he placed them); the bulrushes that he dug up would disappear. "Why is it that the bulrushes that I have dug up always disappear?" said the boy. "Now this time I shall look between my legs at my roots which I have dug up," said the boy to himself. Then he dug, and looked between his legs at the spot where he put them. As he did so, one who was jointed in two places gathered them up quickly, then off into the bulrushes he entered. And then that (boy) made a ball out of mud. Then he dug again, again there behind himself he put down his bulrushes that he had dug up, and through his legs he kept on looking. Then that one, who had carried away his roots that he had dug up, came out from among the bulrushes, and, having done so, he quickly

ųnι′tsïaŋʻ ta·vι′p·ïγaiyaŋᴀ wιa′m·avɔx·tɔq·ᴡᴀqainav o′mᴀ. ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ aŋa′c·ᴜ qa’yɔ′myαntsιγaʻ[69] qwarα′vayaip̓·ax·pïγa a′xavatcux·ᴡᴀ tɔ’ɔ′ivï. ʻa’a′xavaⁱˣ qwauʻ qwara′vayai’p·ïγaʻ. yu’u′n· aʀ nantsι′n’aŋqïx·ɪ, a′ip·ïγa, ųnι′t̓sιmɪ tïnι′aŋqïtsιva’amɪ,[70] a′ip·ïγa aŋa′c·ᴜ. ï′vʷaiyauq· aŋa′c· a′ip·ïγa a′ip·ätc aŋʻ, uvʷa quo′ⁱnʸ’ˣk̭a ɔrap·[71] ųni′k·ˣ ’u′n·ιvätc uru′’ᵃˣqa ɔra′p· uʀ. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ paiyι′q·w’ɔip·ïγaʻ qanι′vä·ntuχwαφï.

i·′tcuq·w an·ι′c· an·ι′p·ïγaʻ tɔ’o′ivïɔraχιp·ïγa. mava·′aiyuc·ᴜ qwara′vayai’p·ïγaʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ yu’ɔ′ʀᴀˣqɔp·ι′na′q·aina·ŋ aŋʻ. yu’un an[72] nantsι′ŋ’aŋqïx·ɪ, a′ip·ïγa a′xavaiyuc·ᴜ tɔ’ɔ′ivïʻ. ʻųnι′t̓sιmɪ tïnι′αŋqïva’ᵃmɪ, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c· yu’u′ʀᴀˣqɔp·ι′naq·aina·ŋ aŋʻ. maŋa′c· ï’ï′t·a·mpᴀˣqap·ïγain·ι a′iχ̭uwαŋʻ. a′ix̭·ᴜcuaŋ ᴜˣqwα′p·ι pɔnta·′tsιγαntïa·ŋʻ yuu̓′runιp·ïγaiyaq̓·aŋʻ. ïvʷï′n ųnι′ŋuts· tïnι′aŋqïnʻ, a′ip·ïγa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. ųnι′ts· m·α′vaaiyuaŋʻ tïnι′aŋqïp·ïγaiyaŋʻ a′ip·ïγa, ιtcï′aru’ ʻan·ιm·ιʻ tɔ’ɔ′iv uʀ ιtcï’ ʻaru′’ɔm·ι ini′a·ŋwïγa′ɪʻpïa·’m u′ŋʻ tcɔʻpι′k·ιγaɪʻpïαmï cina′ŋwavιy aŋʻ maa·′φɪk̭a·ŋʻ qɔγɔ′’ⁱp·ïγaɪʻ. ųnι′ŋuts· piya·′’m u′ŋʻ qwïγwï′x·pïai uŋwa′iac·ᴜ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwat·ï[73] oŋʻ piŋwa′χwïïp̓·ïŋw, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ yɔ’ɔ′ʀᴀˣqɔp·ι′naq·aina·ŋ a′ŋʻ. maŋa′c· ï′vʷaiyauq·w a′ip·atc aŋʻ, tïvʷι′ts·[74] naŋa′i’aip·ïγaʻ paiyü′ŋᴜpïγaʻ pι′tcιχwa’aits· muntu′na·p·ïγaʻ.

pina′ŋqᴡᴀ maŋa′c· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋʻ pι′tcɪpïγa. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·w a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋʻ, qwïrι′k·ɪtsïαq· i′t·ɪʻqa·′q·ᴀ.[75] aŋac· a′ix̭·ᴜcampa·ŋʻ pï′ŋqamuntun’ɪʻk̭aip·ïγa. aχa′n·iŋqïŋᴜqwaiyun·ι’ ani′k̭·aʻ muntu′n’ɪʻk̭aaiʻ. u’u′ŋwani’amɪ tïnι′aŋqïq·a’aimɪ, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋʻ. ï′vʷaiyauq·ʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ pïŋqa′muntun’ɪʻk̭aip·ïγa ïʻtï′c·ampʻ muntu′n’nιavιmιp·ïγa. ųnι′avιγaic· a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′nɪ tɔγɔ′iŋqwιyumpa·ŋqunɪ tïγa′n’nïmpï’mαmɪ kᴡɪʻpa′nɪ ųnι′ŋumïx·tsιnɪ ʻa′ïc·ιyαn ʻa′mᴀ tï′ŋwιn·ιyαn ʻa′m ᴡïʻqa′m’mιŋumpaʻ, a′ip·ïγa aŋa′c· a′ip·ätc aŋʻ. axa′n·ιχ̭a’i′mɪ pᴀˣqa′xa.im·i’ⁱ, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋac· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋʻ wïwï′tca’yïŋqïxaiyaŋʻ. ʻaŋac· a′ip·atc aŋ a′ip·ïχain·ιʻ, kᴡɪʻpa′χoop·ᴜʻcuyaγwɔn·oαnɪ. tïvʷι′c· u’ᵘ maŋa′c· ᴡɪʻtsι′aŋ aŋʻ kᴡɪʻpa′p·ïγaiyaŋʻ. ųnι′ŋumïʻ·tsιaŋʻ[76] tï′ŋwιnιya·ŋ ʻa′ïc·ιma·ŋ ᴡïʻqa′m·ιŋup·ïγaʻ tca·′mpïna·ŋqïp·ïγaiyaq· ųnι′ŋuts·. aru′q̓·wαmï waa′iyumun·ι ᴡɪʻtsι′tsιŋwï′aŋʻ qarï′p·ïγa’aimï, ᴡɪʻtsι′tsιŋwïnɪ waa′iyuŋqïŋ’ųmʷαnɪ, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ mam·a′’haγwɔitc[77] aŋʻ.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ mam·u′c· a′ip·ïγa’aimï cina′ŋwavι aŋ aŋa′rux·ᴡᴀ, ïvʷï′’ca’ cina′ŋwaφɪ ᴍᴜˣqwι′χ̭aχwa’ᵃ i’i′va·’m ʻųnι′ŋuts· nara′q·wιn-

seized them. As he did thus to them, (the boy) turned and hit him with the mud-ball that he had made. When he had done so to him, that one cried from pain as he went hopping along on one leg into the bulrushes; off there among them he was crying from pain. "Come and joint my leg for me," said he, "and I shall tell you something," said that one. Then the boy said, "There indeed lies what was dug up; in that way should it always be with what is dug up." And then he went back to his house.

In the morning he did as he had done before, came to dig up bulrushes. From that same place cried with pain he whose leg had been broken. "Come and joint my leg for me," said he from among the bulrushes again, "and I shall tell you something," said that one whose leg had been broken. That (boy) was getting tired of what he said. After he had spoken thus, (the boy) made a leg out of a stick that had one notch. "Go ahead! now tell me," said the boy. Then from there he told him and said, "These are not really bulrushes, these are really your dead relatives' brains, who were killed through Coyote's fault. Then your mother was taken away and has been taken by Iron Clothes as his wife," said that one whose leg had been broken. Then that boy became very angry; he started home, and having arrived, went to bed and covered himself up.

After a while that great-grandmother of his arrived. And then his great-grandmother said, "Get up and eat this." Despite her saying so he kept lying covered up. "What can have happened to you that you act thus, my dear, lying covered up? Perhaps some one has been telling you something," said his great-grandmother. And then that (boy) kept on lying covered up. He always used to lie covered up. While still lying thus, he said, "Go ahead and hit me with your seed-beater right in the center of my head, and after doing so to me, you shall quickly cover me with the gathering basket," said the boy. "Why have that done to you? to kill you?" said that great-grandmother of his, while going through the motion of hitting him. That boy thought, "I wish she would hit me!" and sure enough, then, his great-grandmother hit him. After having done so to him, she quickly covered him up with her gathering basket and then lifted it up from him. Under that her two great-grandsons were sitting. "There have come to be two great-grandsons for me," said the old woman.

And then those two said to Coyote, "Go ahead, Coyote, and call people together, and then they shall assemble together in this place."

tcumpavaʽ. ʽų·′mai, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. aŋa′′q· uvʷai ʽi·′ⁱŋwaru’ᵃˣqantιn·ι ʽi·′c·u’wαnɪ cuwa′ᴍᴜˣqwiχ̯aχwa’aiʏᴜ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. umʷa′x·ᴜpa’p·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwav aŋʽ ᴍᴜˣqwι′χ̯ani·ⁱχ̯aʽ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwa′ntï uŋ uŋwα′′vantux·ᴡᴀ. ʽa′ip·ïγaʽ nana′x·qantïmpa’a′vιŋwï ųmu′rux·ᴡᴀ. pina′ŋqᴡᴀ maŋa′iac·ᴜ tana′q·ïtsι[78] aŋʽ qanι′vä·ntuγwαp·ïγaiyaŋʽ. cina′ŋwaφɪ qatc·ᴜ naả′n·ιap·ïả’ᵃ. ᴍᴜˣqwι′χ̯ani’iχ̯aʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ʊ·′mai, ʽa′ip·ïγaʽ tana′q·ιts·, nɔ·′nιχ̯ảᵃ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ʽα̨′, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ, kiyα′p iva′aiʽ tïχa′iva a′intcuan a′ik·ˣ. ųnι′ts̓ιmɪ nï’ nɔ·n’nι′va·’ᵃmɪ yuyu′ẘảit·ï im i’i′vaʽ qarï′campᴀ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. cina′ŋwav ïma′ivätccampʽ tï′vʷιtsιn·ι a′ivätcʽ nava′c·ᴜ aiχ̯aʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ tana′q·ιts·. cina′ŋwaφɪ pa·γɛ′in’ɴᴜˣqwιp·ïγaʽ naŋqa′q·ai’yïqw a′i’naŋᴡᴀ cina′ŋwaφ ᴡᴀˣqï′c·ᴜ qɔ·′nɪpïγa aŋa′′uraʽ. ïvʷï′′mιχ̯a’ᵃ mʷα′va·ntuγwa’amɪ qwauʽ nɔ·′mɪʽquvʷa’amɪ ųnι′tsι’ⁱ mava·′aiʏᴜ paγa′imᴍɪʽquvʷa i′mɪ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ï′vʷaiyauqᴜ pɪʽk̯a′χunavutsιa·ŋ ʽan·a·′xιyaŋʽ nɔ·′mɪqup·ïγa. ïrï′ʽ qatcu′nʽ qï’ï′ⁱyap̓·anɪ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwav antι′ŋwïa·′vumaiyuaŋav a′χɔtsιvιχ̯·ᴜ. narï′vʷinɪ qatcu′′um anι′k·ˣ qï’ɨ′va·ŋwa′ɪʏᴜcampα, a′ip·ïγaʽ tan·a′q·ιts·.

ma·va′ ’u′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cʊ·′p·ar’uαp·ιʽ pι′tcιχw’aip·ïγa’aimʽ. ïvʷι′ya·q·o′φ maŋa′c·uŋumɪ cina′ŋwav aŋʽ moι′mpa·ŋumʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ[79] ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′φɪtsιŋw αmï. umʷa′uxp̓a’ ʽo′′ᵘ cina′ŋwav aŋʽ moι′p·ïγaiyamï ᵘmʷa′va·iy a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ, ïvʷι′ya·ŋʽ na·′p̓·antuχwa·ŋʽ maŋa′c·a′ivean aŋ ᴜˣqwι′yʊ·m·ama′xa·ŋ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. qa′tc·ᴜ narï′vʷin aro’ᵅ nį′′ⁱ co·′q·uc· o·′χwa.ivätcï, a′ip·ïγaʽ tᴀʽsι′av aŋʽ tï′rauq·wιvïαv a·tcι′m·’aq·uq·wαφï yaŋwι′ŋwįnιχ̯aʽ. m·ʷa′ᴜʽpa’ᵃ cina′ŋwav aŋʽ moι′p·ïγaiyaq·ʽ nιŋwï′aiya·q·ʽ. ʽaa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ, ʽini′ntcïγι′vïn[80] ιu·′p̓·aq·aʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. nï′nι anι′k̯·ain a·wawα′ʽ[81] naγu′q·ᴡɪpaian un·a·′γιt·uγw anι′χ̯a a·′wawaʽ,[81] a′ip·ïγaʽ pɪʽk̯a·′′ay aŋʽ. cιna′ŋwavι’ιŋᴡᴀ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγa’aiŋw. ųnι′ts̓ιŋw tï’mα′p·ïγa’aiŋw. ųnι′ŋuts· miyɔ′t·ïγan·ιʽ qᴜʽqwι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsïq·u’u′raʽ ɴᴜˣqwi′ŋqw’aip·ïγaʽ ya·′vaiyιŋᴜpïγa’aik·w ts·qu′t·ŋ̥na′p·ïγa’aiŋw ųnι′ŋuts ųnι′tc a′ip·ïγaʽ, ma·′n· ’ï′n·ιvä·’p·i′mɪ pɪʽk̯a·′′ayaxaiva·ntï tɪʽqa′va·p·ɪ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ma·n·ɔ′′ɔŋ ųnι′ŋuts· tɪʽqa′q·ʽpïγa’aiŋw.

ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ pɪʽk̯a·′′aiʽ ta·γʊ·′ᵘt·ᴜʽcu′ŋ’wιp·ïγa’aimʽ. m·ʷa′ᴜʽpa·q·ʽ cina′ŋwav aŋʽ moι′p·ïγaiyaq·ʽ mʷα′vaʽ yu′a·vaʽ ta·γʊ·′itcup·ɪʽpïγaʽ. qatcu′ruảq·[82] ⁱ’ivä′ʽ pa·′aảivätcʽ, a′ik·ˣpïγa. ï’ï′ŋ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ, ι′i′va·q·ʽ wa’a′p·a·ts ur a· n·ι′aγaivätcʽ,[83] a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. cina′ŋwaφɪ mʷα′va·ntïʽ maa′vuruq·ᴡᴀtï ɔ′rap·ïγaʽ ɴᴀʽsɔ′xɔ’ma′nιp·ïγa.

"All right," said Coyote. "Who, then, is it that is always ready? Long ago I almost went to call people together," said Coyote. Coyote went off in yonder direction, going about to call people together against Iron-Clothes; he spoke to different kinds of animals. Soon he came to that Rattlesnake's house. Coyote did not say anything. "Traveling around to call people together," said Coyote. "All right," said Rattlesnake. "Carry me, then, Coyote." "Hą!" said Coyote, "did I say that a round-dance was about to take place here? So I am to carry around on my back you who have no legs! You just stay here!" said Coyote. "Though Coyote is always saying that, he really is wont to say so merely in sport," said Rattlesnake. Coyote started to walk off, but when he heard what he had said, Coyote turned back again to him. "Let me, then, carry you along off to that place, then from there you will start to walk along," said Coyote. And then he started to carry him along in (Rattlesnake's) little rawhide bag. "Look out! don't bite me," said Coyote, as (Rattlesnake) was darting out his tongue from Coyote's shoulder. "It is my wont to act thus, but I shall not bite you," said Rattlesnake.

There, then, the two of them arrived at the gathering place. "Go ahead now! That Coyote will be your leader," said the two brothers. And so Coyote led them through that country. At yonder place Coyote said, "Do you, all of you, give that companion of mine one arrow each," said Coyote. "No! It is my wont to be provided with but one arrow," said Red Ant, as he stood and held his unfeathered arrow together with his bow. Coyote led the people through that country. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what friend of mine has been through here?" said he. "It is I who have done so, awawa![34] while engaged in proceeding into the combat, awawa!" said Land Turtle. Coyote killed him and then roasted him in the ashes. Then he shot to a considerable distance and, having done so, he ran along towards the spot (his arrow had reached), brought it back with him, and poked the Turtle out with its point. Then, having done so, he said, "In that way shall it always be done to you, who are destined to be a hard-shell turtle. You shall always be eaten," said Coyote. And then they all ate him.

Now the Hard-shell Turtle's (spirit) caused them to be thirsty. Coyote was leading the troop to that country; there on the plain they were thirsty. "Is there not a spring hereabouts?" said they. "Yes," said Coyote, "right around here is the one that is called Cedar Spring," said he. Right there under a bush Coyote dug and covered himself

ųnι′ŋuts ï′vʷaiyauq· aŋa′c· iyɔ′vιtcuatc aŋ a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′nɪ nï′mʷ ιvι′χ̯w’aiŋumpa’amï. itcï′an ʽɔaiʽ nį′ni ava′ŋwιnɪ paiyu′åŋqïq·ιv’amʷïnɪ, a′ip·ïγaʽ ta·n·a′q·ιtc aŋʽ. ιyät·uχwa’amʽ yuwa·′ᵃχanti uvʷa·′ᵃx·’ιmï qï·′i’ɴɪˣk̯aiʽpïγa.in·ιa’amʽ. piya·′m· aŋʽ mʷα′va·ntïʽ yua·′ᵃva·ntïʽ tïχa′p·ïγaʽ. ma·m·u′c· aŋ’a′vantuχwa’amʽ pɪʽtcu′aιmι′’ιmï tuχu′ŋ’wιp·ïγaʽ tümpa′iya·ŋ’am· marï′ŋwa·ŋqˣpïγa. aa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʽ ma·m·a′’uts, aχa′n·ιŋum o′vʷai a·′γawantcɪqaivaʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ piya·′m· aŋʽ. uvʷa·′’aŋᴡᴀ cina′ŋwav uŋʽ ta·γu′p·ᴀˣqai a′iveaŋwa·v uŋ ųmï′ŋwa’ᵃ, a′ip·ïγa’aimʽ. ų·′mai, ʽa′ip·ïγaʽ piya·′m· amʽ, nï′ŋwïmɪ yö′vιtcuᴀʽtsιγa·′q·ŋ̊ŋumʽ[84] tïγa′n·umpïαn ava′ŋwiŋumɪ yu·α′m’miavaʽ, a′ip·ïχaʽ pιya·′m· aŋʽ.

ųnι′tsιamʽ m·ʷa′ᴜʽpa’amʽ yuα′m’miap·ïγaiyamʽ pa′iᴀˣ qarï′rï ’a′uraʽ. mava′’amï ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′tsιŋw αmʽ tɔɔ·′aγax·qaʀïpïγa’aimʽ. maŋac· a′ip·ïγaʽ piya·′m· aŋʽ, pį̈nι′k̯·aimʽ yö′vιtcuᴀʽtsιŋw αmʽ ma′ik̯·ainanɪ. qatcu′ya·mï pa·′ᵃxavatcux·ᴡ yaŋwï′i’yap·ï, a′ip·ïγaʽ. ma·m·u′c·’uŋᴡᴀ nava′tsιŋw αmʽ pa·′ᵃγavatsιγwaŋwάmʽ qwïï′p·ïγaʽ pa·ru′q̇·wαm ïγa′ŋᴜpïγaʽ. ma·vu′ts·kιŋqʽpïγaiyaŋa’amʽ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ ᴍᴜʽqu′nťamʽ pa′iy’am umʷα′ntïʽ tu’u′mᴀˣqwɔi’p·ïγa. ιyä′t·uχwaŋᴜpïγa’aimʽ yuwa·′ᵃvι ava′’a·x·ɪ ʽa·mï′vʷ’αmʽ pι′tcιχw’aip·ïγaʽ. cina′ŋwav aŋʽ cuwa′i’y’a′ip·ïγaʽ ta·γu′y’aiχ̯aʽ. ʽa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ, nį′’ⁱ na·m·ï′’ivιväʽ nɔ·′n’nιntcιaŋʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cinaŋwaφɪ. ma·n·ɔ′n·ι ivi′k·ˣᴀpïγaʽ maŋa′ccampᴀ tan·a′q·ιtc aŋʽ piya′ɪʽpïγa. ïvʷïn nį′’ ivi′väʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ. yu’α′ŋqʽqaɪʽtuavaˣqa·ŋan·oʽ mį̈mι′ŋwαnt ivi′χ̯uaŋʽ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. qatcu′ᴀˣqan·uwαnɪ yu’α′ŋqʽqaɪʽtuava·′ŋwa’, a′ip·ïγaʽ tan·a′q·ιts·. qa′tc·ᴜ yu’α′ŋqʽqaɪʽtuavaᵃˣqa·ŋan·oʽ a′ian a′ik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. ɔa′q·ˣťuivaᵃˣqa·ŋ uru′ac· maŋa′c·ᴜ tana′q·ιtc aŋʽ. quʋ·′p·aŋap·ïγa’aik·ᴡ. m·ʷα′n·ιŋumpa·q·aŋʽ a′ian ïγïr ʽa′ik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. mʷα′va·ntïmanaŋqᴡᴀ pa·′ aʀ ɴᴜˣqwι′k·ᴜpïγaʽ qana′uiŋwaγantιmpaŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ. i’i′tcïa·q·ʽ wa’a′p·a·tc ur a′ik̯·ainαnɪ, a′ip·ïγaʽ cina′ŋwaφɪ. a·va′ŋᴡɪ nava′q·ïqap·ïγaʽ.

ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʋ̆ paγa′inʸ’ɴᴜˣqwik·ʽpïγa ʋ·′vʷa· cina′ŋwav a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′raŋᴡᴀ qᴜʽqwι′t·ιγaʽˣqava itcï′ʽ tɔha′t·ümpι[85] ʽaiʽ. uvʷa·′ntuχw’αq·ᴡ qo′q·ᴡɪk̯ap·ïγa’aik·ᴡ ᴜˣqwι′yuam· ar amï′ŋwantuγwaċ·ᴜ pᴀʽpa′iyι’p·ïγaʽ. ma·m·u′ccamp o′vʷaiʽ piya′ɪʽpïγa’aimʽ tᴀʽsι′av aŋʽ tana′q·ιtsι aŋa′ŋwa’ᵃ. tᴀʽsι′av aŋʽ qᴜʽqwι′p·ïγaiyaq· ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋʽ tümp a′ʀ pʋ·′ruq·ᴡɪpïγa ᴜˣqwι′yuaŋ aʀ m·’ɔ′vaŋwιt·uγwa·ŋʽ paiyü′ŋᴜpïγaʽ. maŋa′c·ᴜ ta·naq·ιtc aŋʽ qïï′p·ïγaiyaq·ʽ ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋʽ tümp a′ʀ tʋ·′m’unuq·wa·p·ïγain·ιʽ. umʷa′ᴜʽṗα p·ɔrɔ′m’yap·ïγaaic·ᴜ. wantsι′vuŋqo′aŋ aŋʽ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwanti umʷα′vaʽ yuwa·′ᵃvaʽ pį̈nι′ŋwïnιp·ïγa. ʽaa′ik·w, a′ik·ˣpïγa, aχa′n·ιaŋaraŋw ʋ·′vʷaiʽ pᴀʽpa′-

with moist earth.[34a] Now then that young Mourning Dove[35] said, "Let us two go to find water to drink." "You two shall bring water for me in this (bag)," said Rattlesnake. The two of them, proceeding through this plain, flew over it, putting out their breasts and holding up their heads like doves. Their mother was gathering seeds at that place on the plain. Down upon her did the two of them fall as though from the sky and closed her mouth with their hands. "Oh!" said the woman, "how, then, shall I hide you?" said the mother. "Over there Coyote together with his companions are thirsty," said they. "All right," said their mother, "I shall carry you in the form of little mourning doves in my seed-beater."

And then she carried them through there towards the lake. There those two sisters, (daughters of Iron-Clothes,) sat watching. That mother of the boys said, "Look at the little doves that I have found. Do not take them into the water," said she. The two sisters took them right out into the water and dived into the water. The (doves) slipped out of the girls' hands; then they went straight and took some of the water. They started off through here over the plain and arrived where their companions were. Coyote was nearly dead from thirst. "Oh," said Coyote, "I shall be the first to drink, who have been carrying him around," said Coyote. They all drank, but that Rattlesnake was left over. "Let me drink," said he. "Some one of you shall hold it for him while he drinks," said Coyote. "No one shall hold it for me," said Rattlesnake. "No! let some one hold it for him, that's what I say," said Coyote, "that Rattlesnake will spill the water." Rattlesnake let the water spill out of his mouth. " 'That is what he will do,' that indeed is what I said," said Coyote. Starting from that point the water flowed off through a canyon bordered with willows. Coyote said, "This is the Cedar Spring that I spoke of," said Coyote. In it they bathed themselves.

And then they started off on their way; yonder Coyote said, "Let us all practice shooting at this white stone." They shot at it there and the arrows all came back to them. They alone now were left over, Red Ant and Rattlesnake. Red Ant shot at it, and when he did so, the rock burst to pieces and his arrow came back into his hand. That Rattlesnake bit it, and when he did so, the stone became like a round black mass. They went on again through that country. The tame antelope (that Iron-Clothes had as guard) was standing there on the plain, standing looking in different directions.[35a] "Oh!" said they, "how, then, are we going to kill him?" Circling about him

q·ava·ŋʿ, a′ik·ˣpïγaʿ. ma′up̓·a’ aŋa′oax·tux·ᴡᴀ taŋwï′xarup·ïγaiyaŋʿ. maŋa′c·ᴜ tᴀʿcɩ′av aŋʿ qanɩ′a·ŋ ᴀˣqa′naŋqwɔp·ï mïa·′ᵃγantümpaʿ qarï′p·ïγaʿ. cina′ŋwav aŋʿ ɪn·ʷα′va·ntux·ᴡᴀ moru′navïʿ tᴜʿtu′p·i’nap·ïγaʿ na′uwa’me·k·[86] ųnɩ′ŋuts· wa·tcɩ′m’mɩap·ïγaʿ maŋwa′vaxaʿ wantsɩ′ aŋ aŋa′’uraʿ. maŋac· umʷα′vaʿ pɪʿk̯a′xunavut·n̥na·xɩv uŋwa′ɪʿk̯aɪʿpïγa. ųnɩ′k̯·ay̥uc·ᴜ wï’i′k·ᴜpïγaʿ tï′rava·ntux·ᴡᴀ. tïvʷɩp·ï ᴀʿcɩ′aʀᴜqwa·γ[87] aŋa′ora′ɪʿpïγaʿ wantsɩ′ aŋʿ. ’ʊ·′vʷaʿ sɔ·tsɩ′k̯·aip·ïγa ɩyɛ′n·uc· ųnɩ′k̯·aip·ïγa. ųnɩ′mɪʿqup·ïγaaic·ᴜ tïvʷɩ′p·ï aru′q·wa·x·ɪ u′vʷa sɔtsɩ′ŋᴜpïγaaic·ᴜ. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ tɔγʷɩ′aŋaruq·ᴡᴀ sɔtsɩ′ŋᴜpïγa ųnɩ′ŋᴜtsɩaq·ʿ nɩŋwï′åiya·ŋʿ pᴜʿca′γaip·ïγaiyaq·ʿ. ųnɩ′χ̯aic·uaq·ʿ piyï′a·ŋʿ maip·ïγaʿ tana′c·ɩχ̯aiya·ŋʿ narï′yavantuγw ɩyä′n·uyïaq·ʿ ta·ᵃvu′vʷ’ux·ᴜ. qï′i′p·ïγaiyaq· ųnɩ′ŋuts· pa’a′iyon·ɩʿ paiyü′ŋᴜpïγaʿ qa·′q̇·ɩŋᴜpïγa ųnɩ′ŋuts·.

ʿa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʿ cina′ŋwaφɪ, u’u′ŋwanɩantca·ᵃŋ uc·ᴜ maa′it̓·uit·ïʿ tana′q·ɩtc uŋʿ, a′iχ̯a ųwa′ɪˣk̯aina·ŋav u’u′rainqw’aip·ïγaʿ. tïvʷɩ′c·amp o’ᵘ pɪʿk̯a′xunavutsɩs·uaŋ aʀ mava· uŋwa′ɪˣk̯aip·ïγa. ʿanɩ′an ʿaik̯·, a′ip·ïγaʿ cina′ŋwaφɪ. uvʷa·′ntuγwa·q·ʿ tcᴀʿtca′p·aγaitcʿpïγaiaq·ʿ quna′vïa·ŋʿ. o·′p̓·ac·ᴜ paiyü′ŋᴜpïγaʿ mava·′ntux·ᴡpïγaʿ wantsi′ aŋʿ puvʷa wïnɩ′k̯·aip·a·ntux·w. mava′ ųnɩ′ŋuts· maŋa′c·ᴜ tana′q·ɩtc aŋʿ tï′vʷɩk·ïcara·q·aip·ïγa. aʿa′ik·w a′ivaiyan, a′ip·ïγaʿ, quna′vua’amɪ ya·′ŋqïχw’aiŋumpaʿ, a′ip·ïγaʿ cina′ŋwaφɪ. mava pɩ′tcɩχw’aip·ïγa ųnɩ′ŋᴜtsïαq· ï′vʷïʿcampan·ɩʿ tɔʿtɔ′q·ɔa·p·ïγaiaq·ʿ cina′ŋwav aŋʿ tcᴀʿtca′p·aγatcᴀˣqainaφï. ʿaŋa′vaiaŋqᴡᴀtï′αc· aŋa′iac·ᴜ tᴀʿcï′avɩ aŋʿ wants aŋʿ kwɪʿpa′p·ïγaʿ. cina′ŋwaφɪ ya·′p·itcɩχw’aip·ïγaiyaq·ʿ quna′vïa·ŋʿ. ʿųnɩ′ŋuts ava′ŋwɩaŋʿ nɔ·m’mɩap·ïγaiaŋʿ wantsï′ aŋ aŋa′vatcux·ᴡᴀ. mava·′iyuaŋʿ tɪʿqa′q·ʿpïγaiaŋʿ wantsi′vuŋqoa·ŋʿ tümpʷɩ′n·arɔ’ŋqwantïʿ.

ʿaa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʿ maŋa′c· tümpʷɩ′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋʿ, a′it̓caŋw qa·′q̇·ɩŋᴜ wantsi′vuŋqųn uŋʿ qatcu′’uŋwaiiŋw i’i′väʿ pi′tcïåap·atcʿ, a′ip·ïγa aŋa′c·ᴜ. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′φɪtsɩŋw αm a′ip·ïγaaimʿ, ïvʷɩ′yaraŋᴡᴀ naŋwï′iaʀqwaŋumpaʿ, a′ip·ïγa’aimʿ. mαva·′aiʏᴜ cina′ŋwav aŋʿ na·′ntcuin·ɩ a·ŋqa′n’ɴᴀˣpïγa’aik·w tɔʿtsi′αφï. ųnɩ′k̯·aŋumïⁱts· ya·′c·aŋup·ïγaʿ pa′aiʿ qarï′rï a’u′ra ʿava′ ḭmʷï′’ⁱʿpïγa. ʿaa′ik·w patsɩ′nɪ qatcu′tca·ɪnʿ paa′iyɔŋwa’ap·ac·ᴜ wï’i′atsɩŋw αmï, a′ip·ïγaʿ nam·i′yaŋ aŋʿ. cina′ŋwav aŋ ʿa·m·u′ʀqwa·ᵃγɩt·uac·un·ɩʿ pḭni′’nip·ïγa. a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγaʿ patsɩ′’ɩŋw, umʷα′ŋaya·′åxa’ᵃ nïru′q·waᴀʿtïαc·ᴜ pḭni′n’niʿ, a′ip·ïγaʿ patsi′aŋ aŋʿ. m·ʷα′ŋ ani′k̯·a ïa′vuruŋᴜqwain·αnɪ, a′ip·ïγaʿ na·m·i′yaŋ aŋʿ. maa′up̓·ac·ᴜ ya·c·ᴜqwaiŋup·ïγaʿ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ wï’i′atsɩŋw αmʿ. maŋa′c·ᴜ piya·′m· aŋʿ m·ʷα′vaaiʏᴜ tᴜʿcu′p·ïγaʿ. maŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋ a′ip·ïγa, aχa′n·iχ̯ai åni′k·* tᴜʿcʊ·′-

in that way, they rounded him up. That Red Ant was sitting on the divide in the direction of the antelope's house. Coyote pulled greasewood right there out of the ground. Then, as he went along, he put it in front of himself, creeping on his hands and knees towards the antelope. That Rattlesnake was hanging there in his rawhide bag. So doing, he dropped down to the ground and proceeded towards the antelope under the surface of the earth. Yonder he peeped out; he was still far away from him. Again he started to move on under the earth; yonder he peeped out again. This time he peeped out right under him, and, so doing, he looked around at all parts of his body. While he was doing so, he found his heart beating right in the open between his hoofs. Then he bit it, and then the antelope jumped high up in the air and came back making a raucous noise.[36]

"Oh!" said Coyote, "perhaps it was that Rattlesnake that was gotten sight of." So saying, he went to where he had hung him up. Sure enough, now, only his rawhide bag was still hanging there. "That is what I said," said Coyote. At that place he tore his bag up to pieces. He returned to the same place, he came to where the antelope had been standing. There, then, that Rattlesnake had his mouth filled with dirt. "Oh my companion!" said Coyote, "let me go and get your bag for you." There he arrived at the bag, and Coyote patched it together somehow or other, after having torn it up. Before reaching that Red Ant, the antelope fell down dead. Coyote arrived with Rattlesnake's bag and then he carried him along in it to the antelope. At that place they all ate the antelope, Iron-Clothes' tame antelope.

"Oh!" said that Iron-Clothes, "my tame antelope made a raucous noise. He has not come back here," said he. And then the brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into sparrows," said they. There Coyote painted his head fiercely. After they had done so, they flew off towards the lake and there they arrived. "Oh my sister! many have the sparrows become in number," said one (of Iron-clothes' daughters) to her older sister. Coyote kept looking under them, it seemed. "Oh!" said the older sister, "that one, indeed, keeps looking under me." "It is that one whom I have wounded,"[37] said her younger sister. Back through that country flew off those sparrows. The mother of the two boys was grinding seeds at that place. Iron-Clothes said, "Why are you engaged in grinding seeds? Is it Coyote that causes you to grind seeds?[38] You said, indeed, that

xwaʻ. cina′ŋwavιt̓cua·′m·[88] αŋʻ tᴜʻcu′t·uiy’ïm·. imi′ʻ pᴀˣqa′q·ain ʻa′i ïγïr ʻaik·ˣ m·ʷα′ŋʻ qam·ï′ɔap·uts aŋ axa′n·intca·ᵃŋa’ᵃ pᴀˣqa′ŋoaŋ i′m a′iγai’ aik·ˣ. man·i′ntca·ŋan ųnι′ŋᴜ maa·′vïa·ŋ u’a′xaφï qarï′γuaŋ itcï′ amʻ tïγa′n·ïmpïm·αnʻ, a′ip·ïγaʻ piŋwa·′ᵃŋ aŋʻ. ïvʷï′aq·o′’ᵘ ųnι′t·ɪʻqaŋ’wɪ, a′ip·ïγaʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwantʻ. maŋa′c·o’ᵘ piŋwa·′ᵃŋ aŋ ųnι′c·uaŋ an·ι′ŋᴜpïγaʻ tïγa′n·ïmp ar uvʷa′ŋwɪ ᴜˣqwι′yuuʻ wï’nι′k·ᴜqwain uvʷa′ŋwɪ wï’nι′k·ᴜpïγaʻ. qa·′tc·ᴜ ʻɔ·′αrïan anι′k̯·ainʻ m·a′i’an ʻa′ik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγaʻ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwantʻ. uŋwa′c·uγwain·ιʻ wantsι′vuŋqun uŋʻ qa·′q̇·ιŋᴜˣqwαntï qatc ųmą′.įmιŋ’wait·ï nava′c·ᴜ qa·′q̇·ιŋuts i’i′väʻ pi′tcιʀ nï′φα.

ma·m·u′c· ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ nava′φɪtsιŋw αm a′ip·ïγa’aimʻ, ïvʷι′araŋwᴀ na’a·′ᵃŋaʀᴜqwąumpaʻ. tïvʷι′c· o’ᵘ ʻuni′c· a·n·i′k̯·aŋup·ïγa ʻa′iχ̯uamʻ. ųnι′ts· ya·′c·uŋup·ïγaʻ pa′aiʻ qarï′rï u’u′raʻ. uvʷa′ į̈mʷï′’ιχ̯w’aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ. ųni′c· a·n·ι′p·ïγaʻ cina′ŋwaφɪ ųmʷu′ʀᴜˣqwa·ᵃγιt·uαc·ιn·ιʻ pį̈ni′n’nip·ïγa. ï′vʷaiyauq· o·′p̓·ac·ᴜ ya·′c·uŋup·ïγa uvʷa′ į̈mʷï′’ιχ̯w’aip·ïγaʻ pïvʷa·′yuv ųni·′ⁱk̯·anʻ. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ na·va′tsιŋw αmʻ paiyι′q·w’ɔip·ïγa’aimʻ qanι′vä·ntuχwa·ᵃmïφï. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ na·va′φɪtsιŋw αm a′ip·ïγa’aimʻ, ïvʷι′yaraŋwᴀ na·vu′’ιtcαʀᴜqwąumpaʻ. tïvʷι′c·amp o’ᵘ pu’ι′tcatsιŋw qa′tcᴜ paa′iʏᴜpïåic·ᴜ qani′ntcᴜqwa·ᵃx·ɪ. ʻaa′ik·w aγa′n· ani′k̯· ani′ntcïmʷ i′mï pu’ι′tsatsιŋw αmʻ, a′ip·ïγa’aimʻ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′tsιŋw αm ɔa′xa·q·arïχaiyaŋa’mʻ. ʻa′aik·w m·α′ŋaya·ᵃxa’ᵃ na·′ntcuin·ιʻ puŋ’wi′ŋqï ɔa·′va·n’tι′aŋ ar ïmpï′n’ini·ⁱntcʻ. patsi′aŋ aŋ a′ip·ïγaʻ, m·ʷα′ŋ ani′k̯·a ïa′vuruŋᴜqwainαnɪ. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ ma·n·u′n·ι o·′p̓·ac·ᴜ mį̈nι′c·ɪpïγaʻ.

uvʷa·′yu’m a′ip·ïγaɪco’omʻ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′φɪtsιŋw αmʻ, ïvʷï′raŋwᴀ na·γa·′tcιtcᴜqwaŋumpaʻ. tïvʷι′c·amp o’ᵘ qa·′tsιŋw αmʻ qa′tc·ᴜ pa′iyɔŋup·ïaåic·ᴜ tümpʷι′n·arɔ’ŋqwantïʻ qanι′väʻ. ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ ma·′ᵃvïa·ŋʻ qïʻtï′itcuq·ᴜpïγaʻ pa·γa′ŋ’wιya·mʻ ma·′rɔarɔmput̓·uit·ïik·ʻpïγaʻ tümpʷι′yua·ŋʻ tümpʷι′m·a·ᵃvïa·ŋʻ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ qïʻtï′itcuq·ᴜpïγaʻ pa·γa′ŋ’wιya·mʻ ma·′rɔarɔmput̓·uit·ïik·ʻpïγaʻ tümpʷι′yua·ŋʻ tümpʷι′m·a·ᵃvïa·ŋʻ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ qïʻtï′itcuq·ᴜpïγaʻ. maŋa′c·ᴜ piya·′m· αŋʻ pïŋqa′ʀᴜcup·ïγaʻ ma·m·u′c·’uq·w nava′φɪtsιŋw amʻ yᴜ·’a′p·ïγaɪʻqa·’mʻ tᴜʻcu′n·a·ŋʻ piya′iyavï’mʻ. ma·m·u′c·’uq·w tɪʻqa′q·ʻpïγaʻ tᴜ·χwa′vaɪʻ cina′ŋwavιy aŋ a′ivaiyaŋw. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ tᴀʻcï′antïʻ tïγa′.iχ̯ιŋqᴜ maŋac· a′ip·ïγaʻ ta·n·a′q·ιtc aŋʻ, ïvʷι′αnɪ tɔγɔ′iɴ’ɔˣqwɔ’mιtsιχaip·aiyαnɪ qwιtcα′q·anι′aŋ u’u′raʻ tsitsι′ŋwιc·ᴀ. ma·m·u′c·’uŋʷ ǫ′’ᵘ ᵃ’a′ura’ιŋwᴀ qwιtcα′q·anιa·ŋʻ tsitsι′ŋwɪcap·ïγaʻ. tɔγɔ′iavaŋwɪtï ųnι′ts·kwɪʻpa′p·ïγaʻ qwιtca′q·anιa·ŋʻ mava′ŋwιaŋ ųnι′ŋuts ɔa′xa·q·aip·ïγaiyaŋʻ. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ tᴀʻcï′ant aʀ tɪʻqa′ŋ’wɪpïγaʻ ma·m·u′c·uαq· ųnι′ŋuts· qanι′a·mï ta·ŋwï′χarup·ïγaiyaq·ʻ. ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ maŋa′c·ᴜ

you had killed that little jack-rabbit, but how did you kill him, as you say?" "It is thus that I did so to him, with this seed-beater of mine, as he was sitting right in the brush," said his wife. "Go ahead, then, and do it again," said Iron-Clothes. So that wife of his did just as she had (pretendedly) done, and the seed-beater struck right into the spot where the arrow had struck.[39] "No! it has been done by a spy, that is what I say," said Iron-Clothes. "That tame antelope of mine too has made a raucous sound. He is not wont to make a sound like that for no reason; having made a raucous noise, he is wont to return to me."[40]

Then those two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into piñon jays." Sure enough, now, they all did just as the two of them said. Then they flew off towards the lake and arrived there. Coyote acted as before; he kept looking under them, as it seemed. Then they flew back again and arrived there whence they had been coming. Then the two sisters went back to their own house. Now those two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into mice," and in very truth they became mice in great numbers under the house. "Oh! how did it happen that there came to be these mice?" said the two sisters, as they sat and watched them. "Oh! that one, indeed, is making a horrible squeaking noise. He has something raised on his back." The elder sister said, "That one it is whom I have wounded." And then they all turned back again.

Now, then, the two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into rats." Sure enough, then, they got to be rats in great number in Iron-Clothes' house. They gnawed all his things to pieces. They caused the bow-strings (of Iron-Clothes and his daughters) to hang loose, and they gnawed Iron-Clothes' gun all to pieces. That mother of the two boys kept on grinding seeds and they carried off what their mother ground. Those, Coyote and his companions, ate it during the night. Then, when dawn came, that Rattlesnake said, "Vos baculo prehendentes ipso in loco quo curvus sim jacite me ad domum ejus defaecationis." Illi igitur ad domum (Ferrovestiti) defaecationis eum baculo jecerunt et ipsa in domo ejus defaecationis cecidit. Then he waited for him therein. And then it became dawn and they thereupon circled around the house of (Iron-Clothes and his daughters). Deinde ille Ferrovestitus iit ut defaecaret et crebro pandiculatus est[41] cum ambularet. "Are you waiting there for me, Coyote?" said Iron-Clothes. Consedit in foramen defaecationis.

tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋ‘ qwιtca′χw’ɔip·ïγa‘ nan·a′ro·q·wɪpax·pïγa. uvʷa·′ᵃruαn·ι’ⁱ cïna′ŋwav ɔa′xa·q·arιαn‘,[89] a′ip·ïγa‘ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋ‘. ɔ‘pa′q·ιna·q· ava′ŋwɪ qᴀ‘qa′ʀïpïγa‘. maŋa′c· υ·vʷaɪ‘ ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ ta·n·a′q·ιtc aŋ‘ kwɪ‘tu′x·ṗa·q·oaŋ‘ qï′ï′p·ïγa‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋ‘ na·va′c·ᴜ qa·rï′p·ïγa‘ qatcᴜ yu’mu′q·wɪpïá’ᵃ. maŋa′c·’uŋwᴀ tan·a′q·ιtc aŋ‘ tï·′ŋqunι′aŋw qïï′p·ïγaaic·ᴜ. ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ ųnι′ŋuts· tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwant aŋ‘ na·ᵃvι′t·υ·m’ιŋup·ïγa‘ qanι′av ųnι′ŋuts uvʷa′ianaŋqwat·ïac·ᴜ wï′na′.iŋwar’uαp·ïγa‘.

ma·m·uc· ï′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ patcü′ŋwa·ᵃŋ aŋ a·tcï′’amuφ tu’u′mᴀpïγa‘ wa·ᵃvï′n’ɪˣpïγaáim‘. ųnι′ŋˣᴜqwa·m‘ paγa′ŋ’wιam· aʀ tɔŋqwa′‘pïγa‘. ma·ru′x·qwa·ŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·am‘ pa·γa′ŋ’wιam·uφ. ųnι′ŋumιŋqᴜcamṗa·q·am‘ paγa′ŋ’wιa·m ‘ai‘ tɔ‘qwa′p·i’namɪpïγa′ɪt‘uaɪ‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ tᴀ‘cï′av aŋ a′ip·ïγa‘, nï̜nι′aχwα′χain·ι χ̜ïʀ[90] qwa′ut·uγwαc·ᴜ pɔ·mpɔ′n’ai‘, a′iχ̜uwaŋ‘ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ na·va′tsιŋw αm‘ qwa′ut·uχwa·m‘ pɔmpɔ′n’ap·ïγa’aim‘. ųni·′ⁱχ̜wα’αm ᴜˣqwi′yu aʀ kwɪ‘tu′x·pa·m‘ tsιs·tu′na·ŋqïmιαn·ι‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ pïŋqa′m’aip·ïγa‘, nï̜′nιaχwɔχain·ι wᴀ‘qï′t·uγwαc·ᴜ tara′vιn’na·ai‘, a′iχ̜uwαŋ‘ ma·m·uc·ᴜ na·va′tsιŋw αm wᴀ‘qï′t·uγwa’am‘ tara′vιn’na‘pïγa’aim‘. ųni·′ⁱχ̜wα’αm ᴜˣqwι′yu αʀ pɔɔ′ɪ‘paám‘ tsïtsιŋwaxa′imɪpïγain·ι‘.

maŋa′c·ᴜ tᴀ‘cι′av aŋ‘ qa′tcᴜ qᴜ‘qwιŋ’wa′iʏᴜcampα qa·′nɴᴀ‘cuv a′ip·ïγa‘. pina′ŋqw ɔ′vʷaiyauq·w a′ip·ïγa‘, nιŋwï′ʀᴜqwat·uγwaq·ava·n·ιaraŋwᴀ a′iyaq·‘ qᴜ‘qo′q·wɪk̜ananaŋum a′ʀ qa′tcᴜ maa′ntsιŋwą·’ᵃ. ïvʷïn ųni′ts· nï̜′’ⁱ cυ·′q·uc· ᴜ‘qwι′yutsιγaivätc umpι′c·ᴀcampᴀ ma·m·ï′vʷatcï‘ qᴜ‘qwι′va‘. a′iγaic· wᴀˣqï′t·uγwa’am mï̜nï′c·ιk·‘ pɔɔ′ɪ‘pa·t·ïa·m‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ ma·m·ï′ŋwαntï tï′rava·ntux·wᴀ kwɪ‘pa′p·ïγa‘ co·′q·un aŋ‘ qwa′uaŋ‘ mï̜ni′c·ιk·‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγaɪcua·ŋ‘. mava·′ntuγwa·m‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyam‘. ᴜ‘qwι′yuaŋ aʀ qᴜ‘qwι′m·ιŋquaŋ aŋa′úraaic·ᴜ paiyü′ŋum·ιp·ïγa‘. mava·′ntuγwa·ŋ‘ tümpʷi′n·arɔ’ŋqwantï aŋ‘ patcι′ŋwïŋwáq·uaŋ‘ pᴀ‘pa′q·‘qwaiŋup·ïγaɪ‘tuaiyïam‘. nava′φɪtsιŋw αm·‘ piya′iya·m‘ ya·′vanax·pïγa‘.

9. Chipmunk deceives the Giant.

m·ʷα′va·yaχwaám‘ tava′rιŋqwιtc aŋ‘ piyα′ŋ’waiφ qan·ι′χ̜aim·ιa’m‘. ‘a′ik·w piya′nɪ uwa′t·uγwat·u′aiyïn·o‘. ųnι′tsiaŋan‘ pava′iva·ŋ‘, a′ip·ïγa‘ tava′’ats aŋ‘ piyä′ruχwaφï. qa·′tc·ᴜ qatcu′ n·a·′n·ιa’ap·‘. m·ʷα′ŋ ’ani′k·ˣ qᴜ‘tu′c uŋ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ’am·ιn‘, a′ip·ïγa‘ piya·′ŋ· aŋ‘. pava′tcιŋqïva·ŋan ‘a′ian ‘a′ik·ˣ. qa·′tcᴜ pᴀˣqa′ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ·’amιn ‘a′ian ‘a′ik·ˣ, a′ix̜·ᴜcampa·ŋ‘ pa·ᵃva′tcɪpïχa‘. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ qᴜ‘tuc· a′ŋ‘

Cum autem ille id faceret, Crotalus eum momordit per anum. That Iron-Clothes remained seated as though nothing had happened, he did not even start. That Rattlesnake bit him again, this time further up. When he had done so, then Iron-Clothes drew in his breath sharply and groaned with pain, and before he could reach his house, he fell dead.

Now those daughters of his seized their bows and pulled the bowstrings, but when they did so, their bowstrings snapped. They stretched what was left of their bowstrings, but whenever they did so, somebody always broke them by shooting at them. That Red Ant said, "I, indeed, for my part, (when in that plight,) did turn around and, stooping, clunem crebro tetendi. When he had spoken thus, the two sisters turned around and, stooping, clunes crebro tetenderunt. Whenever they did so, the arrows were all braced, as it were, per anos eorum.[42] That (Red Ant) kept on saying, "I, for my part, (when in that plight,) did face this way and keep putting out my breast." When he had spoken thus, the two sisters turned about and kept putting out their breasts. Whenever they did so, the arrows would all stick, as it were, to their breasts.

That Red Ant did not shoot, but he did nothing but sing. Then, after a while, he said, "We shall all be beaten, for those (arrows) which you are shooting have no effect. Let me, then, who am wont to have but one little arrow, shoot at them merely for fun." So saying, he shot at them through their breasts as they turned around to face him. As soon as he did so, one of them fell dead to the ground; at the other one he shot again as she turned around the other way. There he killed the two of them. Whenever he shot, his arrow would come back to him. To that place had they all gone to kill Iron-Clothes and his daughters. The two brothers brought their mother home.

9. Chipmunk deceives the Giant.[43]

At that place, it is said, Chipmunk and his mother were wont to dwell. "Oh! my mother, somebody is walking in yonder direction. So let me call him," said Chipmunk to his mother. "No! do not say anything. That one is the Giant. He will kill you, my dear," said his mother. "Let me call him, that is what I say." "No! he will kill you, my dear, that is what I say;" in spite of her saying so, he

tïrα′c·qwαts· naŋqa′t̓saq·aip·ïγa. a′itca·ŋʻ tïrα′c·ɩk·w, a′ip·ïγa aŋac· a′ip·atc aŋʻ. a′iŋumpaᴀcunɪ piyε′nɪ, a′ip·ïγaʻ. qa·′tcᴜ maŋa′′am·ɩnʻ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜqwaiŋumpaʻ, a′ip·ïγaʻ piya·′ŋ aŋʻ. a′ix̯·ᴜcuaŋʻ wa’a′ŋɩŋup·ïγa. ᵘ’u′vʷaiyauq· aŋa′c·ᴜ qᴜʻtuc· a′ŋʻ tïna′ŋqw a·m·ʊ·′′uraim·ɩk·ᴜpïγaʻ. piyα′nɪ ïvʷï′aŋʻ sa’a′ŋqïaŋʻ tïna′ŋqwaiyïaŋʻ, a′ip·ïχa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. maŋa′c· o′′ᵘ sa’a′ŋqïpïγaiyaŋʻ am·uφ pi′tcɪpïγaʻ maŋa′c·ᴜ qᴜʻtu′c·ŋ̥narïχwɩ·′n·ap· aŋʻ. ųnɩ′tc a′ip·ïγa, axa′n·ɩχ̯ain·ɩ’ a′ik·ˣ pa′iχ̯ain im a′ip·ats·. nava′c·u’um ʻa′ik·ˣ pïn·ɩ′k̯·aiχ̯in· a′iχ̯aʻ, a′ip·ïχa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. u′vʷaiyauq·ɔ aŋʻ sa’a′p·ɩ aŋa′φ yu·n·a′p·ïχa. aŋa′c·’uq·w ivi′p·ïγa’aik·w na·va′c·un·ɩʻ qᴀˣqa′t·ɪʻpïχaʻ cua′ŋumiŋk̯a′åik·w.

ųnɩ′χ̯aic· a′ip·ïγaʻ qᴜʻtu′c a′ŋʻ, axa′va·ntuχwa’ᵃ qwitca′m·iʻ. ivä·′ntu q·wa′uʻ[91] avo′a·γantïp·aŋwɩt·ux·w. ïvʷï′ramɩχ̯a’ uvʷa·′ntux·wqw’aiv’amʻ, a′ip·ïχaʻ qᴜʻtu′c·. uvʷa·′ntuχw’αm ųnɩ′ŋuts· qwitca′p·ïγa’aimʻ. maŋa′c·ᴜ qᴜʻtu′c· aŋʻ a′ip·atsɩ qwitca′n·a·ŋʻ tɪʻqa′p·ïχa’aik·w. ųnɩ′tc a′ip·ïγa, aχa′n·iχ̯ai åni′k·ˣ mʷα′n·intcuru’ᵃ qwitca′n·oʻ. ïvʷï′′q·w pïni′k̯·aʻ nį′nɩ qwitca′n·anɪ, a′ip·ïχaʻ qᴜʻtu′c· a′iχ̯aic·ᴜ qwitca′p·ïχa. avʊ·′aχant aʀ pᴜʻtca′p·ïχa. ųnɩ′ŋumï·ⁱts a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′ram avaŋᴡɪtuγw’amʻ nam·a′ŋᴡɪcava’amʻ. ʻų·′ma.i, a′ip·ïγa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. imi′αnɪ na·m·u′m·aŋwɩc·ava’amʻ, a′ip·ïχa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. qa′tcᴜ nï′′ïm imi′ᴀ na·m·u′m·aŋwɩc·ava’amʻ, a′ip·ïγaʻ qᴜʻtu′c· aŋʻ. ų·′ma.i, a′ip·ïγa a′ip·atc aŋʻ. qᴜʻtu′c· aŋ uχwɩ′vutsɩma·ŋʻ tsɩŋwɩ′c·ᴀpïγaiyaŋʻ uχwɩ′vuts aʀ cɔ·′yaʻpïχa. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʻ mɩa′′p·ïm·’ɔ′ntsɩmaφï ma·ŋwɩ′c·pïγaiyaŋʻ. ųnɩ′x̯·ᴜcampa·ŋʻ maŋac·ᴜ qa′tcᴜ nïntcɩ′x·pïá’ᵃ. ųnɩ′γaic·uaŋʻ qᴜʻtu′c· aŋʻ naŋwa′′q·um·ɩnaŋᴡᴀ mɔ’ɔ′m·αφ maŋwɩ′c·ᴀpïγaiyaŋʻ. ųni′x̯·ᴜcampa·ŋʻ qatc· nïntcɩ′tcïpïá’ᵃ. ïvï′′m uφ nį′′, ʻa′ip·ïχa aŋa′c·ᴜ tava′rɩŋqwitc aŋʻ. nį′nɩac·ᴜcuru’ ava′ŋwtuγwanɪ marï′ŋᴡɪpava·nɪ imi′ʻhampan·ɩγain·[92] uc· qatcu′′umɪ marï′ŋᴡɪpaŋwa’ᵃ. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ qᴜʻtu′c·ɩ aŋʻ qwitca′p·ïa·ŋ a′χavatcux·ᴡᴀ marï′ŋᴡɪpap·ïγaʻ. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ ’a′xavaiʏᴜ qwa′tsaxavuʀᴜpïχain·ɩ uvʷa·′ntuγwa·ŋʻ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋʻ. ųnɩ′ŋuts· piya′iyav uŋwa′rux·ᴡᴀ tïnɩ′ᴀʻpïγa’aik·w, pᴀʻqa′ŋuntsa·ŋanɪ qᴜʻtu′c·ɩ uŋ iya′vaxan’nam imi uŋwa’ a′ik̯·ainʻ pᴀˣqa′va·ntïn a′ik̯·ain’namɪ.

10. Coyote unsuccessfully imitates Carrion Beetle.

ᴜˣqu′vʷɩtcatc aŋʻ m·ʷα′vaʻ qani′ntcᴜpïχa. ųni′ts a′ip·ïγaʻ, tïγï′vïŋwïnɪ ïvʷɩ′ya·q·ʻ ni′ᵘφα cʊ·′p·a·ro’ᵃ cʊ·′it·ɔγwanumac·, a′ip·ïγaʻ ma·m·ï′rux·ᴡᴀ tïγɩ′εŋwįʻ. ʻanɩ′a·ŋ aik·ˣ, a′ik·ʻpïγaʻ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ tïγɩ′aŋw

called to him. That Giant, having come to a standstill, listened. "Now he has come to a halt," said that boy. "Let me call out again, my mother," said he. "No! that one will kill you, my dear, as he passes by," said his mother. In spite of her saying so, he yelled out. And then that Giant commenced to go along upwards toward them. "My mother, go ahead! make mush for him. He is coming up," said the boy. So she made mush for him. That one, provided with gigantic strength, arrived where they were. Then he said, "For what reason are you making that sound of calling me, you boy?" "Just for fun I called out, saying, 'Come and see me!' " said the boy. And then he put mush before him. That one drank it; just as though it were nothing, he kept on sitting as he finished the (mush they kept putting before him).

So doing, the Giant said, "Quo soles ire ut defaeces?" "Off this way into a semi-circular valley." "Let us two, then, go off yonder," said the Giant. Deinde ei ibi defaecaverunt. Ille Gigas excrementum pueri edit. Deinde inquit, "Quid facis? Non ita est defaecandum. Vide quod a me defaecatum," inquit Gigas; simul atque haec dixit, defaecavit. The semicircular valley was filled up. After he had done so, he said, "Let us two push each other into it." "All right!" said the boy. "Let me push you first," said the boy. "No! let me push you first," said the Giant. "All right!" said the boy. The Giant pushed him with a little blade of grass, but the grass bent. And then he pushed him with his little finger, but in spite of his so doing, that one did not budge. The Giant tried again and pushed him with both his hands, but in spite of his so doing, (the boy) did not budge. "Let me now (try to push) you!" said that Chipmunk. "Neither could you push me into it, seeing that even I could not push you." Deinde eum impulit in medium Gigantis excrementum. That (Giant) made a splashing noise as he moved about in it; right there did (Chipmunk) kill him. Then he told his mother about it, "I have killed the Giant whom you feared, as you said of him that he would kill me, of whom you said that."

10. Coyote unsuccessfully imitates Carrion Beetle.[44]

Carrion Beetle built a house there. Then he said, "My friends, go ahead! gather together at my place for just one night," said he to the Deer. "What did he say?" said the Deer. " 'Do you all

αmï. nïvʷα'ya·q·ˁ cʋ·'p·a·ro'ᵅ a'iyaŋ aik·ᵡ, a'ik·ᵡᴀpïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· qanɩ'va·ŋˁ qwɩtcu'mpˁpïγa ˁan·a·'x·ɪ qanɩ'a·ŋˁ yuγwɩ'p·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts ᴀˣqɔ''ⁱp·ïγaˁ maŋa'c· ᴜˣqo'vɩtcatc aŋˁ yïˠï'va a·vɩ'p·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· tïvʷɩ'tsï 'at·ï'o·'p·ïγa. ˁaa'ik·ᴡ o·'t̓saŋᴡ a'ik·ᵡᴀpïγa. a'up̓·a'ᵃ yïˠï'ˁ yo'n'nɩŋumpa·ts·sampᴀ ma·n·ɔ'n·ɩ tcaŋwï'q·a·p·ïγaˁ. cɩna'ŋwav aŋ ɩ·'tcuq· aŋa'vatcux·ᴡᴀqɩp·ïγa ᴜˁqo'vɩtcatcɩ aŋˁ. a'ik·w, a'ip·ïγaˁ cɩna'ŋwaφɪ, anɩ'aŋwutsɩtca·'m·ï' ųnɩ'ŋᴜ qɔγɔ''ⁱtsɩam ɩ'ï'm·ï̧ˁ tïγɩ'aŋwï̧ˁ, a'ip·ïγaˁ cɩna'ŋwaφɪ. qatcu'ån anɩ'aŋwa'ᵃ, a'ip·ïγa ᴜˣqu'vɩtcatcˁ. ʋ·'mą̧i ïvʷï''q·wanɩχ̧å imi'ntcux·ᴡᴀ tïnɩ'avaˁ, a'ip·ïγa ᴜˣqo'vɩtcats·. nį'' na·m·ï'xanintcuiy ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ waa·'q·ᴜ p̓a·mp̓ï'n·ɩväŋᴡ mori'ˁs·a'aiˁ ma·n·ɔ'q̓·oq· ųnɩ'ŋuts· tɪˣqa'i'yïq·ᴡ. ï'vʷaiyauq· ųnɩts a'ik̭· ųmu'rux·ᴡ tïγɩ'aŋwą̧ˁ, ïvʷɩ'ya·q·ˁ nï'ᵘφα cʋ·'p·a·ro'ᵃ sʋ·'yut·uγwanumac·, a'ik̭·an ˁɔaiˁ. u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ yïˠï'va a·vɩ'ʏï ųnɩ'ŋuts o·ˁ. ų·'mą̧iˁ, a'ip·ïγaˁ cɩna'ŋwaφɪ, nï'' ˁaik·ᵡ pᴜˁtcu'tcuγwaχ̧aicamp̓a'q·ᴡ.

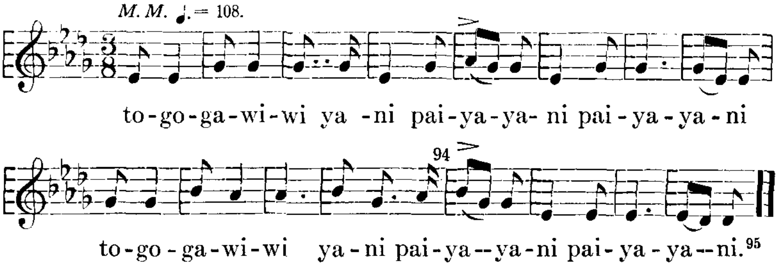
u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cɩna'ŋwav ųni'c· a·n·ɩ'p·ïγaˁ tïnɩ'aŋqïq·ain'naŋwaφï. ųnɩ'ts· yïˠï'va a·vɩ'p·ïγaˁ ma·m·ï'ac· tïγɩ'aŋwï amï qanɩ'n·a·χɩyαm ᴀˣqɔ''ix̭·ᴜ. ųnɩ'ŋuts· sį̈na'ŋwav o·'p·ïγa. ˁaa'ik·ᴡ cɩna'ŋwavɩt̓c uŋᴡ o·'ˁ, a'ik·ᴀpïγa ųnɩ'ŋuts· yïˠï' a'up̓·a'ᵃ miŋqwa'ˁpïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· sɩna'ŋwavɩy aŋˁ tᴀˁpɩ't̓caq·ˁpïγaiaŋˁ ʏᴜˣqu'tsɩŋwaˁcampᴀ pᴀˁqᴀ'ŋᴜpïγaˁ cɩna'ŋwav aŋˁ.

gather together at my place,' that is what he said," said they. And then they gathered together at his house, and they were seated inside his house. Then they slept, and that Carrion Beetle lay at the doorway. Deinde valde[45] pepedit. "O, pepedit ille," dixerunt. They were about to run away through the doorway, but they all died. Coyote came to visit Carrion Beetle in the morning. "Oh!" said Coyote, "having said what, did you do thus to them, killing these Deer?" said Coyote. "I did not say anything," said Carrion Beetle. "All right! Let me, then, tell it to you," said Carrion Beetle. "First I build a house, then I boil beans in two buckets, and then I eat all of them. Next, then, I say to the Deer, 'Do you all gather together at my place for just one night,' say I. Deinde in limine jaceo et pedo." "All right!" said Coyote. "I said so,[46] though I knew about it."

And then Coyote did just as he had been told by him. Now he lay in the doorway, while the Deer were asleep in the house. Deinde pepedit Canis. "O, Canis pepedit," dixerunt. Then they rushed out through the doorway and crushed Coyote by trampling on him. Only two fawns had Coyote killed.

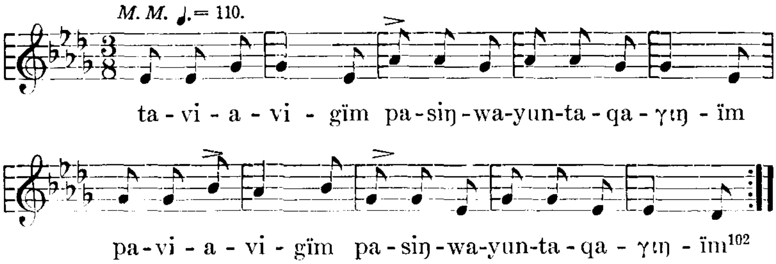
11. Gray Hawk and Toad Gamble.

m·ʷα′vaiyaχwa·ŋ saχwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ‘ piŋwα′ŋw’aiφ qarï′p·ïγa’aim‘. caχwa′x·ᴜcav a′ip·ïγa‘,[93]


M. M. ♩. = 108.
to-go-ga-wi-wi ya -ni pai-ya-ya- ni pai - ya - ya - ni
94
to-go - ga-wi-wi ya - ni pai-ya--ya-ni pai- ya - ya--ni.[95]

’ï′vʷï·tca′n [ʊ·qwa′iya·′vï′n·ι][96] u′vʷa paγι′k·wa′i‘[97]
ï′vʷï·tca′n [ʊ·′qwa′iya′vï] qani·′vaγi·′k·waiva·′[vï·′]
i′mi·χ̯a′’a·’a·′[vï′n·ι] mava·′a·′ qarï·′[vï′][97]
pa′iyιk·ι′vä·n· [o·′qwa′iya] tacï·′pantï·′ma·′[vï′n·ι]
ï′vʷï·’ï′χʷa·’a·′[vï·′] qarï·′vï’ï·′’ïva·′[vï·′][98]
ma′ik̯·an· ï′vʷï·’[99] ʊ·′vʷa·′n· [oqw] aik̯a·′ paγe·′n’nιgwa′i’iva·′ts[100, 101]

a′ip·ïγa‘ maŋac caχwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ‘. piŋwa·′ŋ aip·ïγa‘,


M. M. ♩. = 110.
ta - vi - a - vi - gïm pa-siŋ-wa-yun-ta - qa - γιŋ - ïm
pa-vi - a - vi - gïm pa - siŋ -wa-yun-ta - qa - γιŋ - ïm[102]

a′γan’ιva·′tsι’ [o′qw] aik̯a a′n·ιga’a·′’a
a′γa’up·a·′’aŋqwa′’aivatsι·′’ [uqw] a′ik̯·a.[103]
ï′vʷïnιχ̯a·′’a nḭ·′’ï i′miŋw’aini·′[vï]
ya′ŋwιn·i[vï·′’ï] i′miŋwa’a′impa·’ani·′yï
nï·′’ï[vʷï·′].[104]

qarï′’ ma′ian ‘aik̯·arï′’ɪ.[105]

aγan· umʷα′va pι′tcιχw’aip·ïγa‘ cina′ŋwavι qanι′va·m‘ tɔ‘ca′p·ai-ya·tsιγantιŋwa’ᵃ. naiya′ŋwιŋqït‘·uαp·ïγa‘ nιŋwïa′iya·ŋ‘ ma·n·ɔ′q qwaγwa′‘pïγaɪ‘t‘uai‘. caγwa′x·ᴜcaφ qa·′p·ïγa‘,

11. Gray Hawk and Toad Gamble.[46a]

At that place, it is said, Gray Hawk was living with his wife. Gray Hawk said,

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani

Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.[47]

Let me go off to that place,
Let me go off to visit,
But do you stay here.
I shall return in the evening.
Do you then remain,
That is what I say, there, say I, who am about to go away,"

said that Gray Hawk. His wife said,

"Taviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm

Paviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm.[48]

Why will you, as you say, be doing thus,
Whither will you, as you say, be going away?
Do you, then, me with you,
Take me with you.

Stay, that is what I say, stay!"

Somehow he arrived there at the house of Coyote and the white-breasted one.[49] He played the hand game with them and they won from him all of his people. Gray Hawk sang,

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′ni.
a′it·a·n ’u′qwa·ya·′[vï′n·ι] nιŋwï·′γaii·′tιŋi·′[vï′ʿ]
qwa·′qwa′iŋo·′sa′ᴍpa’a′ni·[va′n·i·a·′] nį·′ni.
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
a′itca′ni·’i·′ qwa·′qwa′iŋoca′ᴍpan[o·′qwa′iʿ]
i·′m[’u′qwa·ya·′]n tɔca·′p·aya·′′aγa·′ntï ’ï·′ᴵï′ï′m·i.
ï′vʷï·ya′γa·p [o·′uqwa′iya] nį·′ni nι′ŋwïa′iya′nɪ
qwa·′qwa′iŋo·′tʊ·′avï′nʿ.[106]

ma·n·ɔ′q̇·waq·ʿ[107] ma·′ᵃvïa·ŋʿ nιŋwï′a·ŋuŋwa′q̇·oaŋʿ sina′ŋwav aŋʿ tɔʿha′p·aiya·tsιγantιŋwa’ᵃ[108] qwa·′p·ïγaiya·q̇·amʿ. caχwa′x·ʊcaφɪ paiyι′k·w’aip·ïγaʿ tava′iya·q̇·wιŋqʊ. qatcu′′q·ʿ tïnι′ᴀpïa’ pïvʷa′iyuφ paiyïnʿ pιŋwa′iav aŋa′rux·ᴡᴀ. ïʿtï′c·amp ųni′n·ïmpïγa. ι·′tcuq·w a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷïn ųnι′ŋqïtɔ’ɔγɔiva[109] ʿim ųnι′ts i′va qarï′vaʿ. qa·′tcʊ nï’ imi′ŋw’ωimpaʿ nį′nιa’ᵅ to·′q·wαvaʿ. qa·′tc·ʊ nï’ na·ro·′′q·wαvaʿ, a′ip·ïγaʿ caγwɔ′x·ʊcav aŋʿ. caγwɔ′x·ʊcav aŋʿ qa·′p·ïγaʿ,

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.
ï′vʷï·tca′ni· [qwa·′ya·′ŋqo] uŋwa·′vantʊ·′γwaqwa′iŋo·′mpa
ma′iyan [u′qw]aik̯a·′[vï′n·ι] uŋwa′iyac [ʊ·′qwai] pï·′mpï′n·’a-
vu′gaip u′ŋwa·ya·′.[110]

ïvʷïn imi′ŋwai’ᴍpa, a′ip·ïγaʿ piŋwa·′ŋ aŋ qa·′χaʿ,

ta′viavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm
pa′vιavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm
pa′vιavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm
pa′vιavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋ.[111]

caγwa′x·ʊcav aŋʿ piŋwa′iaφ ʊʿtu′c·uŋwï’ιp·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· miα̨′′αnts ɔʿpa′q·aitcιtciʿ qa·n·ιq·w’e·c·urɹ′ruin’nɔa.i o·′p̓·a’ᵅ tʊʿpa′q·ʊpïγa. ųnι′t·uγu′mpai[112] a·ru′q·wa·γιŋqw’aip·ïγaʿ tïvʷι′ts· mιɔ tɪˣqa′ŋwɪpïγaʿ. tʊʿpu′n·ιχuʿpuc·ιaγwɔn·oʿ, a′ip·ïγain·ιʿ. tïvʷιc· o′′ᵘ piŋwa·′ŋ aŋʿ tʊʿpu′n’ɪʿpïγa. ųnι′tsiaŋʿ pʊʿca′γaip·ïγaiyaŋʿ. a′itcaŋw aγa′x·ʊp̓a·ŋʿ, a′ip·ïγain·ιʿ. marï′anι’αŋwuc· ɔʿpa′q·aitcιtci a′up̓·a’ᵃ tʊʿpa′k·ɪk̯aʿ. a′iγaic·un·ι o·′p̓·a’ᵃ tʊʿpa′q·ïpïγaʿ na·n·ɔ·′c·ʊ. na·ŋwα′ʊpa’ŋqwaip·ïγai’ŋw. ᵘ’ʊ·′vʷa.iʿ pa·′ŋwaiaφï ma·ntsa′ŋwιnap·ïγaʿ naŋwα′ʊp̓a·’t·uγwαŋw. saχwa′x·ʊcav aŋʿ tuntu′q·untɔ·′ŋup·ïγain·ιʿ.

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.
a′itcan· a′γan·i·′ŋo·′[vʷï] ’aitca′n.[113] aγa′n·iŋo·′[vʷï′ʿ]
u′ŋwa·c u′ni·ya·′ntcani·′ ani·′ŋuni·′ piŋwa·′n o′ŋʿ,[114]

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Now I am beginning to be deprived of people,
You have beaten me.
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Now you have beaten me,
You, that are white-breasted.
Alas for my people,
They have been beaten."

All of his things and his people did Coyote and the white-breasted one win from him. Gray Hawk returned home when the sun was setting. He did not tell his wife from where he was returning. He was wont to do thus always. In the morning he said, "Let me go away to some people, and do you then remain here." "No! I shall go with you and you shall stake me." "No! I shall stake myself," said Gray Hawk. Gray Hawk sang,

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Let me go away to him,
That is what I say, to him,
The Toad."

"Let me go with you," said his wife, singing,

"Taviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm,
Paviavigïm, pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm,
Paviavigïm, pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm,
Paviavigïm, pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm."

Gray Hawk caused his wife to go to sleep, and then he slipped out through a tiny little opening, the smoke-hole of the house. And he went off under the sky till he got very far away. "Would that you might wake up!" thought he, and sure enough his wife awoke. Then she looked for him. "Where has he gone to?" thought she. "Perhaps he has gone through that little opening." Thinking so, she herself slipped out through it and followed his track. And she threw some of her blood on his track, so that Gray Hawk felt as though there were heavy lumps all over his body.

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
What has become of me?
Perhaps that wife of mine did so to me,"

a'ip·ïγaʽ. maŋac· a'up̓·aŋqɪpïγaʽ piŋwa·'ŋ· aŋʽ. m·ʷα'va·ŋ u̧nι'ŋuts· tï'raiyua·va ᴡᴀʽtsι'ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋʽ. u̧nιts· qa·'p·ïγaʽ maŋa'c· piŋwa·'ŋ· aŋʽ,

ta'vιavi·'gïm pa'sιŋwayu'ntaqaγι·'ŋïn
ni̧·''uŋw a·'ro'a'yï· ma'nιŋumpa'n·tï
u'ŋwaiac[115] pu'mpun'nua·'vïga'ip· uŋwa'iya·
u'vʷani [116] wa'tcιkιga'in·ιι qa'ni uqwa'iya·.[117]

man·ι'ŋumpantï''ŋw aik·ˣ, uvʷa·'[117a] q·ar, a'in·'ianιχan[117b] ʽa'ik·ˣ. ⁱyu'p·an·ιŋw'[118] a'ik̯·aruamʽ.[119]

m·ʷa'ᴜpa'm u̧nι'ŋut·s· na·ŋwa'aimιk·ᴜpïγa'aimʽ[119a] ava''am pι'tcιχw'aip·ïγa qa·n·ι'a·mʽ pïmpï'n'ɔavïχaip·ïʽ cιna'ŋwavιŋwa'. m·ʷα'va·i naiα'ŋwιp· aʀ tïγa'ɪʽpïγaʽ. ïvʷï'raŋw nampa'n·a·ntsιχax·qavaʽ, a'ip·ïγa saγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ. cιna'ŋwavιaiyaφï to·'q̇·wap·ïγa piŋwa'ŋw'aq·uφ. ʽu̧nι'ŋuts· qumu'ntïαʀᴜˣqwɔp·ïγa. ni̧'nιaŋwï qwaγwa·'ŋ·utsŋ̥ʽ pᴀʽpa'q·ava·nʽ, a'ip·ïγa caγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ. ᵘmpa'iyιŋwïnɪ nan·a'c·'o·q·ᴜpimʷïnʽ u̧nι'ŋqˣ·qava·nʽ qatcu'ŋwïnʽ qwaγwa·'ŋuŋquŋw'ainʽ, a'ip·ïγa pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· aŋʽ. ïvʷï'raŋw ni̧'nι maa·'xarïrïʽ uru'anαnʽ w'a'xarox·ᴡᴀ *u̧nι'ŋumpa*ʽ. qwaia'ŋqʽpatcuγwaa'q·waŋwïnɪ[120] pᴀʽpa'q·aŋumpa·nʽ, a'ip·ïγa saγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ. m·ʷa'ᴜp̓a' yʊ·'n·ιŋup·ïγa tï'raiyua·x· ma·'xarïrï 'a'uraʽ. 'ura·'ŋwïnɪ[121] qwaia'ŋqʽpatcuγwa·'q·w[120] pᴀʽpa'q·a̧u̧mpa·nɪ, a'ip·ïγa caγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ qa·'γaʽ.

ï'vʷï·ya'γa·p·ι·'[ʊ·'qwa'iya 'a·'vï'n·ιn'na·']
ni̧'nι·a''a· [ʊ·'qwa'iya· a·'vï'n·ιn'na·''a·']
qwa·'ŋu't·o·'o·''a·'va·'mpï·'αni·'i·'
ï'vʷï·ra'ŋwa·'a·' ni̧'nι· ma·'γarï·'rïŋwa'iya'ni·
u''a·xa'ro·γwa·'' a'ïvι 'u'nιŋu'mpa·''a·'
qwa'iya'ŋqwa·pa·'tcu'γwa·'a·'q·an[o·'qwaya·''a·']
ni̧'nι·a·' pa'p·aq·a·'ŋo·'m·pa·'ni·i·'.[122]

ma·'xarïr'ïŋwaiya·ŋʽ 'a'χaruγwa·m·ʽ tuvʷa'xaitcaiŋuq·ᴜ qwaia'ŋqwpa·q·ʽ pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· aŋʽ narï'iyava·mʽ wi̧nï'χw'aip·ïγa. ʽa'ik·w nιŋwï'ʀᴜqwat·uχwava·r'uαn·ιyαn·ιχ̯ain·ιʽ, a'ip·ïγa caγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ. a'ït'caq·ᴡᴀ cʊ·'yuc·ᴜ piya''ŋᴡᴀ uru'a'nαnɪ pïm·α'ŋwïnɪ qwaγwa·'ŋ·umpa·n·aŋwïm·inʽ. i'mɪ pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip·ʽ narï'γwinᴀʽpïŋw a'ruaiʏï,[123] a'ip·ïγa caγwa'x·ᴜcaφɪ. maŋac· piŋwa·'ŋ· aŋʽ qumu'ntïαʀᴜqwantïʽ wïχa·'m·a·'q·w qarï'p·ïγa. wa't·uγwatca·mʽ[124] ma·ya'ŋᴀ pïmpï'n'ɔa·vuγaip· aŋʽ ʽamï'ŋw'aiŋk̯ïʽ, a'ip·ïγa piŋwa·'ŋʽ caγwa'x·ᴜcavιʽ qa·'χaʽ,

said he. That wife of his came along in his track, until there in the open plain she caught up with him. And then his wife sang,

"Taviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaɣiŋïm.
I shall be doing thus to him,
To that Toad.
There at the house have you left me."

"That you are to do thus to him, do you say, but I did say, 'Stay there.' Did I say to you, 'Go along with me through here'?"

And then the two of them started off on their way together and there they arrived at the house of Toad and Coyote. A hand game took place there. "Let us have a foot-race," said Coyote. He staked his own coyote together with his wife. And then they heated rocks on a fire. "Should you all have beaten me, you will kill me," said Gray Hawk. "I do not care in how many different kinds of games you engage with me, you will not beat me," said Toad. "Let us proceed right through my clump of woods which belongs to me. On the other side of it you will kill me," said Gray Hawk. Through that open plain they started to run towards the clump of woods. "On the other side of it you shall all kill me," said Gray Hawk, singing,

"Behold, it is a pity
That I
Should get beaten.
Let us my clump of woods
Now proceed right through,
And on the other side of it
You shall kill me."

As they were emerging through his clump of woods, coming out on the other side of it, Toad's position was between the two of them, (Gray Hawk and Woodpecker), as they raced along. "Oh! it seems that I shall get the worst of it," said Gray Hawk. "Now there is one thing left in which you will all beat me. You Toad are one who has great power," said Gray Hawk. His wife was sitting on the edge of the pit in which stones were being heated. "They have come to view through there, Toad is coming along with them," said the wife of Gray Hawk, singing,

a'it̓ca·'ŋa pĭ'mpĭn'nɔa'vugaip· a·'ŋa
u'at·ugwa·'ʽa tsι'kan·a cι'naŋwavi·'.
ĭ'vʷĭnι[vï·''ï] qu'muntïa'ruqwantï·'
ma'vaŋwιt·o·'χwa wĭ'n·aiin·i'[vĭn'nina·'],
ma'iy'an [o·'qwa] 'a'ik̯·aa['a'vĭn'nina·'],
cι'naŋwav i·'m'ι wĭ'n·aiin a'vaŋwιt·o·'χwa.
ĭ'vʷĭn·i·ga·''a ma'vaŋwιt·u'γwan·ι[vï''ï]
wį'n·aiini·''ι, ma'iyan ['uqw] a'ik̯·a[vĭ·'],[125]

a'ip·ĭγa piŋwa·'ŋ qa·'χaʽ.

aχa'n·ιχ̯a' a'ik·ˣ tuŋu'c·αmp̓ïai'a'iχ̯ain·ιʽ. ųnι'ŋumpaᴀsampa'm ɔąiʽ mava'ŋᴡɪtuγwa'mɪ tsιŋwι'c·ava'ᴀcamp̓amʽ ųmĭ'ŋwai'ŋᴡᴀ pĭmpĭ'n'ɔavuγaip̓· uŋw pɪʽpi'tcɪqa·ŋᴀ, a'ip·ĭγa cιna'ŋwaφɪ, ųmu'ŋw'aiyuŋ[126] uru''αc o''ᵘ pi'tcιγwa·ntï. ĭ'vʷaiyauq̓·ɔmʽ 'a'xavatcuχwa'amɪ tsιŋwĭ'n'aiva'm ava'ŋᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ. narï'χwιnᴀpuŋ[127]uŋw 'a'in·amʽ qum·a·-'m uŋw, a'ip·ĭγa cιna'ŋwaφɪ. ïvʷĭn ava'ŋᴡɪtuγwanɪ tsιŋwĭ'n'naʽ, qa·'γaʽ,

ta'viavi·'gïm pa'sιŋwayu'ntaqaγι·'ŋïm
pa'vιavi·'gïm pa'sιŋwayu'ntaqaγι·'ŋ.
cι'naŋwavi·''ι u'wat·uγwa'tsa·m [uq·wa'iya]
ma'iyaŋa[vï·'] a'm·ïŋwa'a'intca·ŋa·''a
ma'ŋac·u[vʷï·''ï] pĭ'mpĭn'ɔa'vuγaip· a·ŋa
qa'tcu[vĭn·i·''ι] yu'rava'a'ŋwa'ait·ï'mʽ.
ĭ'vʷĭn·i·ga·''a ma'vaŋwιtᴜ·'γwani·''ι
tsι'ŋwιc·ani·''ι, ma'iyan [uqw] a'ik·a[vï·''ï],
cι'naŋwavi·'.[128]

m·ʷa'ᴜp̓[129] a·m·u'c·ᴜ pa·'q·arïrïʽ 'u'raʽ ya·'c·pĭγa. ųn·a·'x· paγa'rïrïʽ wawa'x·ɪpĭγa. maŋa'c·ᴜ pĭmpĭ'n'ɔavuγaip· aŋʽ paŋwι·'avumʷαntïʽ paiya·'m·a'q·waφ mantcu'χwa·ŋqʽpĭγa. m·ʷar ʽa'ïvιaŋ uʀ tɔʽca'p·aiya·tsιaŋʽ. ʽan·a·'γιt·um·anaŋqwa·mʽ ts·tsι'p̓·uŋwaŋ'uq·ᴜ am·u'ŋwaic·ᴜ[130] ts·pι'ŋᴜpĭγa pĭmpĭ'n'ɔavuγaip·ʽ. caγwa'x·ᴜcav a'ip·ĭγa,

qa'tcu'a·'ŋa·' yu'ŋqwip̓·a·'ŋwa'it·ïm· a·'ro·''a
pĭ·'mpĭ·'n'ɔ·'a·'vĭ·'ga'ip· a·'+'ŋa·
a'itca·ra·'ŋwa·'nu q·wa·'ŋu·'tu'a·'va·'n·ι'ʽ
a'itca·qwa·''a·' so·'yuco·' pi·'ya·'ŋwi·'
pį'ma·ra·'ŋ o·'rï·' qwa·'ŋut·u''uva·'na'
u'ni·ŋu'tsιn· o·'ɾu·' pĭma·'n· oru·' paqa·'ŋo·'-[131]

"Now Toad
Has appeared through there, O Coyote.
Go ahead! into the pit with red hot stones
Do you throw me,
That is what I say.
Coyote, do you throw me into it.
Go ahead! now into that
Throw me, that is what I say,"

said his wife, singing.

"Why do you speak as though dying with haste? After a while I shall do that to you, after a while I shall push you into that (pit of heated stones) with a stick, when Toad returns with them," said Coyote, "for with them, sure enough, he is about to arrive. Then I shall throw you right into it with a stick. A mighty person, say you, is your husband," said Coyote. "Go ahead! throw me into it with a stick," (said Gray Hawk's wife,) singing,

"Taviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm
Paviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm.
O Coyote! through there they have
Appeared,
With them has he (appeared),
That Toad,
He who is not to be overcome.
Go ahead, then! into that do you
Push me, that is what I say,
O Coyote."

Coming through there they all flew towards the lake and all dived into the lake. That Toad fastened on to his breast some of the mud from the bottom of the water, and that is why he is white-breasted nowadays. When they all emerged from inside of the water, Toad also came out with them. Gray Hawk said,

"He is not one who can be overcome,
The Toad,
Now we shall be beaten,
Now there is one thing left
In which we shall be beaten,
Whereby, then, I shall be killed

tï′’ï·va·′n·a·′ni·′ maŋa′iacu·′ p·ɔmpɔ·′n·o·′a-[131]
vï·′ga′ip·ï·′ a′ŋ pïma·′ŋan o·′rï·′[vï·′]
nį′ni·y o·′ŋwa·′ pi·′ŋwa′iyaa·′’ni·′+′
pï′ma·a′aŋ o·′rï·′ quna′’a·γa·′v’atco·′γwa·′
tcɩ′ŋwi·c·a′tï·va·′na cɩ·′na′ŋwavi·′’aŋ o·′ŋwa′
pï′ma·’a′a·ŋwa·′ŋwa·′ paqa·′ŋumpa·′’ana·′ŋwa·′’aŋ‘,[132]

a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ qa·′γa‘.

cʊ·′yuc·ᴜ piya′ɪ‘pïγa tümpʷi′ŋ’wa·ŋ· aʀ man·a·′x·ɪ wauwa′x·ɪpïγa ’a′γaruχwa·m‘ tïvʷɩ′tcaiŋᴜqwa·m‘ na·va′c·ᴜ pɔmpɔ′n’ɔavïγaip· qwaia′ŋqᴡpa·q̇·ᴡ ųmu′ŋwa’ᵃ ts·pi′ŋᴜpïγa. ‘aa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ‘. nɩŋwï′ʀᴜqwat·uγwava·n·ɩar’uɑnɪ. a′iťcaq·ᴡ cʊ·′yuc· piya′’ŋᴡ pïm·a·′m·ɩn’n uʀ qwaa·′ŋumpa·n‘ uru′c· ɔγɔ′ntavac·up· uʀ qarï′ʀï nį′nɩ ’uru′ɑn·ɑnɪ qwaia′ŋqᴡpatcuγwa·mɩn‘ pᴀˣqą′umpa·n·a·m·ɩn a′ik·ˣ aχa′n·ɩŋumpa·′’m uvʷaɪ‘ umpa′in·ɩ’ⁱ nan·a·′ᵃγaŕuatïm·ʷɑn‘ pitci′ŋqïᵘvʷa·n‘, a′ip·ïγa maŋa′c· pɔmpɔ′n’ɔavuγaip· aŋ‘. a′iťcaq·ᴡᴀ cʊ·′yuc·ᴜ piya′’ŋw, a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ qa·′γa‘,

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nɩ
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nɩ.
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nɩ,
qa′tc[uq·wa′iya·vï·′ni·′’ɩ] yo′ŋqwï·′ip·aŋwa′’ i·mi·′.[133]
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani· paiya·′ya′nɩ
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani· paiya·′ya′nɩ.

a·′ᵘŋqɔvïaiya·ŋ‘[134] saγwa′x·ᴜcavɩ an·a·′x·ɪ tsɩ·′tsɩŋwaγɑ′ip·ïγain·ɩ‘ qwaia′ŋqᴡpa·q·‘ pɔmpɔ′n’ɔavïγaip· i′m ‘aro′amiķ·a‘ qa′tcᴜ piya′γɑŋqïŋwaiť·ïm‘ ‘tɔγɔ′n·ʸïvʷa′ɪ‘tïmʷɑn·ɩ‘ tɔγɔ′n·ʸïoṗ·a’ tᴜ‘cu′aitcim‘ tɔγɔ′n·ʸop·a’ tɔ′ˠɔq·wɩtcïmï aŋa′c·amp ųnɩts uru′avï‘ nɩŋwï′χa·ᵃvat·ïm‘, a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ. cʊ·′vʷantïc·ᴜ piya′ɪ‘pïγa pi·′p·uŋ’warïxɩvï′aŋ aŋ ‘aro′’an·a·ŋ‘. ma·m·u′c· ‘an·a·′x·ɪ tsɩ·′tsɩŋwaχᵃi′p·ïγain·ɩ‘ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ pi·′p·uŋ’warïxɩvuŋwaï’φ na·va′c·’um‘ yïvʷɩ′ntavac·pï‘ ɔ̇a′xaruχw’ɑm‘ tᴜ‘pʷa′q·ɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ pɔmpɔ′n’ɔavuts aŋ ‘an·a·′ᵃxɩ‘ tïŋwɑ′vaxan’nɩp·ïγa a′ᵊŋqɔvïwïnïrï‘[135] pi·′ṗ·uŋ’wɑntsï aŋ‘ ɔra′q·ain·a·ŋ‘ nan·a·′ᵃxanin·i ɔra′q·ɑnt‘. a′iťcaŋw aγa′ˣ·ᴜpa·’ŋw, a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ pïmpï′n’ɔavïγaip·ï aŋ‘ qatcu′aŋ‘ ts·pi′ŋuŋwaq̇ᴜ am·u′ŋwa’ᵃ.

By that Toad,
Whereby she,
My wife,
Whereby she right into the fire
Will be pushed by Coyote,
Whereby she will be killed,"

said Gray Hawk, singing.

One (test) was left. They all entered into his rock and when they came out right through it, Toad emerged with them on the other side of it as though it were nothing. "Oh!" said Gray Hawk, "it seems that I am to be defeated. Now there is but one thing left in which you will beat me, that knoll clad with dried-up firs which belongs to me and on the other side of which you will kill me," said Gray Hawk, singing, as he flew along. " 'You who will kill me,' thus you say, and in some way, indeed, shall I do thus to you, no matter if you test me with different kinds of tests," said that Toad. "Now there is but one (test) left," said Gray Hawk, singing,

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani,
Not easily to be overcome are you.
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani,
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani."

It looked as though they were stuck here and there in the knoll, clad with dried-up firs, belonging to Gray Hawk, but Toad came out on the other side of it as though it were nothing. "Oh! Toad, you have been right along one who is not easily overcome, equal to me in all respects, equal to me in knowledge, equal to me in ability to run. But who, then, I wonder, shall prove the greater man?" said Gray Hawk. Only one more (obstacle) was left belonging to his friend, Woodpecker. Those were as though stuck in the (tree with holes in it),[50] while Gray Hawk and his friend Woodpecker proceeded right through the dried-up pine tree as though it were nothing at all. That Toad made a bumping noise inside of the dried up tree as he tried to find his way out, the tree of Woodpecker that was standing there and that he had bored by digging in all directions. "Now where is he gone to?" said Gray Hawk, when Toad did not come out with them.

a′γan·ι′ŋo·ntsa″ [oq·wa′iya a·′vï′n′nina·′ï′m]
pï′mpïn′ɔ′a·vï·′ga′ip·ï·′ i·′mi·′[vï·′].
nι′ŋwï·ga′va·t·ï′m·, a′iyï·″ ïgï·′r[uqw] a′ik·e·′.
a′γan·i·′ga′ï′ι′ [qw] aiḵ·a·′ u′n·a·′γe·′yu
qʷɔ·′rɔ·′χwa·′ni·″ιga′in·i·′ya·′+′
i·′mi·′[vï·′] na·′rï·′xwι′i·′na·′pï·′,
ma′iy ï·′gï·′r [uqw] a′iḵa [a·′vï·′n′nιna·′+′],[136]

a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcav a q·a·′γa‘.[137]

ï′vʷaiyauq·ɔaq·am a′ɔŋqɔvï‘ tᴀ‘qι′ᴜˣqwιŋq‘pïγaiᴀˣqa·′m‘ mava·′ntuγwa·ŋ′am‘ pɔmpɔ′n′ɔavυtsι pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋa′m‘ so·′q·ᴜpιy an·ιk·ˣ pᴀˣqwa′n′aγaiva·ntï, a′ip·ïγa saγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ. pa′iᴀˣ qarï′rï‘ u′a′xavaiʏᴜ yaχa′va·nt i′mɪ pᴀˣqwa′n′aγa.iʏᴜ. u′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ paiyι′ŋᴜpïγai′m‘ qan·ι′aγantï ′a′ura‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ saγwa′x·ᴜcavι piŋwa·′ŋ qa·′p·ïγa,

a′itca·ŋa o·′wa′t·υ·γwa′[van·in·a·″a]
tsι′k·a·na·′a cι′naŋwav a′vaŋwιt·υ·′χwαn
tsι′ŋwιcan·i·″ι, ma′iyan [uq·w] a′iika·′,[138]

a′ip·ïγa maŋa′c·ᴜ caγwa′x·ᴜcavι piŋwa·′ŋ qa·′γa‘.

ma·m·u′c·ᴜ qanι′vä·′m‘ caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ tïγï′vuŋwa′aiφ pι′tcιχwa′aip·ïγa′aim‘ cιna′ŋwavιy aŋ‘ qum·u′ntuaʀqwantï ′a′xavatcux·wᴀ wïwï′n′naip·ïγaiyaŋ‘ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ pïmpï′n′ɔa·ntsï‘ nιŋwï′aiya·ŋ‘ qɔγɔ″ⁱ-p·ïaγaɪ‘tuaiyïam‘ maŋa′iac· ųnι′ŋυts· caγwa′x·ᴜcavι nιŋwï′aiya·ŋ qɔ′ɔ′ip·ïai‘ nιŋwï′ʀᴜqwɔp·ïγaɪ‘cuaŋ‘. ųnι′ŋumï‘tsιaŋ‘ caγwa′x·ᴜcav aŋ‘ piŋwa′ŋw′aiφ paiyι′k·w′aip·ïγa′aim‘ qan·ι″am·uv ′u′ra‘. qa·′p·a-γᵃip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ,

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi· yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.
a′itca·ŋ o′ŋwa·c·υ·′ pïmpï·′n′ɔa·′vυ·′γa′ip· u′ŋwa
nï·′xa·′va·′tï′ŋum ma′intcï·′ uŋwa·′vï·′
ma′iga′in· o·′ŋwa·′ pitcï′ŋqïrυ·′n· ′u′ŋwa·′
nι′ŋwan·a′ŋqwa·′+′ paqa′ŋut·ï·′γï·′[vï·′],[139]

a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ. piŋwa·′ŋ· aŋ‘ a′ip·ïγa, imi′ntcu ar′ɔ′a·ŋ ųni′ŋᴜ na·n·ɔ·′c· nį′niantca·ŋa′ᵃ nïo·′p̓·at·ux·wᴀ ųni′ŋ′uŋw nï′ntca·ŋ ųnι′ŋᴜ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtsι′ŋw pïmpï′n′ɔavïγaip·ï‘. imi′ntcuar′ɔ′a·ŋ ‘ųni′ŋᴜ, a′intcu′an a′ik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa caγwa′x·ᴜcaφɪ piŋwa′ruχwαφ.

"What has become of you,
You Toad?
Greater than anyone else, that, indeed, did you claim to be.
What are you doing in there,
As though making a noise of bobbing about,
You powerful one,
As, indeed, you claim to be?"

said Gray Hawk, singing.

And then the two of them, (Gray Hawk and Woodpecker), hit the dried-up tree with their magic power and caused it to go to pieces, and there did the two of them kill Toad. "As though you were alone of account had you been acting, you who are destined to be a toad," said Gray Hawk. "You shall always be crying in the lake when you are a toad," and then they went back towards the village. That wife of Gray Hawk's was singing,

"Now he through there
Has come to view, O Coyote!
Into the (pit with heated stones)
Push me, that is what I say,"

said that wife of Gray Hawk's, singing.

Those two, Gray Hawk and his friend, arrived at the house. Coyote they threw right into the pit with heated stones. All of Toad's people were killed, but the people of that Gray Hawk that had been slain they brought back to life. After they had done so, Gray Hawk and his wife returned towards their house. Gray Hawk sang as he went along,

"Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.
Now that one, Toad,
The one that said that he was greater than I,
The one who, thus saying, engaged in contests with me,
By me has been killed,"

said Gray Hawk. His wife said, "Is it by yourself that you have done so to him? You have done that to him by my aid, it was I who acted so as to kill Toad." " 'Did you do that to him?' that is not what I said," said Gray Hawk to his wife.

ta′viavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm
pa′vιavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm
pa′vιavi·′gïm pa′sιŋwayu′ntaqaγι·′ŋïm.
nï′ntca·a·′ŋ ïgï′ru u̥ni·′ŋo·′
pï′mpïn’ɔa·′vïga′ip·ï u′ŋwa·ya·′um
pa′q·aŋutsι·′. qa·′tcu ’ι′m·i·ya·′′p·ʿ
nï′niantsa·′ŋ ïgïr u̥′niŋu no·′p·at·ʊ·′x·wᴀ.[140]

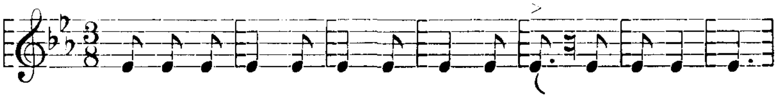
imi′antca·ŋan· u̥ni′ŋᴜ imi′ᴜʿpa·’t·uγw aitcuan a′ik·ˣ. nï′ntca·ŋ u̥ni′ŋᴜ uŋwα′xa·ᵃvat·ïmʷïχa.iʿ qa′tcᴜ piya′χaŋqïŋwaiť·ïmʿ qatcu′′uŋw n̥wï′nts aχa′vaʿ paγa′in’niŋwa’ᵃ nį′niʿ pᴀˣqą′uŋquˣpïγαntïnʿ. pi′tcιχw’aip·ïγa’aimʿ qan·ι′vä·m·uɸ. u′vʷaiyauq·ʿ caγwa′x·ᴜcaɸɪ qa·′p·ïγa,

to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.
to′go·ga′wi′wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι
to′go·ga′wi·wi·′ yani·′ paiya·′yani·′ paiya·′ya′nι.

a′iťcaq[141] qwaia′ŋqwpatcia’amɪ to·m’mʊ·′ŋ·un·ιʿ.

12. Rat invites the Deer and Mountain Sheep to a Round Dance.

qa·′ťc aŋ umʷα′vaʿ qarï′p·ïγa. u̥nι′ŋuts a′ip·ïγa tïγι′aŋwį̈ʿ na·γa·′ŋwį̈ am·ï′rux·wᴀ, ïvʷι′ya·q·ʿ kiyα′q·ax·ɪ nï′ᵘɸᴀ, a′ip·ïγa. ʿan·ι′a·ŋ ʿa′ik·ˣ qa·′ťc aŋʿ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa tïγι′aŋwï na·χa′ŋwį̈ am·ï′ŋwa’ᵃ. nïvʷa′i-ya·q·ʿ kiya′q·ax·ɪ, a′iya·ŋ a′ik·ˣ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa. ʿaŋa′v o’ᵘ kiyä′p· aʀ tïγa′ɪʿpïγa ma·m·u′c·ᴜ kiya′q·ʿpïγa aŋa′iac·ᴜ qa·′tsïʿ waa·′q·ᴜ ʿam·ï′ŋwantïŋwα’ᵅ wa′ixa̰iyuχwixa̰uαmʿ kiya′p·ï tïγa′itcïʿ qa′nι′-xa·ᵃva.iʏᴜ. maŋa′c· na·xa′ruwats aŋʿ na·m·o·′ᵘvʷit·ᴜʿpïγa ma·′ᴀˣ qa·′p·ïγa,


pa - rï - ya - ’o· - wi - pa· - ŋwi - tu - χwa taŋ - ’an - tsi - ka̭ - ne,

"Taviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm
Paviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm
Paviavigïm pasiŋwayuntaqaγiŋïm.
I truly have done so to him,
The Toad
Have I killed.
It is not you (who have done it).
It is by my aid, indeed, that you have done so to him,"
(said Gray Hawk's wife).

(Then Gray Hawk said,) " 'I have done so to him through your help,' did I say that? I have done so to him, being greater than he, being one who can not be overcome. There is no person living anywhere who would have been able to kill me." The two of them arrived at their house and then Gray Hawk sang,

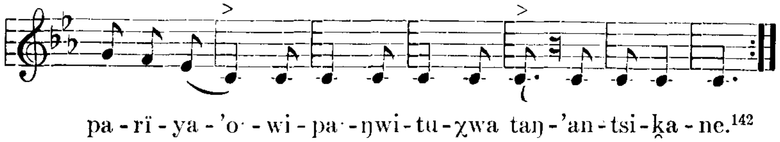
"Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani."

Have any of you heard on the other side from here a sound as of a heavy body falling?

12. RAT INVITES THE DEER AND MOUNTAIN SHEEP TO A ROUND DANCE.[51]

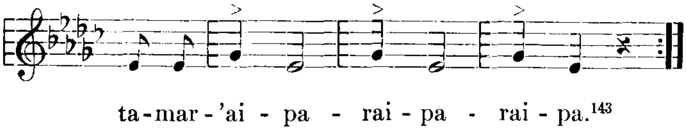
Rat[52] was living there. And then he said to the Deer and Mountain-Sheep, "Do you all come and have a round dance at my place," said he. "What did Rat say?" said the Deer and the Mountain-Sheep. " 'Do you all come and have a round dance at my place,' that is what he said," said they. So a round dance took place where he lived. Those were all dancing, while that Rat and two from among them were sitting down and discussing on the side of the round dance, as it was going on. The young Mountain-Sheep was the first to sing, and this is how he sang,

"Moving through the sand wash,

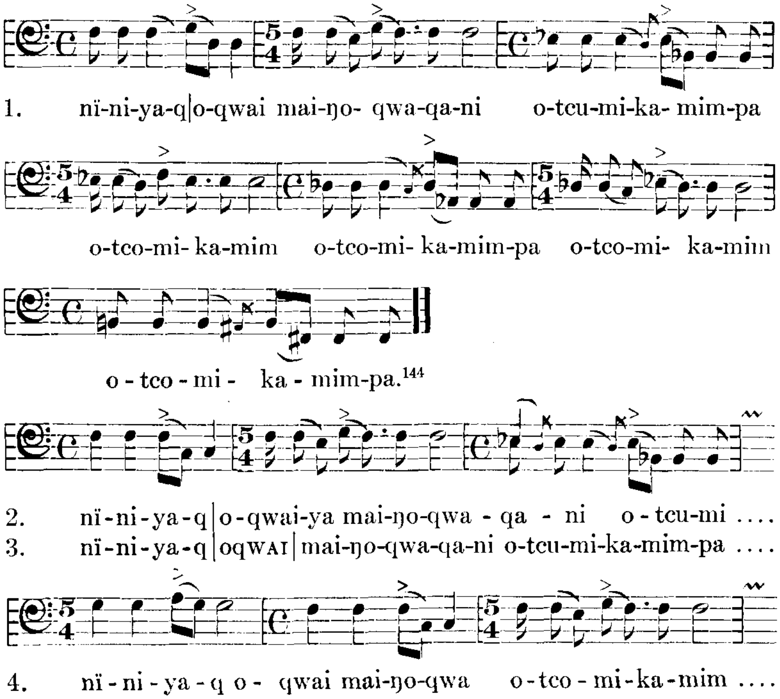

pa-rï-ya-'o·-wi-pa·-ŋwi-tu-χwa taŋ-'an-tsi-k̯a-ne.[142]

cuwa′rɔχwɔit·uγwan·um·antux·wᴀ qa·′m′mιap·ïγa.

maŋac· u̹nι′ŋuts· tïγι′aruwαts aŋ 'aŋ'a′vinaŋqwᴀ uvʷι′t·ᴜ‘pïγa ma· ⁱ'iŋ ovʷι′t·ᴜ‘pïγa,


ta-mar-'ai-pa-rai-pa-rai-pa.[143]

ⁱ'i′ŋᴀ qa·m′mια′p·ïγa ɔ·nɔ′t·ᴀ‘cïarïm·antux·wᴀ. maŋa′c· ï′vʷaiyauq·‘ qa·′ts 'a′xavatcuγwap·ïγa kiya′p·ï‘ ma·m·ï′ŋwa'ᵃ tïγι′ai‘ na·γa′x·'u̹m·aŋ'waq·ᴜ. ma·ᴀˣ qa·′m′mιap·ïγa narï′ⁱyava·'m‘ wi̹nï′m′mιaxa‘,


1. nï-ni-ya-q|o-qwai mai-ŋo- qwa-qa-ni o-tcu-mi-ka- mim-pa
o-tco-mi- ka-mim o-tco-mi- ka-mim-pa o-tco-mi- ka-mim
o-tco-mi- ka-mim-pa.[144]
2. nï-ni-ya-q|o-qwai-ya mai-ŋo-qwa-qa-ni o-tcu-mi ....
3. nï-ni-ya-q|oqwᴀɪ|mai-ŋo-qwa-qa-ni o-tcu-mi-ka-mim-pa ....
4. nï-ni-ya-q o- qwai mai-ŋo-qwa o-tco-mi-ka-mim ....

(He) keeps kicking up his knees."

Up to nearly the middle of the night he sang as he danced along.

And then that young Deer sang a song after him, and the song that this one sang was as follows,

"There are summer foot-prints, foot-prints, foot-prints."

This one sang as he danced along up to the first dawn. And then that Rat went right into the round dance, joining hands with the Deer and Mountain Ram. This is how he sang as he danced along, standing between the two of them,

"As soon as I say so,
You two will close your eyes, close your eyes."

na·ŋwa′’q·ᴜ pɔɔ′ɪ‘pa’t·ïam‘[145] wɩ′t·ɔn·ɔp·ïγa ųni′ŋᴜtsɩam‘ yaiya′x·pïγa. a′ik·w, aγa′n·ɩŋutsɩtca·m ‘an·i′ŋᴜ, a′ip·ïγa qa·′ts·. ųnɩtc a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷi′ya·q·‘ mï′mɪ pan·a′x·qwa’ ava·′ntuγwac· tïvʷɩ′p·ïaq·aiyaŋum‘. ųnɩ′ŋᴜtsɩam·ïnɪ nį′’ⁱ qᴜ‘tsɩ′k·iva·m·‘ ta·va′ï‘ mʷαva·′q·‘ qa·rï′q̇·uq·w. ų′mai, aik·ˣpïγa ma·m·u′c·ᴜ tïγɩ′aŋw αm‘ na·γa′ŋwïŋwa’ᵃ. ųnɩ′ŋuts· mava′‘ tïvʷɩ′p·ïava·φï į̈mï′iχw’aip·ïγa maŋa′c·ᴜ ma·va′aiyuαm‘ tïˠa′n·ɪˣpïγa ųnɩ′ŋuts· pïvʷa·′n’aiyuam·ïφ tïˠa′n·ɪˣk̯ainᴀ qᴜ‘tsɩ′k·ɪpïγa. a·m·u′c·ᴜ tïˠɩ′aŋw αm‘ na·χa′ŋuŋwa’ a′ik·ᴀpïγa, m·ʷan· ųn·ɩ′vä·ntï, ‘a′iya·ŋ ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ, a′itca·q·‘ qan·ɩ′vä·ntïŋw aʀ na·γu′tca’ᵃ. maŋa′c· qa·′ts ɩya′p·ïγaiyaq·‘ tᴜ‘qo′avï‘.

ųnɩc· a′im·ɪpïγa. kiya′t·ïχam·ip·ïγa ï‘tï′c·amp‘. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ, axa′n·iχa’aiŋw ‘a′im·i‘, ᴜ‘tcu′m’mɪˣk̯am’mɩava, a′iχa‘, a′ik·ᴀpïγa tïˠɩ′aŋw αm‘ na·χa′ŋwïŋwa’ᵃ. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘ maŋa′c· ampa′rɔγwα‘pïγaaic·ᴜ. a′ik·w, ïvʷɩ′araŋw ma·ŋ·a′φᴀ kiya′m·ɩava‘, a′ik̯·a·ŋ‘. tïvʷɩc o′’ᵘ kiya′p· aʀ m·ʷα′vaaiʏᴜ tïγa′ɪ‘pïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ na·xa′ruwatc aŋ ųnɩ′c·ᴜ qa·′p·ïγa,

pa′rïya’o·′wɩp·a·′ŋwɩt·ʊ·′χwa ta·′ŋ’antsɩ′k̯·a·nɩ·′.[146]

ųni′c· a·n·ɩ′p·ïγa cua′rɔχwɩt·uγwa′n·um·antux·w uvʷɩ′t·ᴜ‘pïγa. ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘ maŋa′c·ᴜ tïˠɩ′aruwats aŋo vʷɩ′t·ᴜ‘pïγaaic·ᴜ ųni‘c·ᴜ qa·′p·ïγa,

tamar’a′ip·a·ra′ip·a·ra′ip·a‘.[147]

maŋa′c· ɔ′vʷaiyauq·‘ qa·′ts aŋ o·′φwɪtup·ïγaaic·ᴜ.[148] mam·u′c·ᴜ tïγɩ′aχum·aŋuŋwαntï naγa′x·um·aŋwa’ᵃ na·ni′n’naq·ɔva·ŋa’mï wį̈nï′m’mɩap·ïγa. ųni′c·ᴜ qa·′m·ɪ‘qup·ïγa,

nį′ni·ya·q· o·′qwai maiŋo·qwa·′qani·′
o′tcumi·ka·′mimpa otco·mi·′kami·′m.[149]

naxa′ruwats aŋ‘ wï‘cï′γɩntap·ïnɩm’mɩap·ïγa. tɔn·a′iyïaŋaŋumɪ, a′iŋᴜpïγa qa·′tsɩa·m· aŋ‘ tɔn·a′va·ts ųnɩ′ŋ’uq·ᴜ. qa·′ts aŋ‘ qᴀˣqa′ʀpïγa tümpʷɩ′y uru′q·w ïγa′ŋᴜpïγa. na·γa′χ’um·a·q· ‘a·′t·ɔn·ap·ïγa. ųnɩ′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ tümp aʀ pu′ruq·wɪpïγa.

’ï′vä·ntuγwα′c·ampa·′q·wα’ uru′avï‘.

Both of them he stabbed with a knife through their chests just below the neck, and when he had done so to them, he burst into tears. "Oh! what could have happened to them that they are in this condition?" said Rat. And then he said, "Do you all go back to the country that is yours, and then I shall burn them when the sun sets yonder." "All right," said those Deer and Mountain-Sheep, and then they all went off and arrived at their country. That one cut up the two (animals that he had killed) at that place. And then he burned them on top of (the leaves and branches) on which he had butchered them.[53] Those Deer and Mountain-Sheep said, " 'That is how it will be,' that, indeed, is what he said. So it begins to burn at his house."[54] That Rat cut the meat up into thin slices.

In the same way he always spoke. He always arranged to have a round dance take place. Those Deer and Mountain-Sheep said, "Why does he always say, 'You must keep your eyes shut as you dance along,' speaking thus?" And then that one spoke out loud, telling them what to do. "Oh! let us all have a round dance at his place," so he said. And, sure enough, there took place the round dance. The young Mountain-Sheep sang in the same way,

"Moving through the sand wash,
(He) keeps kicking up his knees."

He did just as the other one had done. He sang up to nearly the middle of the night, and then that young Deer sang a song. He sang just as the other one had done,

"There are summer foot-prints, foot-prints, foot-prints."

And then that Rat sang his song again. Those two, one of the Deer Bucks and a Mountain Ram, stood on either side of them as they danced along. As before he began to sing as he danced,

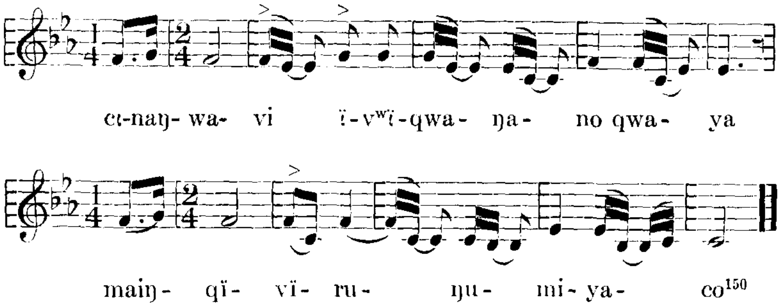
"As soon as I say so,
You two will close your eyes, close your eyes."

The young Mountain-Sheep peeped out of nearly closed eyelids while he was dancing. "He is about to stab the two of you!" he cried out, just as that Rat was going to stab them. Rat ran away and slipped under a stone. The Mountain Ram struck at it with his horns, and as he did so, the rock was shattered to pieces.

Perhaps the story goes as far as this.[55]

13. The Badger People wage War against Wolf and Coyote.

m·ʷα′va‘ tïvʷa′ts· pa·vι′ŋuŋwa’aiφï qa·n·ι′γaip·ïγa c̨ιna′ŋwavi a′ivaiyaŋwą’ ‘am·ï′ŋwa’ᵃ. qa′ivai piŋwa·′ᵃva‘ tïn·a′‘ˣqam·inïmpïγa avo·′a·χantï‘. tïvʷa′ts aŋ ivɛ′tcι ɔ·n·ɔ′t·ᴀ‘cιaŋqᴜ qa·′p·ïγa,


cι-naŋ- wa- vi ï-vʷï-qwa- ŋa- no qwa- ya
maiŋ- qï- vï- ru- ŋu- mi- ya- co[150]

u′vʷaŋwi·′yo·′ qaiva·′v ʋ·vʷa·′yua′ŋᴀ
ma′iya·′n [o·′qw] a′ika·,

a′ik·ˣ. umʷα′nιk̯aim·ι aik·ˣ, nï′ru’ aïφɪ qwïrι′k·i‘. wa′n·uyuntcan ‘i·′c·ᴜ paiyï′ŋᴜ ‘i′m· aik̯· aŋa′c·ᴜ ɔn·ɔ′c·ɔap·itcιχ̯a‘, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwaφɪ. u′vʷaiyauq·‘ cιna′ŋwav aŋ‘ m·ʷα′vaiyun·ι‘ na’a′it̓·ιp·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· ma·m·u′c· a′ivaiyaŋwa·ŋ· aŋ‘ ma·va′‘ sʋ·′p·a·r’ɔap·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· cιna′ŋwav ɔɔ′vï ɔ‘pa′q·ᵋitcι‘ miyɔ′’ⁱtsιv’aq·w wa·tcι′p·ïγa qo′q·wɪk̯ap·ïγa’aik· ųnι′ŋuts· sιna′ŋwavι a′ivaiyaŋ‘. qa·tcu′’uq·w ųnι′k̯·aγaɪ‘campaq·w ɔ‘pa′q·aitcι o′p̓·at·ï‘ qᴜ‘kwi′k·ᴀpï’a’ᵃ. ma·m·uc· u′vʷaiyauq·‘ na·va′vιŋw nιŋwu′vʷinaŋqwpatcuγwa’am ava·′’ntux·wpïγa’aim‘ cʋ·′p·a·r’ɔαp·ι‘. ‘ųni′ŋᴜtsι’ιn ɔ‘pa′q·aitcι a′up̓·at·ïa’am‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγa na·ŋwa′’aic·ᴜ tᴜ‘qu′m·um·uts aŋ‘ tïvʷa′tsι ‘aŋa′ŋwa’ᵃ pa·vι′aφï. ųnι′ŋuts· qa′ivai avo·′aiya·q·‘ tïna′‘pïγaiyaq·‘. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ tïvʷa′ts aŋ‘ na·va′vιŋw wį̈nï′χarïχw’aip·ïγa’aim‘ ma·m·ï′ᴀcuαq·‘ tïn·α′ŋqw nιŋwï′arïïγwα‘qa’m‘ cιna′ŋwavι aŋ a′ivaiyaŋuŋwa’aiφï. mava′ŋwιʏᴜ avo·′a·γantï‘ cιna′ŋwaφɪ a·′mpaiyan·ι a′ip·ïγa qa′tcᴜ tïvʷα′q·a·ŋwaiyuc·ampᴀ ʏᴜˣqu′tsιŋwaᴀcaιnp pᴀˣqa′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· m·ʷα′va.ɪʏᴜ tümpʷιt·ïn·a·′va.ɪʏᴜ tïʳι′axum·aŋw qwïrï′k·ɪpïγa’aim‘. ųnι′ŋᴜtsι’ιm‘ pïn·i′m·ɪqup·ïγaiya·ŋ’wam‘ ma·m·ï′ac·ᴜ nava′vιŋwį̈‘ wïnï′xarïrïm·ʷį̈‘. mam·u′c·uaŋ‘ mava·′ntux·ᴡᴀ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ’am‘. ųni′ŋuts· pampa′n·a·q·ˣ·qw’aip·ïγa qan·ι′vä·ntuγwαφ maŋac cιna′ŋwav aŋ‘ ʏᴜ‘qu′tsιŋwį̈‘ pᴀˣqa′q·ain·aφ nɔ·′ᵘp·aiyιk·w’aip·ïγa. ma·m·uc· u′vʷai‘ tïvʷats am‘ nava′vιŋw nιŋwu′vʷinaŋqw’am‘ pitcι′χw’aip·ïγa.

13. The Badger People wage War against Wolf and Coyote.

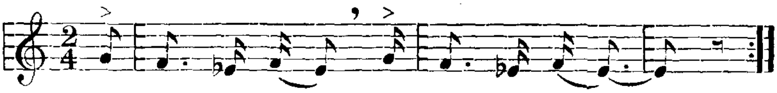
There Wolf and his brothers were living with Coyote's companions. They were accustomed to hunt at the foot of a mountain in a valley bordered by a semi-circular ridge. When daybreak was still far off, Wolf sang,

"O Coyote, go ahead! for him
Call out as you go about again,
(Call out for) him there at the mountain,[56]
That is what I say,"

said he. " 'You are wont to remain like that,' say you, but I did not wake up just now. I have returned from over there long ago, but you are but just waking up," said Coyote. And then Coyote built a fire off yonder. Then those companions of his were gathered together at that place. Now Coyote placed at a little distance from (the fire) a bone that had a little hole in it, and Coyote's companions all shot at it (as a target). In spite of their all doing this they did not shoot through the hole. And then those two brothers, (Wolf and Panther), proceeded after everybody else to the place of assembling, and both of them shot through the hole, Panther and his elder brother Wolf. Then they hunted at the mountain valley. The two brothers, (Wolf and Panther), went to take their place (at certain spots where the deer would pass when pursued), while Coyote and his companions were rounding up (the deer) up in the mountain. In that mountain valley Coyote made a great racket, though he did not kill any big game. Two fawns were all he killed. And then there at the base of the cliff two deer bucks arose, and when they had done so, they started off looking straight ahead up to those two brothers that were stationed lying in wait for game. Those two (brothers) killed them at that place. And then they all went back in little parties to their camp, and that Coyote returned carrying the fawns that he had killed, but the two Wolf brothers returned after everybody else.

m·ʷα′va‛ qan·ι′aγaɪ‛pïγa‛ yua·′ᵃγantïmpa‛. ma·m·uc· u′vʷai‛ qum·a′ŋwïa·m· aŋ‛ nιa·′ᵃvι′ŋw a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷι′yaraŋw ïna′ntuγwam·ιava‛. ų·′ma.i, aik·ᴀpïγa ma·m·u′c·ᴜ. ųnι′ŋuts· m·ʷα′ᴜpa’ ïna′ntuγwam·ιap·ïγa m·α′va·ntï ïna′mpïntsιŋwï’am ɔra′q·‛pïγa. maŋac· nι′a·vιŋ’wa·m aŋ‛ pïŋqa′m·aip·ïγa, pïŋqa′ųniχaiŋwα′m‛ piŋwa′iaraŋw tɪ‛qa′q·ava·n‛ cɔ·′t·‛hɔraŋw[151] qwa·vi′ŋumpa‛ ï′vʷaiyauq·uraŋw pan·a′x·qw’aiva‛, a′ip·ïγa.

ma·m·u′c·ᴜ pivi′ŋwaiya·m aŋ‛ pᴀ‛pa′tsιam a′ip·ïγa, ma·r ‛aro′′am·i aχa·n· an·i′ntc ua′t· aʀ qa′ivɛi ama′ntï na·γu′tcï’aitc‛. qatcu′rᵘ’ ‛aro′′am·ι‛ nïŋwï′ait·ïmpa·nt an·i′ntc‛. ïvʷï′raŋw ųnι′ts ᵃ’a′uraiḳ·ava‛. *nį′′ ⁱ’ï′t·a·mpᴀˣqaiyïn·ι ï′tï′c·amp ïna′mpïtsï‛ tɪ‛qa′xa‛. ‛ų·′ma.i,* a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa na·m·ι·′ntsιŋwï aŋ‛. ma′up̓· ųnι′ŋuts· pɔrɔ′q·ᴜpïγa qa′ivɛi ᵃ’a′ura‛. qa·′m·ιap·ïγa mą·′‛,



ma·va ųnι′ŋuts· sįna′ŋwav aŋ‛ qa·rï′p·ïγa. ‛ɛ′ik·w, ‛an·ι′ ar aik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa, puwα′r’uaiyïr’u′ɔn·ιχ̧ain·ι‛, a′ip·ïγa naŋqa′t̓·caq·a.i‛. qa·′m·ιarïχain·ι aik·ˣ ‛aŋac· ųni′ŋuts· tï′ŋwιn·ι‛ cιna′ŋwavι ᴜˣqwι′yum·αntïa·ŋ‛ qɔvʷι′tcιaip·ï‛ tu’u′mᴀtsï’q·w a′ip·ïγa, aγa′n·iγaiyaq· an·i′ŋum·ι ᴜˣqwι′yᴜ·n· aʀ qɔ‛pɔ′q·ɔⁱm·iŋḳa‛, ma·m·ï′ᴀcᴜ·’q·w nana′ŋq̇am·iaux·ᴜ ‛a′in·a·ŋ‛. mam·u′c·ᴜ ma·′m·’autsιŋw αm ava′‛ qan·ι′ į̈mï′′ɪ‛pïγa. qatcu′a·ŋ‛ cιna′ŋwav uŋw qa·rï′ŋwą’ᵃ, a′ip·ïγa, pina′ŋq̇waŋ‛ pι′tcιvaᴀcaιmpᴀ. ïvʷι′a ųnι′ŋuts· mam·a′ntcuai’ḳ·aaiŋw pïmpï′n’ɪ‛ḳaivä‛tsï’ŋw, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwav aŋ‛. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ ma·va′‛ qaŋqan·ι a′up̓·a’ᵃ yuχwι′p·ïγa. pina′ŋqwᴀ cιna′ŋwaφɪ pi′tcɪpïγa ųnιtc a′ip·ïγa, qa·tcu′aq· a′ivaiyaŋwïαnɪ s·si′′ⁱḳ·an·a·m‛ qïm·a′ntc‛kιva·ŋwa’ᵃ. qatcu′ya’ a′ivaiyaŋwïa·ŋ‛ s·si′′ḳ·an·a·m‛ qïmιa′ntc‛kιva·ŋwa’, a′iḳ·a·ŋ‛, a′ip·ïγa pᴀ‛pa′tsιa·m· aŋ‛. a·m·u′c· o·′p̓·as· mįn·ï′s·ɪpïγa.

‛a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwav, ïvʷi′n·ιa’ᵃ na·ŋwa′′p̓a·ŋo′m‛. maŋac· cᴜ·′ɪcιnaŋwav aŋ‛ a′iŋᴜqwa·ŋ‛ ųm·u′vʷιnaŋqwaxw’aip·ïγa. m·ʷα′va·m wᴀ‛tcï′ŋᴜpïγa. ma·′ip·iya’ᵃ cuwa′ɪ‛piya’ᵃ, a′iχ̧w’aip·ïγa tᴀ‛tɔ′mpᴀ‛tcam·aŋqoam‛ kwɪ‛pa′p·aγaiŋqw’aiγa‛ a·m·u′vʷait·ɔγɔŋqw’aiγa‛. ma′up̓·ac· ųni′ŋuts· mįnï′c·ɪpïγa cιna′ŋwavι‛ qa′nι′ aura‛.[153] mava′ ųnιŋuts ųmu′iγw’aip·ïγa qan·ιan·a′.u’q·w ïï′m’müp·ïγa pᴀ‛pa′tsιam· aŋ‛ cιna′ŋwavι‛ qan·ι′va·ŋ‛ pi′tcɪpïγa. pinaŋq ųnι′ŋuts· cιna′ŋwavι a′ivaiyaŋw ïï′m’müp·ïγa. ma·m·uc· ųnι′ŋuts· tïvʷa′ts aŋ‛ nava′vιŋw nιŋwu′vʷιnaŋq̇wam‛ pi′tcιχw’aip·ïγa. ma·va′‛ qan·ι′a·m‛ waa′n·’ain-

There[57] was a village yonder on the plain. Then the chief of their husbands, (Badger people), said, "Let us go to hunt badgers." "All right," said those (Lark women).[58] And then off yonder they went to hunt for badgers, and there they dug up badgers. That chief of theirs kept saying, "If we keep on doing thus to the (badgers), which are to be eaten by our wives, we shall camp one night more and then we will return home," said he.

The oldest sister among their (Lark) wives said, "Why is it that over there on the mountain there is always something burning? Is there no person living there who does this? Let us, then, all go ahead towards that place. I am getting sick and tired of always eating badgers." "All right," said her younger sisters. And so they started off in that direction towards the mountain. This is what they sang when they were on their way,

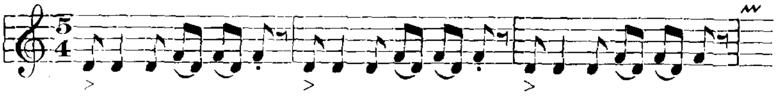
"Bark[59] aprons bounce up and down."

Now there the Coyote[60] was sitting. "Oh! what noise is that?" said he. "Am I getting to be a medicine-man?" said he, as he listened. It sounded like some one singing while travelling. Then he, having quickly taken broken arrows from among Coyote's arrows, said, "Why is it that my arrows always happen to break?" and those (women), as they were journeying, heard what he said. The women arrived there at the house. "Coyote is not at home," said he, "but he will arrive shortly. Do you all, then, wait for him if you intend to see him," said the Coyote. Those women sat down there throughout the houses. After a while Coyote returned, and then he said, "Meorum sociorum urina[61] non aliena miscebitur." "Non, inquit, ejus sociorum urina aliena miscebitur, id est quod dixit," said the oldest sister among the (women). They turned back to the same place.

"Oh!" said Coyote, "do you hurry up and follow in their tracks." When he said so, that other Coyote went off in pursuit of them. Yonder he caught up with them. "It was only a way of talking, it was meant for welcome words," said he and walked on, hitting them on their ankles as he passed alongside of them. Then they turned back towards Coyote's house. And then they arrived there and put up among the houses, each by herself. The oldest sister among them arrived at Coyote's house. And then, after a while, Coyote's companions all arrived home one by one, and those two brothers, Wolf

ts·tsιŋw qa·rï'p·ïγa'aimʽ. ma·m·uc· a'ip·ïγa, impï'aŋw an·i'k̯·arïiʽ pïn·i'k̯·arïχaʽ tïγι'p·ïn·ιk̯·arïxaim·ï'ᴵ. pina'ŋq̓wαmʽ na·ŋwa''aic·u'mʽ ma·m·ï'ac· wa·'n·'aints·tsιŋwα ʽam·ï'ŋwa'aim a·vι'p·ïγa'aimʽ. pinä's·ιχavaaiyua·ŋ'a'm·uφ ma·ru'x·ʊqwa·ŋqup·ïγa[154] ma·m·u'c·ʊ ma·m·a'ᵘ'tsιtcɪʽqaŋ'wɪpïγa'aimʽ. maŋa'c·ʊ cʊ·'ɪʽcιnaŋwav aŋʽ qaŋqa'n·ι a'up̓·a'ᵃ paχa'impuruχwa a'ivurup·ïγa, kwɪʽtun·i·''ⁱ kwɪʽtun·i·''ⁱ kwɪʽtun·i·''ⁱ. ma·m·u'c·ʊ a'ivurux·ʊcampa·ŋʽ aŋa'ʀïcu'aik·wɔavι'p·ï'a'ᵃ. ι·'tcuq·ʊ tïvʷa'ts aŋʽ qa·'p·ïγa, cιna·'ŋwaφɪ ïm̥α'n·ᵡk̯aim·ιaxar'uαn·oʽ nïmpι'ŋwarut·saŋwap·ιŋwaxa.iʽ, a'ip·ïγa tïvʷa'ts·. m·ʷα'n·ɪᵡk̯aim·ι aik·ᵡ pɪʽsɔ''tsιaru' ʽa'im·ιʽ a'iŋqïxaʽ. i·'c·'uwanʽ wa'n·oyuntcʽ paiyu'ŋʊ imi' ʽaik̯· aŋac· ɔn·ɔ'c·ɔap·itcιχaʽ, a'ip·ïγa cιna'ŋwav ʽam·a'ntux·w cuwα'p·itcιχa ampa'xan·a·ŋʽ.

ma·m·u'c· ïna'mpïtsιŋw αmʽ pïŋqa'ɔraq·ʽpïγa maŋac· nιa·'ᵃvιŋ'wa·m· aŋʽ qa·'p·ïγa,


qa-tco-tcα-ni-vïn-nιʽ a- ï-t·ï-nɔ-nɔ-sιʽ-i-ya-'a-p·a-vïn-nιʽ[155]

sι'na·ŋwavi·'ya·'n· o·'ŋw a'ik·ᵡᴀ
u'ŋwa·ya[vï·'n·i·'n·a''ʽ]
pi'ŋwa·ŋwïa·'ra·'ŋwa''
pi'ŋwa·ŋwïa·'ra·'ŋw o·'ŋwa''ʽ
pi'ŋwa·ruq·wa'iŋup·ï·'g̣a·'q·o''ʽ.
qa'tco·tcani·'ⁱ[vï'n·ι'ʽ]
a'ït·ïnɔ·'ᵒnɔ·'ᵒsi·'ⁱya·'p·a''ʽ-
i'ya·'ap·a·'[vï·'n·ι''ʽ].
pï'ŋqa·'ųni·'ⁱχa'iŋwa·'m·ï'ʽ,
ma'iya·n [uq·w] a'ik̯a·'[vï'nʽ],
pi'ŋwa·yara·'ŋ o·'ŋwa''ʽ
tï't·ï·q·ava·'n·a·a''ʽ
pi'na·ŋqwara·'ŋ [o·'q·wa'iʽ]
pa'n·a·xaq̓wa'iva·'a''ʽ.
cι'na·ŋwavi·' o·'ŋwa''ʽ
pi'ŋwa·ŋwïa·'ra·'ŋwį'ʽ
tï'q·a·ŋ'wιt·u'iqwaip·ï·'γa''ʽ,
ma'intca·n·ι nɔ·ᵒïnɔ·'ᵒsι'ʽ.[155a]

(and Panther), arrived after every one else had come. There at their houses two little girls were sitting. Those (hunters) said, "What are you doing seated there, as though sitting and looking on, looking for something to eat?" After a while both of them lay with those two girls. They stretched them between their legs, and those two became women. That other Coyote, while walking from one house to another, kept saying, "Ecce anum meum!"[62] In spite of his going about and speaking thus, they all lay down without paying any attention to him. In the morning Wolf sang, "Coyote! it is not thus that one should act, when having as wife one that has been taken away from another," said Wolf. "In that fashion are you wont to speak. Is it to a boy that you are always talking, talking to give him advice? I have been over there long ago and have returned, but you are just waking up," said Coyote as he woke up, aroused by Wolf's words.

Those Badgers kept on digging and that chief of theirs sang,

"I was not dreaming well, as Coyote, I say, has taken our wives away from us and made them his own.

"I was not dreaming well. While you have kept on doing so to the (badgers), that is what I say, which our wives are destined to eat, soon you shall all go back.

"Coyote has caused our wives to turn away, that is what I have dreamt."

ï′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pa·n·a′x·qw'aip·ïγa qanι′vä·ntuγwa·mʻ qan·ι′am·ïχ̣ain·ι aʀ qa·n·ι′p·ïn·ι n·aya′φᴀˣqaip·ïγa. ʻųnι′ŋuts a′ip·ïχa ïn·α′n·ιa·φ, 'an·ι′an ʻaik·ˣ, cιna′ŋwavι'ⁱŋw piŋwa′iaraŋw piŋwa′ʀᴜpïγαntï, a′in'nιan·ιχ̣ain ʻaik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa. tïvʷι′tsιnaŋa′ntᴜʻpaᴀpïγa. u′vʷaiyauq· ųnι′ŋuts· ᴍᴜˣqwi′χ̣ap· aʀ tɪʻqa′ŋ'wɪpïγa cιna′ŋwavι aŋ aŋ'a′vantux·w. mam·u′c·ᴜ sιna′ŋwav aŋʻ nan·a′vaviŋw a′iveaŋwαv am·ï′ŋwa'ᵃ pïŋqa′rïnax·qam·ʻpïγa. pinaŋq̓ u′vʷaiyauq·ʻ tïvʷa′ts aŋ a′ip·ïγa, cιna′ŋwa·φɪ ïvʷu′aŋʻ piŋwa·′'m aŋʻ paiyι′q·w'ɔiva uvʷa·′ntïm·anaŋqw'αv ųni′k·ˣpï 'u′raʻ. cιna′ŋwav a′ip·ïγa, ʻi·′c·'uαnʻ na·′va·ιn·ïiʻ imi ʻa′ik·ˣ ǫ·nɔ′t·ɔvïn'niχ̣aʻ. cιna′ŋwav aŋ ampa′xana·ŋʻ tïvʷa′tsi ama′ntux·w cuwa′p·itcιχ̣aʻ. ųnι′ŋuts o′'ᵘ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ piŋwa′ŋwïam· aŋʻ mį̈nï′c·qwᵓ'aip·ïγa tïvʷι′p·ïaiyauv uvʷa·′ntux·w. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ piŋwα′ŋwïam aŋʻ tuwa′m·ιap·ïγa pɔrɔ′m'mιap·a·ntuγwαφ. cįna′ŋwavιy aŋʻ piŋwa·′ŋʻ na·m·ï′nιntu′αŋqïp·ïγa.

ma·m·u′c·ᴜ cιna′ŋwavι aŋ ʻa′iveaŋwï aŋʻ pina′ŋqw qan·ι′χ̣aiyuc·ᴜ ma′up·a'ᵃ naŋwa′ᴜp̓aamʻ pɔrɔ′q·ᴜpïγa. na·m·ï′χwaviŋᴜpïai ava·′ntux·w nιntu′aŋqïp·ïγaɪʻtuaiʻ. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ tïvʷa′ts aŋʻ na·va′vιŋw tᴜˣqu′m·um·utsιŋwa' a·tcι′ʀᴜʻpïγa'aimʻ. cįna′ŋwaφɪ pį̈nι′k̭·a.iyuam ųni′χ̣uam ųmu′n·avas· a·n·ι′p·ïγa ʻatcï′ʀᴜpïγa. a′iveaŋwïaŋʻ pïmpï′n'ⁱˣk̭a.iyuaŋ ųnι′χ̣uaŋʻ. cιna′ŋwavι a·tcι′ruχuaŋʻ maŋa′navas· an·ι′k·ˣpïγa ʻat·ci′ʀᴜˣqwαp·ïγa. qa·n·ι u′vʷaiyauq· a·n·a′ŋwï·n'nam'ᴍɪ tïʻtï′γaiŋʻpïγa. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ pɪʻpι′s·'ɔtsιŋw yo·′n'nιŋup·ïχa ʻa·m·o′'uraʻ *mom·o′aiyauφ pïmpï′n'ⁱˣk̭a.iyuαmʻ.* sιna′ŋwaφɪ moi′m'mιap·ïγa wa·′n'aip·atsιŋwïʻ mǫį′ŋkitcιn·ʷį am·o′'ura atcï′ʻ ts·tsa′ʻqa.iʻ a′ip·ïγa, ʋ·ts· ʋ·ts· ʋ·ts·. ma·m·u′c· aŋa′ʻpa·ŋup·ïγa[156] a′iχ̣ᴜcampa·ŋʻ. ma·ŋaŋw ųnι′ŋuts· na'a′intsιts· pïntï·′ŋ·up·ïγa cιna′ŋwav a·tcï′ a·′χamantsaŋwιnap·ïγa. mam·u′s· a′iveaŋwïaŋʻ maŋa′navac· an·ι′k·ᴀpïγa a·′χamamantcaŋwιn'ɴᴀˣqap·ïγa atcï′ʀᴜˣqwap·ïaφï. am·u′c·ᴜ wa·′n·aip·atsιŋw a·m·ï′ŋw'amʻ tïvʷα′tsiʻ nava′vιŋwįʻ pį̈ntï·′ŋup·ïγa'aimʻ nį̈ŋwu′vιnaŋqwɔm·ιaχɔamʻ. mava′ ųnι′ŋuts į̈mï′ɪpïγa qan·ι′aγantïʻ.

mam·u′c·ᴜ ᴍᴜˣqwi′χ̣ᴀˣqarïm· αmʻ m·α′vaʻ qan·ι ʻam·į′ʻ cɔ·′p·a·r'ɔαp·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· wa′iχ̣pïγa ųn·i′φα ųni′k̭·avaᴀpa·ntïʻ ma·m·u′c·ᴜ sι'a·′ιn'nɔxɔnιŋwïntsιŋw αm ᴜˣqu′vʷιtcαtsιnιŋwïntsιŋwïŋwα' ɔɔ′mpaiac· a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa. ma·m·u′c· ɔγɔ′ tsai'yaq·ιnιŋwïntsιŋw αmʻ na·γu′q·wɪpaiac· a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa. ʻų·′mą.iʻ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa, ïvʷï′'q·waxa' na·γu′q·wιp· uru′'avaʻ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ tïvʷa′ts aŋʻ qa·′p·ïγa tᴀʻci′antï tïγa′iχ̣·ᴜ,

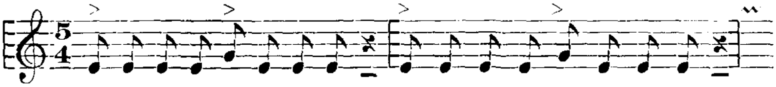
And then they all went back to their house. Their house looked like an old deserted camp. And then the Badger chief said, "What did I say? Coyote has taken our wives as his own, that is what I said," said he. They became exceedingly angry, and then a war council took place against Coyote. Those three brothers, Coyote and his companions (Wolf and Panther), kept on hunting, and then after a while Wolf said, "Coyote! let your wife return home to the place from which they have all come." Coyote said, "Long ago have I already been packing up in order to move, while you are but just waking up," as Coyote was just waking up, aroused by Wolf's words. So then those wives of theirs went back home to their country. Each of those wives gave birth to a child while they were travelling on their way. Coyote's wife was the first to give birth to a child.

Coyote and his companions, having lived there for some time, started off yonder in their tracks. At the first place that they camped at over night, someone had evidently given birth to a child. The two brothers, Wolf and Panther, made bows and arrows, and when Coyote saw them doing this, he did as they did, he made a bow and arrows. When his companions saw what Coyote was doing, making a bow and arrows, they did just what he did and made bows and arrows. And then they got to be visible from the house. Those children started off running towards their fathers as soon as they saw them. Coyote led along two boys who were coming in the lead towards them, as he held out bows and arrows for each. He said, "A little arrow, a little arrow, a little arrow." They passed by him in spite of what he said. And then a little girl hung on to him, and Coyote threw the bows and arrows away into a hiding place. Those companions of his did just as he had done, they threw the bows and arrows that they had made away into a hiding place. The two boys hung on to Wolf and his brother, who were coming behind everyone else. And then they arrived there at the village.

They who had been called together for war were assembled there at some distance from the house. Now they were deliberating how they were going to act. The Scorpion people and the Carrion Beetle people counseled a fist fight. The Crested Bluejay people counseled war with bows and arrows. "All right," said they, "let it, then, be war," said they. That Wolf was singing when daybreak came,

sι′naŋwa·′vi·′ ïvʷïχwa·′no· u′vʷa·[vï·′]
na·′γuq·wi·′ŋqï·′tʋ·wa·′mi·ya·′[uq·wa·ya·′].
u′m·an·i·′k̯·a′imiyaχwa·′ro·wano·′ uqwa·ya·′
nï′mpιŋwa·′rï·′tsa·ŋwa·′p·i·ŋwa·′xa·yo·′.
ï′vʷïχwa·′no·′ ʋ·vʷa·′[vï·] na′γuqwιŋqït·ʋ·′mi·,
ma′iyan[o·′qw] a′ik̯·a·[vï·′ni·] cι′naŋwa·vi·′.
i·′va·′n a′ik̯·a aŋaco·′ nï· a·′viva·′ts·.
cι′naŋwa·′vi·′ ïvʷïχwa·′no· u′vʷa·[vï·′]
na·′γuq·wi·′ŋqï·′tʋ·ami·′ya·, ma′iyan [o·′uq·w] a′ik̯·a.
u′m·ani·′ya·′vi·mi·′ya·γwa·′ro·ano·′a
nï′mpιŋwa·′rï·′tsa·ŋwa·′pi·ŋwa·′γa·yo·′,
ma′iyan [o·′qw] a′ika· [vï·′ni·] cι′naŋwa·vi·′.[156a]

ʽaŋa′q̇· uvʷaiʽ pïŋwa′ntïγwaq·ainïmpïnιa′amʽ. imi′ ιχïr uŋwaro″ˣ m·ʷα′nιˣk̯aivatcʽcamp a·vι′vatcʽ qa·′n·ᴀʽcuvʷ a′ivatcʽ, nï′aa·q· ʽʷɔaiʽ pïŋwa′ntuγwaq·ain·ïmpïn·ιa′m ïγïr uŋwᴀ, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwaφι. mava′ʽcoʼᵘ na·γo′q·wιp· aʀ tιʽqa′ŋ’wιpïγa cιna′ŋwav aŋʽ ma·va′ʽ naγu′q·wιŋqïť·uap·ïγa a′iveaŋwïŋwa’aiφ. cιna′ŋwavι aŋʽ pᴀˣqa′ŋʋpuaγaιʽťuaiyïaŋʽ ma·n·ɔ′q·ʽ cιna′ŋwavι a′iveaŋwį̈ʽ qɔγɔ″ⁱp·ïaγaιʽťuaiʽ. ma·m·u′c·ʋ tïvʷatsιnava′viŋw piŋwa′iav amʽ tuwa′tsιŋwa′q·uv uχu′n·aiya′m·uφ ʋˣqwα′p·ι uvʷa′ιʽtɔχw a·vi′tcï ųn·a·′x·ι yųn·a′ŋʋpïγaiyaŋa′mʽ. ųni′ŋuts a′ip·ïγa tïvʷa′ts aŋʽ, ïvʷï″ca’ i′mι naγu′q·wiŋqït·u’ᵃ. uŋwa′c·utcaiŋʋ[157] cιna′ŋwav uŋw pᴀʽqa′ŋʋtïc·ampᴀ. ųnι′ŋʋtsi’ιmʽ ma·va″amʽ na·γu′q·wιŋqïť·uap·ïγa’aimʽ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔam·’ïmʽ qɔγɔ″ⁱpïγa. ųnιʽŋuts· waa′iγʋsampʽ piya′ŋ’wιpïγa saγwaχaγa′ιʽtcɔγwaγantïŋwïŋwαntï. ma·m·u′c·ʋ ma·va′ wᴀʽtci′ŋwιyum·un·ιʽ tca·γι′p·atcux·w na·ᵞu′q·wιk̯ap·ïγa na·γuq·wιn·ιn·i′a·vιŋw. qa·tc ųni′k̯·aγaιʽcampʽ na·γu′q·wιk̯ap·ïá’ᵃ ʋˣqwι′yuam· aʀ ma·n·u′n·ιʽ tʋʽpʷi′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts ʽatcï′m·aφ na·γwᵓi′p·ᴀˣqap·ïγa tümpʷι′mʽ na·ra′φιk̯ap·ïγa. ma·m·u′c·ʋ tïvʷa′ts aŋʽ na·va′viŋw qa′ivaiya’am ᵃ’a′urai’mï nιŋwʋ·′it·uγwa’amʽ wį̈nï′m’mιap·ïγa. ma·m·u′c·ʋ saγwa′χaitcaχwαn·įŋwïŋw αmʽ qa·′p·ïγa’aimʽ,


ï-t·ï-γa-n·ι ai-k̯·a-vï-n·ιʽ ma-n·ι-mi-’a-xa-’a-vï-n·ιʽ[158]

to′qomo″motsi′[v’uni′n’naʽ]
nï′ni′a[vï′n’ninα′n·ιʽ]
to′qomo′rui ga′iŋumpa·′n·αnʽ—

"Coyote, do you, then, there
Engage in combat with people.
One should not be acting that way
When he has as his wife one that he has taken away from another.
Go ahead! Engage in combat there with people,
That is what I say, O Coyote!
But right here, say I, shall I be lying down.
O Coyote! do you, then, there
Engage in combat with people.
That is not how one should be acting, lying down,
When he has as his wife one that he has taken away from another,
That is what I say, O Coyote!"

"Who is it, then, on whom you have always been depending? You, indeed, have always been acting in that way, however, always lying down, always doing nothing but singing. It is I, indeed, upon whom you have always been depending," said Coyote. So there was a battle at that same place and Coyote fought there together with his companions. Coyote was killed, and all of Coyote's companions were killed. Those two Wolf brothers put their wives and their children into the sticks lying alongside of their quivers,[63] and then Wolf said (to Panther), "Go ahead! engage in battle. That Coyote has already been killed." And then the two of them fought there and killed them all. Now only two survived of those who were blue-hatted.[64] Those there, four in number, engaged in close combat, being battle chiefs. In spite of their doing so, they could not kill each other by shooting. Their arrows were all used up. And then they hit each other with their bows and threw rocks at each other. The Wolf brothers moved along towards the mountain in front of the others. Those blue-hatted people were singing,

"It is too bad that you are doing so, O Panther! you whom I am going to have as a panther-skin blanket, after I have killed you.

a′n·i[vï′n′nina′n′nina′n·ι‘]
pa·′q·aŋo′tsιm [u′q·waiya·′a].
ï′t·ïγa′n·ι a′ik̯·a[vï′n·ι‘]
ma′n·ιmι′′aγa′′ι[vï′n·ι‘]
nʊ·′ᵘwι′t·uγwa′[v′u̧ni′n′na‘]
wï̧′n·ï̧m·i′′aγa′′a[vï′n·ι‘]
qa′iva′ia[vï′n′ninα′n·ι‘]
a′.ura′imιku′tsι[vï′n·ι‘].
i′mpïγa′i′ι mʷα′va‘
u′mʷαrï′ ama′′a[vï′n·ι‘]
qa′iva′i aqa′i′a[vï′n·ι‘]
ma′iγa′i′ ani′k̯·a[vï′n·ι‘]
nï·′ᵘwι′t·uγwa′′a[vï′n·ι‘]
wï′n·ïm·i′′aχa′′a[vï′n·ι‘].
ï′t·ïᵞa′n·ιa′[v′un·i′n·a‘]
ma′ip·a′γïu′[v′u̧ni′n·a‘]
pa′q·aŋu′mpana′n′ι[vï′n·i‘]
i·′mi′i[vï′n′nina′n·ι‘]
na′rïχwi′nap u′ŋ′u[vʷα′n·ι‘]
ma′intcu′[v′u̧ni′n′nani′n·a‘]
tï′vʷatsï′′ι[vï′n′ninα′n·ι‘].
ï′t·ïγa′n·ιya′′a[vïn·ι‘]
ma′n·ιk̯·a′iiva′′antï·′ï‘
i′mia′[vïni′n′nanin·a‘]
to′qoa′′ami·′′i[vï·′ï‘]
i′tcï′ tïvʷι′p·ïᵞa·′a
a′vaa′n· a·vi′χ̯aa·′a.[159]

tïvʷa′ts a q·a·′p·ïγa,[160] nï̧′niaχain·ι‘ saγwa′χaitcɔχwaχaiŋumpa·n·an‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋʊtsï′m‘. ï‘tï·′a·n·i an·i′k̯·aiva·ntïm‘ tïvʷι′p·ï ava′′an ɔɔ′a·′mɪ qo′ⁱn·ʸ′ɪˣk̯a.i‘ pᴀˣqa′q·wᵓ′aiŋʊqwαnɪ. ma·m·u′c·ʊ saγwα′χaitca-χwαn·ïŋuŋw αm‘ qa·′p·ïγa′aim‘, ï‘tï′a·n·ι aik·ˣ nï̧′nιᴀ pᴀˣqa′q·w′aiŋumpa·n·anɪ nï̧′nιᴀ tʊ‘qu′p·ïγaiva·n·αnɪ ï‘tï′a·n·ι anι′m′mιai‘ nï′owɪ‘-tux·w qa′ivεi ′a′ura‘. impï′xai′ m·α′rï am‘, ′u′r′um· u̧ni′ts· maxa′rï-vʷa·ntï′m‘. maŋa′c·ʊ tïvʷa′ts· qa·′p·ïγa, ιmι′ntcu′ᵘ nï̧′nι‘ nïχa·′ᵃva·′-t·ïm a′iγaitcu′ aik·ˣ. i′mi′χ̯war′uaq· uvʷai i′i′tcï‘ tïvʷι′p·ï‘ marï′ŋqai-yïaq·‘ nï̧′ni‘ nïχa·′ᵃva·′t·ïŋqaiva·t·n̥nι‘. a′iχ̯ai′m‘ tümpʷi′p·a′nam avι′-ŋʊpïγa′aim am·ʊ·′ᵘwα′mɪ. ma·m·u′c· ɔχɔ′tcai′yaq·ιŋw αm a′ip·ïγa-′aim‘, ï‘tï′a·n·ιa′m anι′k·ˣ tümpʷi′′am ava′′an a·vi′ŋuŋqwa′aim‘ nï̧mʷi′-yuα′m‘ a′iχ̯aiyamï′m‘ ma·n·ɔ·′arup·ïγaiyam′ïm‘. u̧nι′ŋutsï′m i′yat·ïa-′am man·ɔ·′arup·ïγa tü′mp ar u̧nι′ŋʊqwam‘ pu′ruq·wɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ʊ

"It is too bad that you are doing so, keeping your places in front of me as you move along, having started towards the mountain.

"What have you there on that mountain, that you are thus keeping your position in front of me as you move along?

"It is too bad that you are in that position as you proceed, you whom I shall kill, you the mighty one, as you say, O Wolf!

"It is too bad that your flesh will be thus lying on this earth."

Wolf sang, "And I, for my part, shall have a blue hat when I have killed you. It is too bad that you shall be thus while your bones are lying on the earth after I have killed you." Those blue-hatted people sang, "It is too bad that you speak thus, whom I am about to kill, whom I am about to possess as panther skin. It is too bad that you are in that plight as you move along before me towards the mountain. What have you on that (mountain) that will, then, protect you?" That Wolf sang, "Do you say that you are a greater one than I? Did you, then, create this earth, seeing that you are to be greater than I?"[65] So saying, the two of them, (Wolf and Panther), lay down on a rock in front of the two (Bluejays). Those Mountain Bluejays said, "It is too bad that you two are thus lying down on a rock in front of us." So saying, they reached down to hold (Wolf and

tïvʷa′ts aŋ a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′′ ᵘˣqwa n·ï̹mʷι̹′‘ nava′vιŋwï̹α pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜt̓uava·mpï·n·ïmɪ. m·ʷα′va·’m a′ɔŋqʷαvï a·vι′tcï ava·′′n·a’ɪn avi′ŋᴜpïγai’m am·o·′ᵘwa’m‘. ma·m·u′c·uam‘ ma·n·ɔ′arup·ïγaiyam·’um‘. ųnι′ŋᴜtsï’m i′yat·ïa’m‘ ma·n·ɔ′arup·ïγa ųni′ŋᴜqwa·m a′ɔŋqɔav ar a·vι′tc‘ pʊ·′ruq·ᴡɪpïγa. ïvʷi′yaγap·ɪ, a′ip·ïχa tïvʷa′ts·, a′itcïaramɪ nï̹wu′ʀᴜqwαt·uγwαp·ųn·ι′mɪqu’m‘. m·ʷα′va·’m ųnι′ŋuts· paï′k·ᴀpuvʷ’an’nαm am·ʊ·′vʷa’m avi′ŋᴜpïγaic·’ïm‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ qa·′p·ïγa ɔχɔ′tsˢiy’aq·‘, nï̹′niᴀ tᴜˣqu′q·aitcɔχɔχwaiva·n·anïm‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtsiŋum‘. a′iγaic·uaŋ’am‘ ma·n·ɔ′arup·ïγaiyaŋ’am‘ i′yat·ïa’amï ma·n·ɔ′arup·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsï’m‘ nιŋwu′a·m aʀ pʊ·′ruq·ᴡɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ tï′vʷats a′ip·ïγa, aγa′n·ιŋuntca’ i′mɪ nïχa·′ᵃva·’t·ïm· aintc‘ pᴀˣqą′umpa·ntïn aintc‘ cʊ·′q·ᴜpιy an·ι′k̯· i′m ɔγɔ′tsai’yaq·ιχaiva·ntï. tïvʷι′c· ɹ’ ɔχɔ′tsai’yaq·ait·ɪ‘qaŋ’ᴡɪpïγa’aim‘.

ma·m·u′c·ᴜ qan·ι′′am ’a′ura‘ paiyι′ŋᴜpïγa mava·′′am‘ qan·ι′va‘ pι′tcɪpïγa’aim‘. ųnι′ŋuts· ma·n·ɔ′q̓·ɔαm·’ïm‘ nιŋwï′m·aŋ’up·ïγaiyam’ïm‘. pina′ŋqw am·ï′ŋwantï cιna′ŋwavι a′ivaiyaŋwï̹ a·tcï′‘ kwɪ‘tu′′x·ᴜpa·’aŋ‘ tsι′nι′x·ɪk̯antï‘ cιna′ŋwavι‘ tᴀ‘qwι′mpᴜˣqwιŋq‘pïγa’aik·w. ųni′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ sιna′ŋwaφɪ qwïrï′k·ɪpïγa. ųnι′tcï a′ip·ïγa, ᴀ‘pï′′ⁱk̯·ain‘. iva·′n·’ιan·ιχain·ι a′ïφɪ naγu′q·wιŋqït̓·uaiʏï.

14. Eagle as Suitor.

sivi′ntïvʷιp·ïvʷα‘ qwa·nants· pι′tcɪpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· qa·n·ι′ ava′′an·ai‘ pï̹nι′k̯·arïp·ïγaiyaq·‘ qan·ι′aγantï‘. ma·′m·a’ɔtsιŋwï̹‘ qa·n·ι uvʷι′mɪtux·w ts·pi′ŋum·intï‘ pï̹n·i′k̯·ai’yuŋᴡᴀ na·ruχw a′iŋum·ιnïmpïγa, umʷα′ŋᴀ maa′inʸɪˣk̯ant um·α′ŋaxain·ι‘, a′ip·ïγa ma·m·a′′utsï‘ ts·pi′ŋum·iŋq̓uŋw qa·n·ι uvʷi′mɪtux·w. pina′ŋqw ųnι′k̯·aruˣcu′uŋw[161] aŋa′ruq·ᴡᴀ qan·ι′aγantï uvʷa·′ntïmanaŋqw ma·m·a′′uts· ts·pι′ŋᴜpïγa. m·ʷα′ŋa·q·‘ maa′in·in·a‘ait·ï, a′ip·ïγa na·ru′x·ᴡᴀ. ųnι′ŋuts· tïvʷa′im·ik·ᴜpïγa paiya·′ᵃvi ųna′p̓·aŋᴡɪ. ųnι′ŋuts ‘an·a·′x·ɪ pι′tcɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ moa·′ŋ· aŋ‘ ma·m·a′′utsï‘ nιa·′ᵃvιŋ’wa·m· ɔrɔ′′ᵃp·ïγa.[162] maŋa′c·ᴜ mam·a′′uts aŋ‘ ma·n·ɔ′q·oαm tuʊ·′′ainïmpïγa ‘a′ivam·ï‘ qan·ι′γantïm·ï aŋa′c·ᴜ nιa·′ᵃvιŋ’wa·m· aŋ a′ip·ïγa qwa·na′ntsι aŋarux·w, imi′aŋ‘ piŋwa′xaiva·ŋ‘ pätcï′anɪ qwu′k̯·arï w’a′xarux·w pï̹nι′k̯·arïχa‘. m·ʷα′va.iyuaŋ o′′ᵘ qwu·′t·ïŋwαp·ïγaiyaŋ‘ qwa·n·a′ntc aŋ‘ qwu′k̯·arï w’a′xarux·w na·ᵃva′c·ᴜ pï̹nι′k̯·arïp·ïγa qwa·n·a′ntsï aŋ wï‘cι′a·ŋ‘

Panther) with their hands. When they had done so, they reached in vain, and the rock was crushed to pieces. That Wolf said, "Alas for us two brothers! It seems that we are to be killed." And on a dead log that was lying on the ground the two of them lay down in front of the Bluejays. Those reached down to hold them with their hands, but, having so done, they reached in vain, and the dead log that was lying on the ground was crushed to pieces. "Alas!" said Wolf, "that we two are just about to be beaten." And then the two of them lay down again on ice in front of the (Bluejays). That Mountain Bluejay sang, "O you, who are destined to be a panther-hide hat when we have killed you!" So saying, they reached down to hold them with their hands, but it was in vain that they reached for them. When they had done this, their bodies were shattered to pieces. That Wolf said, "What has become of you, you who say that you are greater than I, you who say that you are about to kill me? Ill-advisedly do you act, who are destined to be a mountain bluejay." And, sure enough, the two of them turned into mountain bluejays.

Those, (Wolf and Panther), started back towards their house, and there at the house they arrived. And then they caused all of (their people who had been slain) to come to life again. After a while some one from among Coyote's companions, while walking along, tilted up with his foot the bow that was stuck through Coyote's anus. When he had done so, Coyote arose. And then he said, "I must have been sleeping. Right here was I now engaged in fighting."

14. Eagle as Suitor.[66]

Eagle arrived in the country of the Sibit[67] Indians. And then he sat and watched the village from above the houses. As he saw the young women going out of the houses now and then, he would say to himself, "That one too has been touched," said he, whenever a young woman would come out of the house. After he had sat and done this for some time, a young woman came out under him from the village yonder. "That one it is who has not been touched," said he to himself. And then he started to go down, descending the hill, and then he arrived inside the (house). That father of the young woman was their chief. The young woman was wont to refuse all of the young men that lived in the village. That chief of theirs said to Eagle, "You shall have my daughter as your wife if you sit and look right through the smoke." So he locked him up there in the smoke,[68] but Eagle sat and looked right through the smoke as though it were

tʊ·′t̓·uαŋᴜpïγa. u′vʷaïyauq·ʽ qwï′ⁱḳ·arïʽ tsïmι′u’na·uŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·ʽ nιa·′ᵃv aŋʽ. ïvʷïc·ca·ŋ o′′ᵘ piŋwa′xaiyaŋʽ pa·tcï′n· aŋʽ, a′ip·ïγa nι′a·φɪ. qwa·n·a′nts aŋʽ ma·m·a′′utsïʽ piŋwa′rιŋup·ïγa.

maŋas· ï′vʷaiyauq·ʽ c·cι′naŋwavιya·’q·ut̓·uαc·amp aŋʽ cïna′ŋwaviŋḳaiväte ι·′tcuq· a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷι′y’aŋw ʽa′ïvʷιŋwavït̓s uŋwᴀ nan·a′c·’o·q·ᴜpiniya·’aŋw a·n·i′ŋqïq·ʽ. ïvʷi′y’aŋw yaa′it·ïγa·ŋqïq̓·aŋw, a′ip·ïγa maŋa′c·ᴜ cïna′ŋwav aŋʽ. m·a′ᴜp̓a’ o′′ᵘ qwa·n·a′nts aŋʽ yaa′iŋqʽt̓uap·ïγa mona′tsιγantïaŋ aŋʽ qa·mï′xw’ɔin·a·ŋʽ nɔ·′p·aiyιk·ɪpïγa. ụnι′ŋuts ᵘ’u′vʷaʽ so·′p·a·r’ɔαp·ïγa qwa·n·a′ntc aŋ ava·′ntux·wpïγa co·′q·uc·ᴜ qa·m·ï′ʽ yaŋwι′m’mιap·ïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ cιna′ŋwav aŋ a′ip·ïγa, pïmpï′n’ɪx̯ḳa.iya·ŋ a′ïvʷιŋwavïtc aŋʽ cʊ·′q·uc·ᴜ qam·ï′φʷᴀˣqa·q·aʽ. ïvʷï′ya·ŋʽ qan·ι ama′ntux·w nampa′n·antsιγa·ŋqïq·a·ŋʽ. tïvʷιc· o′′ᵘ m·ʷa′ᴜp̓a’ᵃ qa·n·ï′ ᵃ’a′uraʽ *yo·′n’nιŋup·ïγa* qwa·n·a′nts· nïŋwï′vʷιnaŋqw ᵘ’u′mpʷιc· a·n·ι′ḳ·aip·ïγain·ιʽ. qa·n·ι′a·m· ᴀˣqa′n·aŋqwɔp·a·m·ï tïʽtï′xaiŋu’q·w qwa·n·a′nts· na·ᵃva′c· ʽa·m·u′ˣᴜp̓a·’q·waiŋup·ïγa qan·ι′va pιtcɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ cïna′ŋwaφɪ, ïvʷι′ya·ŋʽ nana′ŋwïnaiŋqïqa·ŋʽ. mava·′ntuγwa·m·ï ma·n·ɔ′q·oαmʽ nu’α′p·ïγaiyamʽ qwa·n·a′nts·. cιna′ŋwav a′ip·ïγaic·ᴜ, ïvʷι′a·ŋʽ na·ru′n’naŋqïq·a·ŋʽ. mava·′ntuγwa·mʽ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ tɔʽpa′raip·ïγa. ụni′ḳ·aγaɪʽcuaŋʽ qwa·n·a′ntsïʽ naŋa′i’ait̓·uιk·ʽpïγaiyaŋʽ.

ιvä·′ntuγwaq̓·wanʽ qa′tcʽ sụma′.iŋwa’ᵃ. tïvʷι′ts· pa’a′t·ɔγɔnt ’uraro′′ ι′ιtcï tïχwι·′n·ap· aʀï.

15. Rattlesnake as Story-teller.

m·α′vaʽ mam·a′′uts· qan·ι′γaip·ïγa waa·′q·ᴜ tuwa′tsιŋwuŋ’waiφï. maŋa′c·ᴜ tuwa′tsaŋ aŋʽ tïχwι·′n·at·ïvʷιtcʽpïχai’ιŋw piya′iyaφ. ụn·ι′ts· pιya·′ŋ aŋ a′ip·ïγa, tɔxɔ′′m uŋw a′iχwa’ᵃ tïχwι·′n·at·ïvʷιtcuχwai’ιŋw. ụ·′ma.i, a′ip·ïγa tuwa′t̓sιŋw. tɔγɔ′nɪ tïχwι·′n·aŋqïnɪ, a′ip·ïγa. ụ·′ma.i, a′ip·ïγa tɔχɔ′aŋʽ. piya′ʀᴜˣqwa·ᵃχιt̓·ïmɪ aŋqa′χwιc·ᴀ tɔ·′χwa·ᵃχwιc·ᴀ, a′ip·ïγa. maŋa′c· a′ip·ats· paiyι′k·wᵊ’aip·ïγa piya′vatcuχwαφ. maŋa′c·ᴜ piya·′ŋʽ tïvʷι′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋʽ, tïγwι·′n·aŋqïr’ua·ŋa’mɪ tɔxɔ·′′m uŋwᴀ, a′ip·ïγa. ᵘ’u′ŋʽw aik·* piya′ʀᴜˣqwa·ᵃχιt̓·ïmɪ aŋqa′χwιc·ᴀ tɔ·′γa·ᵃγwιc·ᴀ, a′iyaŋ ʽaik·*, a′ip·ïγa. ʽa·n·ɔ′q·ɔχwa·ŋ’wan ụni′k·*, a′iŋᴜpïγa. ɔvι′ʽ qwïï′ts uŋwa′vatcuγwaŋqw’aip·ïγa ụnι′ŋuts·. ʽan·ɔ′q·ɔχwan·ι’ ụnι′k·*, a′iŋᴜpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ tɔγɔ′av aŋʽ wïʽqwι′nta·ŋqʽpïγaiyaŋʽ tïʽqa′p·ïγa’aik· uvʷa·′ntux·w ma·m·a′′utsïʽ sι′ι′p·ïa·ŋʽ.

ụnic· a′inïmpïγa tïγwι·′n·aŋqïm·ιnïmpïγaiyaŋ a′ip·ätsïʽ. mava·′ntuγwa·ŋ’amʽ nava′φɪtsιŋw naŋwa′′q·uaŋa’m pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋa’mʽ. ụnι′ŋuts· pa·vι′tsιaŋ aŋ a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′′ŋw piyä′ram· uŋwᴀ tᴀʽta′q·wιvï-

nothing at all. Eagle's feathers turned black.[69] And then the chief poked out the smoking fire with a stick. "Do you, then, have my daughter for a wife," said the chief, and Eagle married the young woman.

And then that one, wont to be a coyote, though the others were not coyotes, said in the morning, "Do you all try different sorts of tests on the newly married one. Do you all make him hunt game," said that Coyote. Now Eagle was hunting through there along with the rest, but the rabbits that he had killed did his father-in-law carry home. And then they were gathered together yonder. Eagle came to that place and carried with him but one jack-rabbit. That Coyote said, "Do you all look at the newly married fellow, who has killed but one jack-rabbit. Do you all have a foot-race with him right up to the house." And so, sure enough, they started off through there to run towards the house, and Eagle, merely for fun, pretended to fall behind every one else. When they all got near the house, Eagle went right past them as though it were nothing at all, and arrived at the house. That Coyote (said), "Do you all wrestle with him." And Eagle threw all of them down one after another. Again said Coyote, "Do you all have a fist-fight with him." And he knocked them all down with his fist. After treating Eagle in this fashion, they made him angry.

At this point I do not remember further. This story is a very long one.

15. Rattlesnake as Story-teller.

A young woman was living there together with her two sons. That son of hers asked his mother to tell him a story. There, then, his mother said, "Go and tell your grandfather, go and ask him for a story." "All right," said the son. "My grandfather, tell me a story," said he. "All right," said his grandfather. "Under your mother flashes red, flashes purple," said he. That boy returned home to his mother. His mother asked him, "Did your grandfather tell you a story?" said she. "He said, 'Under your mother flashes red, flashes purple,' that is what he said," said he. "When did he do so to me?"[70] she exclaimed. Taking a stick, she then went off to him. When did you do so to me?" she exclaimed. That Rattlesnake[71] coiled around her. Ibi edit urinam feminae.[72]

He kept saying the same thing. He was always telling that story to the boy. At that place the two brothers killed both of the (babes their mother had given birth to). And then the elder brother said,

χw’aiŋw, a′iχ̯uaŋ‘ m·ʷα′va·ntuχwa·ŋ‘ tᴀ‘ta′q·wɩvïp·ïγaiyaŋ‘ pi′aiaφï. tɔχɔ′aruᴀ‘tsɩŋw αm‘ qa′tcᴜ paiï′‘pïäic·ᴜ pina′ŋqw am·u′vʷɩnaŋqw ïŋa·′’p·ɩts· ts·pi′ŋᴜpïγa. maŋa′c· ųni′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ paiyɩ′k·w’ɔip·ïγa. a′iťcïaŋwa’ᵃ, a′ip·ïγa pa·vi′aŋ aŋ‘. uvʷa·′ntux·ᴡᴀcutca·ŋanɪ cįmʷï′ˣ·qɩ’ŋᴡᴀ. ïvʷï′’ŋw ya·′xw’ai’ŋw tɔxɔ′aviŋw um‘ qatcu′’m iya′vaxava·ŋwai’m‘, a′ip·ïγa. maŋa′c· a′ix̯·ᴜcuaŋ‘ m·ʷα′ᴜpa’ᵃ ya·′χw’aip·ïγa’aiŋw ïŋa·′’p·ɩtsi‘. tɔχɔ′aviŋwï αm‘ tɔ‘tsi′v’antïa·m‘ tïra′ŋwantcɩp·aγᵋip·ïγa ya·′vaiyɩp·ïγaiyaŋ. ųnɩ′ŋuts· yaŋwɩ′m’mɩaχuaŋ‘ qwitca′ŋᴜpïγa. ųni′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ mava·′n·tuγwa·ŋ‘ cįmï′ˣ·qɩp·ïχaiyaŋ‘. ųnɩ′ŋuts· paiyï′k·ɪpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ pa·vɩ′tsiaŋ aŋ a′ip·ïχa, a′iťcïaŋwą’ ïŋa·′’p·ɩtsɩ uŋw aχa′n·ɩŋǫ’ŋw. nï′ntca·ŋ ’u′vʷa·ntuχwa’ŋw wįna′iˣk̯ɩ’ŋw, a′ip·ïγa. ïvʷï′’ŋwaxa’ᵃ ya·′xw’ai’ŋw, a′ip·ïγa pa·vɩ′tsiaŋ‘. maŋa′c· ’u′ˣ·ṗa·ŋ‘ ya·′γw’ɔip·ïγaiyaŋ‘ puvʷa·′ntuγwa·ŋaφï cįmʷï′ˣ·qain‘ uvʷa‘ pɩ′tcɪpïγa. tɔγɔ′avɩŋwaxain·ɩ uŋw tïrα′xuava·’m a·vɩ′p·ïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ paiyɩ′k·w’aip·ïγa o·′ṗ·ac·ᴜ. maŋa′c·ᴜ pa·vɩ′tsɩaŋ aŋ a′ip·ïγa, a′iťcaŋwą’ ïŋa·′’pɩtsɩ uŋw. uvʷa·′ntux·wcua·ŋanɪ cįmʷï′ᴀˣqɩťcaŋw tɔχɔ′avɩŋwïa’m uŋw uŋwa′ɔax·ɪtuχw’aɪn‘ paiį′ŋuŋwa’q·uc·. ïvʷï′uŋwaxa’ᵃ[163] ya·′χw’ai’ŋw tɔχɔ′aviŋwï um‘ tɔ‘tsi′v’antïa’m‘ tïra′ŋwantcɩp·aγᵋimpa‘, a′ip·ïγa. maŋac· uma′ᴜṗa’ŋw ya·′χw’aip·ïγa. ųnɩ′ŋuts· tɔγɔ′avɩŋwį‘ tɔ‘tsɩ′v’antïa’m‘ tïra′ŋwantcɩp·aγᵋip·ïγa. uvʷa·′ntuγwaŋ ųnɩ′ŋuts· ya·′vaiyɩp·ïγa.

qatcu′’q·wan ɩva·c·ųɪną′.iŋwa’ᵃ.[164]

16. Owl’s Widow’s Experiences with Skunk, Badger, and Hawk.

moo′p·utc aŋ umʷα′va‘ piŋwa′ŋw’aiφï qa·n·ɩ′γaip·ïγa’aim‘ tuwa′tsɩγaɪ‘pïγa’aim‘ so·′q·uc·ᴜ qa·m·u′vʷ’uɩtsɩ a·‘ nɩa·′ᵃγantï‘. moo′p·uts· qa·m·ï′y’ainïmpïγa tᴀ‘ci′p·aux·ᴜ pitcï′m·inïmpïγa. ųni′ŋumiŋk̯a‘ pi′tcïm·iŋk̯a ‘a′im·inïmpïγa, qam·u′vʷ’uɩts i′mɪ yu’ʷa′xɩyαm‘. maŋa′s·ᴜ piya·′ŋ‘ tï’mʷα′m·inïmpïγaiyam‘ qa·m·ï′ŋwį‘. ï‘tï′c·amp ųni′mɪpïγa ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ mǫǫ′n·aṗ·ïŋw αŋ ųni′χ̯a‘ yaa′iχ̯a‘ qam·o′aantsɩŋwį‘[165] ma·γa′mɪpïγaiyam‘ na·n·ɔ·rï′ac· ᵃ’a′t·ïŋwaŋwïa’aŋw tï‘qa′m·ɪpïγa. pina′ŋqw piŋwa·′ŋ‘ yaa′iŋqw’aik̯·a·q·oaŋ‘ qan·ɩ′a·ŋ ava·′ᵃntux·wpïγa qa·m·ï′ŋw ųnɩ′ŋuts· wï‘qa′m’ᴍɪ‘k̯antïm·į‘ maa′ip·ïγa. a′ik·w, ⁱ’i′m·ïar′ua·m·ïram a·′χaŋwantcɩŋqïmɪ‘k̯a‘, a′ip·ïγa tï‘qa′xa’aim‘ mam·ï′ŋwantï‘. ɔɔ′vï‘ tᴀˣqa′.iyuŋwɪtsíq·w nïvʷa′ʀᴀ‘tɔn’ɴɪ‘tïava·q̇·oαŋw wa′aᵘŋwťuip·ïγa. paiyɩ′q·w’aip·ïγa’aim‘ qan·ɩ′vä·ntuχwa·m·uφ.

"Go ahead! go and squeeze our mother by stepping on her," and when he had said this, (the other) there stepped on his mother and squeezed her several times. The rattlesnake children (that came out of her) were numerous. After a while a human baby came out after them. When (the baby) did this, that (younger brother) returned home. "What did you do with him?" said his elder brother. "I left him there at the same place and came home." "Go ahead! go and fetch him, and you shall not be afraid of the rattlesnakes," said he. When he had said this, that one went through there to fetch him. He stepped on the heads of the rattlesnakes as he walked along, and returned with the (baby). And then, as he was carrying him along, (infans) defaecavit. When he had done so, he left him at that place. And then he came back home. That elder brother of his said, "What did you with the baby?" "I threw him down over there and came away," said he. "Do you, then, go and fetch him," said his elder brother. That one went off in yonder direction to fetch him from where he had left him, and there he arrived. Truly (the baby) was lying right among the rattlesnakes, (so) that one went back home. That elder brother of his said, "What have you done with the baby?" "I left him at that same place and came away, as the rattlesnakes were in great numbers round about him." "Do you go, then, and fetch him, and you shall step on the rattlesnakes' heads as you go along," said he. That one went off in yonder direction to fetch him. And then he stepped on the rattlesnakes' heads as he went along. Then he returned to yonder place with him.

I do not remember the (story) from this point.

16. OWL'S WIDOW'S EXPERIENCES WITH SKUNK, BADGER, AND HAWK.

Hooting Owl was living there with his wife. They had one son whose name was Rabbit-eye. Hooting Owl used to hunt rabbits and he would arrive home in the evening. Whenever he did so, whenever he would return, he used to say, "You, Rabbit-eye, come and take them away." That mother of the (boy's) would roast the jack-rabbits in the ashes. The old Hooting Owl was wont always to do thus when he was engaged in hunting; he used to give them young jack-rabbits, but he always ate the good ones himself. After a while, when he had gone out hunting, his wife went to his house, and then she found jack-rabbits which had been covered up. "Oh!" It seems that he has been always hiding these from us," said she, and she ate some of them. Having split bones in two by hitting them on a stone, ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ cïa′p·ï‘ pitci′t·ïŋwavaχap·ïγa nïvʷa′ʀᴀ‘tɔn′ɴɪ‘tïŋwava‘pïγa. ųni′χ̧′uŋw ṗo·′γuˣ·ᴀpïγain·ι ɔɔ′v aʀ nampa′ia·ŋ a′a′xarux·w. ųnι′ŋuts· tυ·γwa′nᴜ pᴀ‘pa′q·ᴀpïγa. qa·tcu′tcan axa′r′ɔαŋwï′ap·ac·ᴜ tᴀ‘ci′n·′aik̯·ain‘. ųnι′ŋᴜt̓sι·ŋwanɪ pï̜nι′k̯·aɪ‘tu′ⁱ, a′ip·ïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ pιŋwa·′ŋ‘ pï̜nι′k̯·aiχ̧w′aip·ïγaiyaŋ′am‘. ts·pɔ·′ŋ·qïq̓·wαnɪ, a′ip·ïγa moo′p·ïⁱts·. maŋa′c· ųna·′ᵃγιt·uγwa·q·‘ tsi′a·ᵘʳwιtc‘pïγa nampa′iya·ŋ‘. maŋac· ï′vʷaiyauq·‘ moo′p·uts a′ip·ïγa, ya′a′ik̯·a·ŋanɪ qᴜ‘tca′p·ɔ·t·ɔˣqwarïm·ï·aŋan uŋw pï̜nι′k̯·aiŋq‘t̓uιχw′aiva‘. qa′tcᴜ cïna′ŋwavι′ap·ai‘ qa′tcᴜ pǫ·nι′a·′ρ·ai‘ ųŋ uru′′ᵃ tümpʷι′t·ᴜˣqwat·uγwat̓·uiŋqïqw′aiva·ntïaŋanɪ qa′tc ï̜na′mputsι′ap·ai ųŋ uru′′ᵃ tïvʷι′p·uruq·ᴡᴀtux·wt̓uiŋqïq·w′aiva·ntïaŋanɪ.

pinaŋq ‘o′′ᵘ ya′a′ip·ïγa moo′p·uts·. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ mava·′ᵃntuχwa·ŋ′am‘ cï̜m·ï′x·qwa′ᵃⁱpïγa °′o′ˣ·ṗa·m‘ pa·γᵃi′m′mιap·ïγa. ųni′ŋᴜtsï′m‘ pǫ·nι′aï̜‘ qan·ι′va·ŋ′am‘ pi′tcïχwa′aip·ïγa. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ pǫ·nï̜′‘ qanι′vaŋwaiyuφ ᴜ‘cu′q·wιχ̧a·p·ïγa pǫ·nι′avuruχwa‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ piya·′ŋ‘ qan·ι′on·aŋqɔp·‘ cïï′ʀᴜˣqwaʀᴜpïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ mam·a′′uts a′ip·ïγa, uvʷa·′ntux·wcutca·ŋ′anïmɪ cï̜m·ï̜′αk·ɪ tïŋqa′nιvïaiya′ŋw. ïvʷi′ya·q·αxa′ᵃ tï′ŋwιn·ï̜ aχï′m·aŋwιt·ux·w qatcu′′uŋw pï̜ni′ŋw′aq·ho′ŋw[166] pǫnι′aiy aŋ‘ ιvä·′yï′yαm‘[167] tuγu′ntuγwaŋ′um‘, a′ip·ïγa ma′m·a′ᵃcaγwᵓits·. pina′ŋqw yaγa′p·ïγa. ‘a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγain·ι‘ ponï̜′ᴀ, aγa′n·ιŋutsιŋw′ a′ik·ˣ piya′nɪ qatcu ma′.im·ιŋw′ait·ï a′iγaic·ųn·ι uvʷι′mɪtuγwaŋup·ïγa qan·ι′aφ. ᵃxa′n·ιŋutsï aik·ˣ yaxa′xa‘ piya′nɪ, a′ip·ïγa pǫnï̜′ᴀ. nava′c·u′an a′ik·ˣ yaxa′xa‘, a′ip·ïγa piya·′ŋ‘. qa′tcᴜ, tïntï′n·ιaŋqït̓uatsa·m·ιn·ᴏᴀ, a′ip·ïγa pǫ·nï̜′ᴀ. qatc, a′ï′an aik·ˣ, iva′′a·ŋ‘ mam·a′′uts· qarï′q·a‘. qa·′tcᴜ, m·ʷα′rï′ aru′ᵃ nï̜′ni pυ·′ṗ·an‘ y′u′xwanι·′ⁱnᴀ, a′ip·ïγa piya·′ŋ‘. qa·′tcᴜ, mam·a′′utc an·ι′k̯·arïq·a‘ ρaï′ŋqwιɔ́q·wɪk̯aiyaq·aiyaq·‘. a′iγaic·′uŋwᴀ piya′iyaφ qwïï′p·ïγa pïvʷą·′waxain·ι uʀ qarï′n·′aŋw tca·′ᵃχwι′ɔq·ɪ‘k̯a‘. an·ι′an aik̯·, a′ip·ïγa. mam·a′′utsï‘ pïvʷa‘ qarï′q·ain, a′ian ′ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ. u′vʷaiyauq· ųnι′ŋuts· maŋa′c·ᴜ piya·′ŋ aŋa′ruχwa′q·ᴡᴀ tïnι′ᴀ‘pïγai′q·w. uvʷa′‘cuya′ᵃ tïŋqa′nιvïaiyav ųn·a·′x·ɪ ya′a′ik·wa′ in·i′′a·m· uŋw, a′ip·ïγa.

‘ųnι′ŋuts· pɔ·nι′‘ nana′q·oaŋᴜpïγa qatcu′′ᵘq·w naŋwą′i′yam‘ pï̜ni′n·a′aip·ïγa. ′u′vʷaiyauq·‘ tïvʷι′ts· mιyɔma·′x·ᴀ ɴᴀˣqwɔ′aŋup·ïγa.

she stood them up at the place where he was accustomed to shake his feet free of snow. The two of them went back to their house.

After sunset that (Hooting Owl) made a noise as he arrived, he made a noise of shaking off snow from his feet. As he did so, the bones sounded as though they went right through his feet, and then at night he groaned with pain. "I do not know what has happened to me. My feet must have burned from intense cold. And now let him come and see me," said he. His wife and (her son) went to see him. "Prick it out for me with a point," said Hooting Owl, but she pushed its sharp point further into his feet, and then the Hooting Owl said, "When I die, you shall let my (boy) go to see him who is light gray around his body,[73] not Coyote, not Skunk—he it is who will cause my (boy) to be going under the rocks—, not Badger—he it is who will cause my (boy) to go under the ground."

And so after a while died Hooting Owl. They left him at that place as they started away, and they travelled along in yonder direction. Then they went and arrived at Skunk's house. That Skunk was whistling a tune at his house while making skunk-blankets. His mother was sitting outside the house making a basket of squaw-bush twigs. The young woman said, "We have left him yonder in the cave that is his house, and have come here." "Then do you quickly go away from here before Skunk sees you. Do you two start to go up from here," said the old woman. After a while she cried. "Oh!" thought Skunk, "I wonder what has happened to my mother that she does that, who has never acted like that before." And when he thought this, he went outside of his house. "What has happened to you, my mother, that you are doing this, crying?" said Skunk. "I am just crying like this for fun," said his mother. "No! someone has told you something," said Skunk. "No! that is what I say, a young woman must have been sitting here." "No! it is because of the way in which I have been moving around," said his mother. "No! it is a young woman that must have been sitting, it is smooth and hollow." So saying, he picked up his mother, and the place where she for her part had been seated was marked with wrinkles. "What did I say!" he said. " 'It is a young woman that has been sitting here,' that, indeed, is what I said." And then that mother of his told him about it. "In that same place, she says, in his cave house, has your relative died," said she.

And then Skunk set to tracking about in various directions, but he did not discover their tracks. And then he looked for tracks,

'u'vʷa·m·ïxain·ι‛ naŋwa'ťιḵ·a.im‛ navι''ᵋtsιŋw. ᵘ'u'‛·ṗa·m ųnιŋuts· nantï'naγwa'aip·ïγaiyam‛. 'u'vʷa·m‛ wᴀ‛tsι'ŋᴜpïγa aγa'x·ᴜṗa·ŋan ųnιḵ· ųnι'ť·uiŋqïγaiyaŋan‛. qatcu'ruax·qa'ᵃ qan·ι'anɪ pį̈nι'ŋwa'ᵃ, a'ip·ïγamaa'iyɔn'an·ιχ̯aiyaŋ‛. ųni'n'nιx̯·ᴜcuaŋ‛ mam·a''uts· taχa'vaya·va·ntïaφ ṗɔ'avιŋwï‛ mantsa'ŋwιnap·ïγa. ⁱyɛ't·uq·wa.u‛[168] na·χa'ŋw. ų'mą.i‛, ιtcï'n·ιχ̯a'ᵃ pϙn·ι'avun· aʀ naxa·'ᵃŋ'wį̈nιŋqï. pϙnį'ᴀ moi'ın'mιarï‛ na·'χai‛ qᴜ‛qwι'p·ïγa. ųnι'ts a'ip·ïγa, ι'tc a'ip·atsι‛ qwi·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔmp‛ ιtcï''c·a'ᵃ piya'ï'yaŋw qwι·'n·ɔrɔ'omp ιtcï'xain·ι‛ piya'n·ι‛[169] qwι·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔmp‛ ιtcï''ca'ᵃ nį'nιᴀ qwι·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔmp‛, a'ip·ïγa qᴜ‛qu'q·wιχ̯aiyam‛ na·χa'ŋwįᴀ. pį̈ni'ḵ·aiŋuminkuaŋ‛ mava'ᴀco'om‛ wį̈nï'p·ïγa'aim‛ na·χa·'ᵘŋwį̈nïχ̯aiyaq·am‛ a·m·ʋ·'ᵘraiŋqw'aip·ïγa.[170] ųnιtc a'ip·ïγa, qɔχɔ''itca·m·ïnɪ, a'ip·ïγa ᴜ‛tcu'mιḵa.i‛ mιrʋ·'n·'uχwa‛. ïrï'‛, i·'ṗ·iŋwaiarúamι' ųnι'k·ˣ c·ci'tcum'mιχ̯a‛. pï'ŋqaųnιp·ïγa'aiŋw a'ix̯ᴜcamṗaŋw. pina'ŋqw moro''i‛ maï'mpun·a·ŋqïp·ïγa. ųnι'ŋᴜqwa'ŋw wï‛cɛ'rampïaxain·ι‛ pϙnį'avï'ιŋw tɔγɔ'tsi'ať·ιḵ·aiḵ·a‛. a'ik·w, aip·ïγa pϙ·nį'ᴀ. ųnι'ŋuts· na·γa'γɔχɔ'ιḵ·ain·av ųmu'uraiŋqw'aip·ïγa ᴜˣqwι'yuŋwaxain·ι uʀ ṗɔ'avιŋwį̈‛ tɔ‛tɔ'tcaŋqïaq·aɪ‛pïγa. tïvʷι't·n̥nι naŋa'ï'aip·ïγa pϙnį'ᴀ nantï'naγwa'aip·ïγa'aim. ųnι'ŋuts· ma·m·u'c·ᴜ tsιá'mpιyua·ť·ιp·ïγa'aim‛ navι'n·a·x·ɪ. pϙni'ᴀ nantï'nᴀpïγa'aim' tsι'α'mpιvïaŋ aʀ ts·pa'γᵋitcap·ïγaiyaŋ‛ pϙnι'avïaŋ aʀ ma·n·ɔ'n·ι pa·γa'iťcaip·ïγa. ųnι'ŋuts· naŋa'ï'aip·ïγa o·'p·ïγa. ųnι'ŋuts· paiyι'q̇·wɔip·ïγa o·ṗ·ac· qa·n·ι'vä·ntuγwαφ. a'ik·wɪ, a'ip·ïγa a'ip·äts aŋ‛ pι·'vunιḵ·a.iŋuts·, piyαnɪ ųŋwa'rïram aʀ tcʋ·χwι·'ⁱram‛. ų·'mą.i, aip·ïγa piya·'ŋ‛, ïvʷι'n·ιa'axa' an·ι'm·ι'ᵃ wᵃ'a'p·ïaxantï a'a'ura‛. ma·rï'c· ‛a·'ᵃtcuγwa‛pïγain·ιa·m‛. pιya·'ŋ aŋ a'ip·ïγa, qatcu anι'ḵ·ųŋwα'ŋw'ait·ï pϙnį'aⁱ'y uŋwaru'' o·'ṗ·uŋw. a'ip·ats aŋ‛ na·m·ï'ⁱ'aip·ïγa a·χa'iŋᴜ‛tsi'q·w o·'p·ï‛. piya·'ŋ aŋ‛ ųnιs· an·ι'ŋᴜpïγai'q·w naŋwa·'aim‛ yá'a'ip·ïγa.

m·ʷα'va į̈nα'mputc aŋ‛ qan·ι'χ̯aip·ïγa tιwa'tsιŋwιŋw'aiφ. i·'tcuq· a'ip·ïγa, qa·tcu'tcan 'a't·ïn·ɔn·ɔs·ιáap·ᴀ ιvä·''amïn· aik·ˣ yua·'va a·vι'χ̯'um‛ navι''ᵃtsιŋwį̈‛, a'iγuαŋ a·vι'tsιtcï umʷα'ntux·w yo·'n'nιŋup·ïγa tuwa'tsιŋwį̈aŋ‛. pį̈n·ι'n'uiḵ·aip·ïγa a·m· avι'tsιtcï‛. ɔvi'mpimpin·ara‛putsιŋw αŋ a·m·u'vʷιnaŋqw am·ᴀ pιtcï'χw'aip·ïγa. ųnι'-

circling far around. Yonder, indeed, appeared the tracks of mother and child. In that direction, then, he went and followed them up, and yonder he caught up with them. "Where are you taking him to like that? Where are you taking him to, pray, causing him to be like that? Did you not see my house?" said he, as he held his arms around her. Cum ille ita ei faceret, femina pediculos inter crura cepit et abjecit. "Off through here are mountain sheep."[74] "All right! Stand, then, my dear, covered with this skunk-blanket of mine." Skunk shot the mountain sheep that was moving along in the lead. Then he said, "This is the boy's blanket. And this is his mother's blanket, while this is my mother's blanket, and this is my own blanket," said he as he kept shooting the mountain sheep. As he now and then took a look, the two of them, (mother and child), were standing in that same place covered with the blanket. He went towards them. Then he said, "I have killed them," said he, with his eyes closed and rubbing his chin against them. "Don't! Are you wont to do that to your old husband, always pinching him?" In spite of his saying that, it kept on happening to him in that way. After a while he lifted up the blanket from them, and when he had done so, it turned out that his skunk-blanket had been caused to cover a bush cactus. "Oh!" said Skunk, and then he went towards the mountain sheep that he had killed. His arrows, it turned out, had lice on their points, one on each. Skunk was exceedingly angry and followed in their tracks. And then the two of them caused to arise behind them a plain covered with wild rose bushes. Skunk followed them up, but the wild rose bushes scratched him and all of his skunk-blanket was scratched up to tatters. Then he was angry; et pepedit. And then he turned back home to his house. "Oh!" said the boy, when he had looked back, "my mother! A rain storm is approaching us." "All right," said his mother. Do you, then, hurry along towards the cedar grove." That storm appeared to be gradually approaching them, and his mother said, "It is not really raining. Podex est viverrae. The boy died first, having taken the wind in at one gulp, and his mother had the same experience with it. Both of them died.

There dwelt Badger together with his sons. In the morning he said, "I have not been dreaming well, seeing that here in the plain, I say, mother and son are lying." When he said that, his boys ran off on to the little ridge. They stood on the little ridge and looked. The very tiniest boy of his family arrived on it behind them. Then

ŋuts a′ip·ïγa, uwɛ·+n‘[171] yua·′ᵃγantüimpα a·′vιtcïm·ïn·ιa’ᵃm‘ na′yaɸᴀˣqa‘, a′ip·ïγa. yo·′n·’ιŋup·ïγa qan·ι′va·nt‘ux·ᴡ. maŋa′c·ᴜ mo′a·m‘ tïvʷι′ŋᴜpïγaiyam‘. ʋ·′+vʷ, a′ip·ïγa, maa·′v ‘a·′vιtcïn·ι naya′vai‘, a′ik·ᴀpïγa. an·ι′an ‘aik̂·, a′ip·ïγa i̥na′mputs·. tïvʷι′p·u u̦nι′ŋuts· *ᴀ‘sι·′a·rᴜˣqwa·γιᴍɪ‘kup·ïγa.* ma·m·uvʷ u̦nι′ŋuts· pι′tcιχw’aip·ïγa mava·′aiʏᴜ pu(w)am aip·ïγa.[172] a′ip·atsi‘ na·m·ï″aiʏᴜt‘uiŋup·ïγa. u̦nι′ŋuts· piya′iya·ŋ aŋa′vιnaŋqw ’a′iʏᴜt‘uiŋup·ïγa. u̦nι′ŋuts i̥na′mputs a′ip·ïγa, t‘ɔmp̓ɔ′q·ɔivïm·αnɪ[173] tïvʷι′c·ι’ⁱ. ni̥mʷι′χ̦wa’ᵃ qa·′tcᴜ wï‘cι·′a·mantï’aŋᴡ tᴜ‘tu′vʷιtcaŋwa̜’, a′ip·ïγa ma·m·a″uts·. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ pï′ŋqamaip·ïγa, tɔmpɔ′q·ɔivïm·αn‘ tïvʷι′c·ι‘ⁱ. imp̓ï′a’ ‘im·ï aik·ˣ tɔmp̓ɔ′q̓·ɔiv a′iχ̦a‘, a′ip·ïγa wïγï′mɔcɔamantïaɸ tca·n·ɔ′ŋqwa·ŋqïts·. ï′ï′ŋ ’ïŋ ’ï′ŋ‘, a′ip·ïγa, ⁱ’i′tcïa·q·‘ tɔmp̓ɔ′q·ɔiv ur a′in·anɪ. uvʷa·′ai‘ ma·n·ι′m’mιap·ïγa. ’ɔ′vʷaiyauq· u̦nι′ŋumï·ts a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′aŋan o·′p̓·a·ŋ u̦nι′m’mιat‘·uiŋqïcuaŋan ιvä′tcï t·ï·‘. a′mpaian·ι a′iʏᴜcampᴀ qatcu′aŋ‘ pi̥ni′t‘·uin·aivaᴀˣqa·ŋ‘ wι′ŋwaxantïmpaŋᴡɪtï‘ qa·′q·‘t‘u’αcampᴀ kiyα′ŋqïqat‘·uac·ampᴀ qatcʋ·′q̓·wa’ᵃm‘ s·ɔ·tsι′n·aiva’aq̓·wαm‘, a′ip·ïγa i̥nα′mputs·. mava·′i u̦nι′ŋuts· paiyï′q·w’aip·ïγa maŋa′c·ᴜ. u̦nι′ŋuts· ma·m·u′c·ᴜ m·ʷa′ᴜ‘p̓a’amιk·ᴜpïγa’aim‘. tïvʷι′c· o’ᵘ wι′ŋwaxantümpaŋwιt· a′mpaian·ι a′ip·ïγa. a′ik·ᴡɪ piya′nɪ ïvʷï″q·waranι‘ s·ɔ·tsi′k̂·aiva‘ miya″antsιc·ampᴀ, a′ip·ïγa a′ip·ats aŋ‘. qats ɛ′ia·ŋ ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ qon·o·′m’m uŋᴡ, a′ip·ïγa piya·′ŋ‘. a′iχ̦aic·ampaᴀˣqa’ᵃm·‘ s·ɔ·tsι′k̂·aip·ïγaiyaq·am‘ wι′ŋwaxantï‘. a′ik·ᴡɪ wa′n·untcan·q̣ᴀ s·ɔtsιŋᴜt‘u’ᵅ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa, p̓a′ïq·wanaŋwa’[174] p̓a′ïq·wanaŋwa’, a′ik̂·a̜uq·wa·m·‘ navι″atsιŋwi̥ pa′ïp·ɪ tümpʷa′ᴜp̓a’am‘ waya′‘pïγa.

maŋa′c i̥nα′mputs u̦nic· a′ip·ïγa, qatcu′tcan ’at·ïn·ɔnɔ′s·ιáp·‘. mam·u′c·ᴜ tuwa′tsιŋwïaŋ u̦ni′c· an·ιŋᴜpïγa. maŋa′c· ɔvi′mpimpin·ara‘putsιŋw u̦nic· a′ip·ïγa, wa·′+n‘ a·vi″yïm‘. maŋac· i̥na′mputs am·u′ɸ pι′tcïχwa’aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ. mava·′iyuαm‘ pɔα′m· aiŋqïpïγaic·uαm‘. u̦nic· a′ip·ïγa, tɔmp̓ɔ′q·ɔivïm·αnɪ tïvʷι′c·ι’ⁱ. mam·a″uts· pᴜ‘tcu′tcuγwap·ïγa’aik·w a′.in’naŋᴡ mava·′ai‘ man·ι′m’mιap·ïγaaic·ᴜ. u̦nι′ŋumï·ⁱts a′ip·ïγa, *cι̥na′ŋwav ’uŋᴡ yaa′iva·ntï.* qa′tc u̦ŋwa′ʀᴜcuáim’mιava·ŋwα̜’ qan·ιm·ana′ŋqwɔp·‘ mama′haγwɔitc[175] uŋᴡ qan·ι′χ̦aiva·ntï. ᵘ’u′r’a·q·‘ pïvʷa’ᵃm· uʀ pι′tcïχwa’aiva·n·a’am‘, a′ip·ïγa i̥na′mputs·. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ m·ʷa′ᴜp̓a·m·ιk·ᴜpïγa’aim‘ tïvʷιc· o″ᵘ cι̥nα′ŋwaɸɪ m·ʷα′va·ntï‘ ta·va′.iŋqït·uαp·ïγa. ᵃ‘a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa cι̥nα′ŋwaɸɪ, a·′mp̓ïroa·′q·aiva‘ qan·ι′vä·ntïn uʀ ma′m·ᵃ’autsιŋwi̥‘ kiyα′ŋqïqan’nαm‘ s·ʋ·′aɪ‘pin·ι aivä·ntï, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwaɸɪ. m·am·uc· o″ᵘ m·a′ᴜ‘p̓a·m·ιk·ᴜpïγaic·′um‘ cιna′ŋwavι′am· aŋ‘ qan·ι″ å′up̓·ap·ïγa’aim‘. mam·a″c·aγwɔitsiαm‘ qan·ι′vä‘ pιtcï′χwa’aip·ïγa.

he said, "Way over yonder on the plain it looks as though there are two lying," said he. They ran off towards the house, and that father of theirs asked them. "Way over there there seems to be something lying," said they. "What did I say?" said Badger. And then he started to travel under the surface of the earth. Then he came up to them and doctored them there. He first caused the boy to get well, and then after him he made his mother well. And then Badger said, "Pay me with feathers." "We two did not pluck out any of the feathers," said the woman. That one kept on saying, "Pay me with feathers." "What do you mean when you say feathers?" said she, as she pulled out some of her pubic hair. "Yes, yes, yes!" said he. "These are the feathers that I speak of." Then he did so while moving.[75] And then he said, "Go ahead! let him, my dear, travel in yonder direction away up from here. Even though there is a noise going on, you shall not let him look at it. Even though people are singing in the canyon, even though people are laughing, you two shall not peep at it," said Badger. And then he went back from there. Then they started off in that direction. Sure enough, there was a noise going on in the canyon. "O my mother! let us take a peep at it, only a little bit," said the boy. "No! That, indeed, is what your great-grandfather said," said his mother. Although they said that, they did peep at the canyon. "Oh! over there someone has taken a peep," said (those evil spirits). "Blood! blood!" As soon as they said this, blood flowed out of the mouths of mother and son.

The Badger said just as before, "I have not been dreaming well," and those sons of his did the same. The very tiniest one of all said the same thing, and over yonder they two are lying. Badger again went off and came to where they were. And again he doctored them. He said the same thing, "Pay me with feathers." The young woman understood what he meant, and again he did thus while moving. When he had done so, he said, "Coyote will be hunting, but you shall not pay any attention to him as you go along. On the other side of (Coyote's) camp an old woman will be dwelling, and that is where you are to arrive," said Badger. They started off on their way through there. Sure enough, Coyote was helping at that place to burn brush (in order to scare up rabbits). "Oh!" said Coyote. "Where my house is will be easily recognized by the noise, by the sound of women laughing as though they were happy," said Coyote. So the two of them started off again in that direction, but they passed by Coyote's house. They arrived at the house of the old woman, (who was Hawk's mother).

pina'ŋqwᴀ cɪna'ŋwaφɪ pɩ'tcïχwa'aip·ïγa ųnɩtc a'ip·ïγa, mam·a''ᵃs·aγwɔits ɩχ̯ïr uŋw c·ï'pu'vʷ'ain·ɩntsɩγaim·ɩ', a'ip·ïγa. qan·ɩ'a·ŋ' mam·a''acaγwɔitsi ava·'ntuγwaŋkɩχ̯a ųnɩtc a'ip·ïγa, imp̓ï'' ųnɩ'k̯·'i'vä·ntï' pį̈n·ɩ'k̯·arïχa' ⁱ'i'vä' pɩtcï'vʷa a'intcu'an 'aik·ˣ, a'ip·ïγa. pina'ŋqw maŋa'c· a'ip·ats· qa·m·į̈' ɔvɩ'nt'uαq·wɔip̓·ɩŋwį̈' piyɔ'xɔm'mɩaxa ųnɩ'ŋuts· pitcï'p·ïγa. aŋa'iac· a'ip·atsɩ aŋa'vatcï' naŋa'mpïn'ninɩmpïγa.[176] maŋa'c·uaŋ' qam·į̈' aŋ' tï'mα'p·ïγa. pina'ŋqwa·ŋ' ts·qwï'rɩ'nap·ïγa. ųnɩ'χ̯ua·ŋ'aŋ' qwɩ·'k̯·arï u'a'xarux·w qa·m·į̈'ŋwα̨' tu'u'm·αts· tca'ŋwïq·a·p·ïγa maŋa'c· a'ip·ats aŋ'. maŋa'c·ᴜ mam·a''uts, a'it'caŋw aγa'ᴜp̓a·'ŋw, a'ip·ïγain·ɩ'. i·'tcuq·ᴜ mam·a''ᵃsaγwɔits· ᴜˣqwa'n·ɔ·ᵓχw'ait'·uip·ïγaiyaŋ' tümpʷɩ'' tïn·a·'ᵃva·ntï' maŋa'c·ᴜ m·α'va·ntï ᴜˣqwa'p·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· qan·ɩ'a·ŋ' qï'ca'vɩ maa'ip·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· qanɩ'va·ntux·w paiyï'k·ɪpïγa. tuγwa'n' maŋa'c·ᴜ mam·a''uts· man·ɔ·'arup·ïγaiyaŋ' qï'ca'vɩ'. ᵃ'a'ik·w, aip·ïγa cɪna'ŋwaφɪ, 'a'iveyeyan'. qᴜ'qu'q·wɩχ̯a t·ï' tümpʷɩ'p·aiai 'ura'. i·'tcuq·ᴜ cɪna'ŋwaφɪ tïntï'γa·ŋqïpïγaiyaŋ'. cɪna'ŋwav a·tcï'a·ŋ' qᴜ'qu'q·wɪpïγa. ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cɪna'ŋwav a·tcï'aφ wį̈nï't'·uip·ïγa qï'ca'v'ɩq·w qᴜ'qwɩ'p·ïγa'aik·w. ųnɩ'ŋᴜqwa·ŋ' tcᴀ'tca'p·urux·wɪpïγain·ɩ'. ųnɩ'ŋuts· qaχa'iva·ᵃxant ᴜˣqu'mputcɩtcaiχw'aip·ïγa. maŋa'c·ᴜ piya·'ŋ a'ip·ïγa, cɪna'ŋwavɩtca·ŋ uŋwᴀ naŋa'i'ait'·ïɩŋqïaŋanɪ. ųnɩtc a'ip·ïγa, qɔ·'+n·ɩχ̯ɪn·ɩ' qɔ·'+n·ɩχ̯ɪn·ɩ'.[177]

17. Coyote and Porcupine.

cį̈na'ŋwaφɪ m·ʷα'va' qan·ɩ'χ̯aimɪ'pïγa piŋwa·'ŋ aŋ' cïï'x·ᴀ'tïvʷɩtcup·ïγaiyaŋ'. ųnɩt'c o''ᵘ cį̈na'ŋwaφɪ mʷa'ᴜp̓a'ᵃ sï·'γaχw'aip·ïγa 'u'vʷa·ntï' cïï'x·pïγa yį̈ŋï'mputs· m·ʷa'ᴜ'p̓a'ᵃ pa·χɩŋwa·'ᵃrux·wpïγa qᴜ'tcu'm' pa·q·waiä'ntux·w nu'ɩ'k̯·aip·ïγa. yį̈ŋï'mputs ųmu'ruγw a'ip·ïγa, paa'n· a·' nɔ·'γwɩnɪ. iŋa·''ᵃ. qa·'tcᴜ cᴜ·'yaŋ'. iŋa·''ᵃ. qa·'tcᴜ cᴜ·'yaŋ'. a'iχ̯uaŋ' ma·n·ɔ'n·ɩ' tᴜ'pʷi'p·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· cᴜ·'yuc·ᴜ piya'ɪ'pïγa. iŋa·'ᵃ'. ï'ï'ŋ', a'ip·ïγa yį̈ŋï'mputs·. ma·ŋa'φ qᴜ'tcu'mpɩy aŋ' pi'tcïpïγa. ųni'ts·. axa'va'aɪnɪ nɔ·'va·'mɪ, a'ip·ïγa qᴜ'tcu'mpi', ivä·'' ɔ·'a·va·'nαnɪ, a'ip·ïγa. qa·'tcᴜ, tïŋwï''ɩvä·nɪ nana'ŋwt'ɔn·ɔik̯·amɪ. axa'vʷ uvʷai', iva·'ᵃ' a·'p·an·a·ᵃva·nɪ. qa·'tcᴜ, tcɔtcɔ'mɔntïx·ɪk̯a'mɪ wï'ï'ik·uvʷa' pa·''axavatcux·w, a'ip·ïγa yį̈ŋï'mputs·. iva·'ᵃ'ᵃ naŋqa'vana·ᵃχɩnɪ. qa·'tcᴜ, naŋqa'vaŋwɪpantuχwɩχ̯'um' w'ï'ik·uvʷa' pa·'ᵃxavatcux·wᴀ. ma·n·u'n·ɩ nį̈ŋwï'a·ŋ aʀ tᴜ'pʷi'p·ïγa a'iχ̯uaŋ' ma·rï'c·αmpᴀ tümpa·'ᵃŋ aʀ piya'ɪ'pïγa. iva'ŋwį·'ⁱ tümpʷa'ianɪ, a'ip·ïγa qᴜ'tcu'mpi'. ï'ï'ŋᴀ, a'ip·ïγa yį̈ŋï'mputs·.

After a while Coyote arrived there, and then he said, "The old woman, indeed, is wont to have cold water," said he.[76] Having come to the old woman's house, (Hawk) said, "What are you doing right here, sitting and watching? 'You shall arrive here,' did I say that?" said he. After a while the boy, dragging along a jack-rabbit with its hair come loose, arrived. He kept looking angrily at that boy, (Owl's son). The (old woman) buried the jack-rabbit in the ashes to roast it, and after a while she raked it out with a stick. When she had done so, the Hawk (boy), taking the jack-rabbits, disappeared right through the smoke. The young woman thought, "In which direction has he gone?" In the morning the old woman caused her to go for wood, and she gathered wood there at the base of the cliff. And then she found Gray Hawk's house. Then she came back to (the old woman's) house. At night that young woman reached out her hands and held Gray Hawk down forcibly. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my comrade!" as he kept shooting up towards the side of the cliff.[77] In the morning Coyote had him engage in a contest with him. Coyote shot at (Hawk's) bow several times, and then Coyote stood up his own bow and Gray Hawk shot at it. As he did this, it seemed as though it were thrown about in different directions. Then mountains went up in dust and became level. That mother of his said, "Coyote, my dear, has made him angry." And then she said, "Come back, come back!"[78]

17. Coyote and Porcupine.[79]

Coyote was always living there. His wife asked him to go for squaw-bush twigs (for making baskets). So then Coyote went off in yonder direction in order to get squaw-bush twigs, and yonder he was gathering them. Porcupine was walking in that direction along the river shore. Buffalos were standing across the water. Porcupine said to them, "My aunt, ho! Come and carry me on your back." "This one?" "No, the other one." "This one?" "No! the other one." Speaking in this manner, he went through them all, and then only one was left over. "This one?" "Yes!" said Porcupine, and the Buffalo cow came up to him and then, "Where shall I carry you?" said the Buffalo cow, "here on my back?" "No! I'll fall off when you shake yourself." "Where, then? here between my horns?" "No! while you keep shaking your head, I shall drop off right into the water," said Porcupine. "Here inside of my ear?" "No! while you shake your ears, I shall drop off right into the water." All parts of her body were gone through as he spoke—only that mouth of hers

m·a'ᴜʻṗa' 'a'xaruχwamik·ᴜpïγa. a'itcaram ʋ·'vʷaiʻ, a'ip·ïγa yïŋï'mputs·. ⁱyɛ'n·uc·ᴜ qïŋwa·'ᵃva·'q·ʻ, a'ip·ïγa qᴜʻtcu'ɪmpiʻ. a'itcaram uvʷaiʻ. ⁱyɛ'n·uc·ᴜ tɔχᵓi't·ïrαχuava·'q·ʻ. a'itcaram uvʷaiʻ. qïŋwa·'ᵃva·'q·ʻ, a'ip·ïγa qᴜʻtcu'mpiʻ. a'itcaram u'vʷaiʻ. wïχa·'m·a·q·ʻ, a'ip·ïγa qᴜʻtcu'mpɩʻ. a'iχuaŋʻ qwᴀʻsɩ'xwɪʻpap·ïχaiyaq·ʻ piyï'a·ŋʻ. maŋa'c·ᴜ qa·'q̇·ɩŋᴜpïγa. ųni'ŋᴜqwa·ŋʻ maŋa'c·ᴜ tümpʷa'ᴜṗa·ŋʻ tᴀʻpu'q·wɪpïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts· mava·'nt́uγwa·ŋʻ pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïγa. ųnɩ'ŋuts·, impï'mᴀʻcɩaχwan·ϙᴀ tï·'ʸa·n·ints·, a'ivurup·ïγa wi·'p·ᴜʻcaχaiγaʻ yïŋï'mputs·. cɩna'ŋwaφɪ m·ʷα'va·ntïʻ sïʸï'χaχaʻ naŋqa'p·ïγa ampa'x·piᴀ. ʻa'ik·ᴡ, puwa'r'uaiyïruɔ́n·ɩχain·ɩʻ, a'ip·ïγa. pina'ŋqwa'q·ᴡ naŋqa'p·ïγaɪʻcʋ·'q·ᴡ. ųnitc a'ip·ïγa, tïvʷi'ts· pu'ar'uaiyïruɔn·ɩχain·ɩʻ. u'vʷaiyauq·ʻ ᵃ'a't·ïnaŋqap·ïγa'aik·ᴡ, impï'mᴀʻcɩaγwan·ϙᴀ tïʸa·'n·ints·, a'intcïχain·ɩ 'a'ik·ˣ. 'ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cɩna'ŋwav uma'ᴜʻṗa'ᵃt·ïʻ nampu'c·aγaɪʻkup·ïγa maŋa'vatcaŋwɩŋup·ïγa ųnɩ'ŋuts·. ųnitc a'ip·ïγa, qatcu'r'ua·ŋ·a'' ïa'vïanɪ pïn·ɩ'ŋwα̨'ᵅ. ųnɩ'ŋᴜt́sɩŋwα̨' ivä·'ntïʻ tᴀʻtcu'ʻpaŋumpïʻ, a'ip·ïγa cɩna'ŋwaφɪ. qatcu'a·ŋanɪ pïnɩ'ŋwα'ᵅ. pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜqwa'aiŋwα' i'mɪ, ųnɩ'ŋᴜt́sɩ' a'.i'ⁱ wɩɩ·'p·ᴜʻcaγa.iʻ. qa·'tcᴜ, impï'mᴀʻcɩaγwanϙᴀ wawa·'s·ɩväts· a'i'an aik·ˣ, a'ip·ïγa yïŋï'mputs·. qa·'tcᴜ, impï'mᴀʻcɩaγwan·ϙᴀ tïγa·'n·ints· a'i ïγïr ʻaik·ˣ, a'ip·ïγa cɩna'ŋwaφɪ. a'iχ·ᴜcuaŋʻ, ï'ï'ŋα ivä·'ntuγwαtca'anɪ pᴀˣqa'ŋ'uŋᴡ. ųnɩ'ŋᴜtsiaŋ aŋa'vatcuχwa·ŋᴀ cɩna'ŋwavɩʻ moi'p·ïγa.

'u'vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cɩna'ŋwav a'ip·ïγa, aŋa''va·xïaŋ 'uŋᴡ tᴀʻpu'q·wɩtcï tïvʷï·'ʻvʷïxaiva·q·ʻ, a'ip·ïγa cɩna'ŋwaφɪ. ʻų'mą.iʻ, a'ip·ïγa yïŋï'mputs·. ųnɩ'ŋuts a'iŋumï·its aŋa'v'a·x·ɪ taŋa'rɔaimaŋwaφαpïγa. sɩna'ŋwavɩaŋʻ kiyɛ'ŋqïpïγa ųnɩ'χuαŋʻ. ųnɩ'ŋuts· cɩna'ŋwav aŋa'v'a·x·ɪ tᴀʻpʋ'q·wɪpïγa qwaa·'ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋʻ yïŋï'mputsɩʻ. ųnɩ'ŋᴜtsiaŋʻ tïγa'n·ɪpïγaiyaŋʻ. 'u'vʷaiyauq· a'ip·ïγa aŋa'rux·wᴀ yïŋï'mputsɩʻ, ᴜʻqwa'p·ɩmɛntɪ ya·'ᵃχwa'ᵃ. maŋa'c· a'iχuaŋ ᴜʻqwa'p·ɩm·äntïʻ ya·'vaiyɩp·ïγa. ųni'ts· sɩna'ŋwav a'ip·ïγa, impʋ'ya·veyïn'am[178] aro''ᵃ mɩ'a·'p·ïvʷutsɩ'aŋᴡ ᴜʻqwa'iya·ᵃvaiyix·ᴜ. qïma'ɾuc·ᴜ ya·'ᵃxwa'ᵃ, a'ip·ïγa cɩna'ŋwaφɪ. a'iχuaŋ ɔvɩ'ya·ᵃvaiyɩp·ïγa yïŋï'mputs·. cɩna'ŋwav ųm·a·ŋᴀ pᴀˣqa'ŋᴜpïχaiyaŋʻ. 'ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ʻ tïʸa'n·ɩma'q·utsɩaŋʻ m·ʷα'va·ntux·ᴡ kwitca'p·ïγa. ųnɩ'ŋumï·ts· paiyï'φɪʻsïa'p·utsɩmʻ pïχa'p·ïγaiyaŋʻ ma·va''anʻ

was left. "Here in my mouth?" said the Buffalo cow. "Yes!" said Porcupine.

He started to go right through the (water) in yonder direction. "Where have we got now?" said Porcupine. "Right here still at the shore," said the Buffalo cow. "Where have we got now?" "Here still, right in the middle of the (stream)." "Where have we got to now?" "At its other shore," said the Buffalo cow. "Where have we got to now?" "On its bank," said the Buffalo cow. When she said this, he hit her heart with his tail and she made a gasping noise. As soon as she did this, that one jumped right through her mouth, and then he killed her at that place. Then, "What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?" said Porcupine, as he went here and there looking for a knife. Coyote, as he was collecting squaw-bush twigs at that place, heard someone talking. "Oh! am I, for my part, getting to be a medicine man?" said he. After a while he heard it again, and then he said, "I, for my part, am getting to be very much of a medicine man." And then he heard it clearly, "What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?" was saying, indeed, he who was talking. And then Coyote started to look for tracks off yonder and met that one then; and then he said, "Did you not see an animal wounded by me? Perhaps, then, he fell down dead around here," said Coyote. "I did not see him." "Perhaps you have gone and killed him, and therefore it is you who are looking for a knife." "No! 'What, I wonder, shall I be whittling with for making an arrow foreshaft?' that is what I said," said Porcupine, "No! 'What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?' that, indeed, you said," said Coyote. When Coyote had said this, (Porcupine said), "Yes! at this place have I killed him," and he led Coyote to the (Buffalo cow).

Thereupon Coyote said, "The one who jumps over her will have the hide," said Coyote. "All right," said Porcupine. And then, when he had said this, he crawled on his knees in order to climb over her. Coyote laughed at him as he did so. And then Coyote jumped over her. He won over Porcupine, and then he butchered the (cow). Thereupon he said to Porcupine, "Go and fetch some wood." When he had said this, that one came with some wood, and then Coyote said, "Why is what you bring little in size when you fetch wood? Go and fetch another," said Coyote. When he had said this, Porcupine brought back a stick and Coyote killed him with it. Then, having finished butchering the (cow), ibi defaecavit. After he had done this, he hung him up on a little long-leafed pine growing along

tᴜʽqo′avιʽ. ųnιŋu′ts· pa·γa′in′ɴᴜˣqwιp·ïγa. a′ik·w, qwïrï′k·ιyïaŋʽ, a′ip·ïγa qwιtca′q·ain·a·ŋʽ. a′iχuwαq·ʽ cιna′ŋwav a′.up̓·ac·ᴜ paiyü′ŋuts· ᵃ’a′t·ümpᴀˣqaŋᴜpïγaiyaŋʽ. ųnι′ŋuts· pa·γa′inɴᴜˣqwιp·ïγaaic·ᴜ miyɔ′′ᵓⁱtsιφα tï′qa′ŋ’wɪpïγa ųnι′ŋuts· ma·rï′c· ųnιc· a′iŋᴜpïγa, qwïrï′k·iyïaŋʽ. cιna′ŋwaφɪ qɔ·′nɪʽpïγaic· uvʷa·′ntuγwαc·ᴜ. ųnι′ŋuts· pᴀˣqa′p·ïγaɪʽcuaŋʽ yį̈ŋï′mputsιʽ. ’u′vʷaiyauq·ʽ paiyι′q·wᵓ’aip·ïγa tuwα′tsιŋwį̈aŋ aŋʽ pïmpï′n’ⁱˣk̯·aɪʽpïγaiyaŋʽ wᴀˣqi′ŋkiχuαŋʽ.

ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ yį̈ŋï′mputs· qwïrï′k·ɪpïγa. ųnits a′ip·ïγa, pa′iyïvʷιmpïʽ na·n·a·′n·ι’ⁱ.[179] a′iχuaŋʽ paiyï′vʷιmp aʀ na·n·a′p·ïγa. maŋa′c·ᴜ cιna′ŋwaφɪ pι′tcιχwa’aits a′ip·ïγa, i′mɪ cïï′χaχwai′t̓·uim·ιntïnɪ, a′ip·ïγa pιs·’ɔ̀ɔ·′tsιŋwïαφï pa·′m·antcaʽˣqain·av[180] axɔ′rɔvʷιk̯·axu′q·wa’mʽ. ’u′vʷaiyauq·ʽ cιna′ŋwav a′ip·ïγa, ivä·′ntuγwatca’ᵃnɪ pi·′s·ï’avaiʽ pᴀʽqa′ŋᴜ. ųnι′ŋuts· pïχa′ï’yïŋw paiyï′φïʽsιáp·ïmʽ. ïvʷï′raŋ ųnι′ŋuts u’u′raʽ miya′vaʽ. umʷa′ᴜʽp̓a’ᵃc o′′ᵘ p̓ɔ·rɔ′m’mιap·ïγa mą·m·u′c·ᴜ cιna′ŋwav aŋʽ pi·ŋwa′ŋw’aiv ʽam·u′vʷιnaŋqwᴀʽpatcux·w mιa′p·ïγa’aimʽ na·ŋwa′iyun’nam·ιap·ïγa’aimʽ. ma·va′ į̈mï′ιγw’aip·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsi′q·w qa′tcᴜ pï′mpïn’ɪʽpïȧ’ᵃ uvʷa·′ᵃntïʽ pᴜʽca′χaik·ˣᴀpïγa. pina′ŋqw ųnιk̯·aγu′c·uamʽ ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ yį̈ŋï′mputs a′ip·ïγain·ιʽ, tïna′ŋqwantïᴀcuyaγwɔn·ǫᴀ pį̈n·ι′k̯·aiŋuŋqᴜ·p· a·m·ï′ŋwαntï. tïvʷιc· o′′ᵘ pina′p·uⁱtsιŋw αŋʽ tï·′ⁱntïʽ pį̈n·ι′k̯·aiŋᴜpïγa. ma·rï′vʷ aro′′ i′mpï wa·′+n· aʀ tɔ·′ᵓp·ɔʽtɔn’ɪˣk̯αntïn·ιʽ. ųnι′ŋuts· ma·n·ɔ′n·ιʽ tuγu′ntux·w pïmpï′n’ɪʽk̯aɪʽpïγa. m·ʷαŋ’a·′q·ʽ, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwaφɪ. ᵓ’ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ cιna′ŋwaφɪ, pa·n·a′ŋqwɔαq̇·wαnɪ saya′v uʀ wį̈na′iŋqï. ų·′mą.iʽ, a′ip·ïγa yį̈ŋï′mputs·. ma·n·ɔ′n·ιyaiya·q·axa′ aru′q·wᴀ qᴜ·′n’ɪʽk̯a′ paŋwι′χ̯arux·w ᴜʽtcu′m’ɪˣqwavιva′. ųnι′ŋuts a′iχuaŋ aru′q·wᴀ qᴜʽtcu′m’ɪʽqwaφɪpïγa ma·ŋa′c·ampᴀ pina′p·utsιŋw αŋʽ wïʽcι′xιntap·un·ιavιp·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· mį̈ntï′c·pïγa yïŋï′mputsia·q·aŋʽ pa·n·a′ŋqwa·q̇·aŋʽ wį̈na′iιk·ʽ. mava·′ntuχwa·m·ʽ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ nį·′ą·ŋwïa·ŋʽ wïwï′q·a·vιtcʽpïγa a′ip·ätsi aŋʽ.

ųnι′ŋuts aŋa′c· aru′q·wa·ᵃχeʏᴜ yaχa′vurup·ïγa. a′iχᴜcuaŋʽ yį̈ŋï′mputs aŋʽ pa′ip·ïχaiyaŋʽ. ųnι′ŋᴜtsiaq·ʽ tïn·a·′ᵃva·ntïm·anaŋqwan·ιa·q·ʽ naŋqa′ʽt̓uip·ïγa yïvʷι′mpïʽ. ųnι′ŋuts a′ip·ats aŋ aru′q·wanaŋqwᴀpïγa aŋa′φ pι′tcιχwa’aip·ïγa mava·′iʏᴜ tïˣqa′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· tï·′mpǫ·n·ɔ’ⁱp·ïγa ųnι′ŋuts aip·ïγa, ᵃxa′va·ntuγwa’ᵃ qwitca′m·įᴀ, yį̈ŋï′mputsi aŋa′rux·w. uwa′t·ux·w qwa′.uʽ[181] pᴀʽpa·′raŋqa·m·aiyua·q·ʽ, a′ip·ïγa aŋaruγw a′ip·atsιʽ. aŋa′c· a′iχuaŋʽ qwa.u o·′p̓·at·uγwap·ïγa. ivä·′nt̓uχwa·’ᵃ. qa·′tcᴜ, qwaŋwa′ntcux·w. ivä·′ntuχwa·’ᵃ. qa·′tcu.

the water there on top of the meat in order to return to him later. And then he started off. "Oh! he is getting up," said his excrement. As it said so, Coyote, having returned to the same place, killed him good and hard, and then he started off again. He got to be but a little distance off, and then that (excrement) spoke out in the same way, "He is getting up." Coyote turned back again to the same place and again killed Porcupine. Thereupon he went back home, and his children saw him as he came.

That Porcupine arose and then he said, "Long-leafed pine growing by the water, grow up!" When he had said this, the long-leafed pine grew. That Coyote, having arrived home, said, "You who are accustomed to have me go to get squaw bush twigs!" said he, while his children licked his hands that were covered with blood. And then Coyote said, "Right here I have killed an animal, and then I hung him up for safe keeping on a long-leafed pine by the water. Let us all, then, proceed towards it. So they travelled along in that direction. Coyote and his wife proceeded behind the (children) and they held their arms around each other's necks as they went along. There they arrived. Then they did not see the (game) and looked for it at that place. After a while, when they had been doing this, that Porcupine thought, "I wish that someone from among them would look up this way," and, sure enough, the smallest one of all looked up. "What is that way up there like a black round thing?" And then they all looked up. "That's the one," said Coyote. Thereupon Coyote (said), "Throw me down the backbone!" "All right," said Porcupine. "Do you all, then, lie down under the (tree), and you shall lie on your backs with your eyes closed." And then, when he had said this, they all lay down under it with their eyes closed, except the very smallest one who lay with his eyes only half closed. And then he turned over to his side in order to dodge as Porcupine threw the (backbone) down. There it cut all the boy's kinsmen in two.

And then he went about crying under the tree. As he did this, Porcupine called to him and caused the pine tree to have branches up from its very bottom. Then the boy climbed up it and came to where that one was. There he ate and got exceedingly full, and then he said to Porcupine, "Ubi soles defaecare?" "Way off there from one of its branches," said he to the boy. When Porcupine had said this, he went off along it. "Right here?" "No! a little further on." "Right here?" "No! a little further on." So saying, the boy got

qwaŋwa′ntcux·w. a′iχ̯aic· a′ip·atc aŋ‘ pᴜˣqwι′ya·m·a·q·‘ tïγa′ɪ‘pïγa. ivä·′nutuγwa·ʼᵃ. ïʼï′ŋ‘, mʷα′va·ntux·w, a′ip·ïγa. aŋa′c· a′ip·ats· ma·va′‘ pǫ·n·ι′p·ïγa. ųni′χ̯uaŋ‘ yįŋï′mputs· ta·nį′ntcɪqiŋqïpïγaiyaq·‘. ųnι′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ a′ip·atc aŋ‘ tįŋwï′ʼιp·ïγa saχwɛ′iya·ŋ aʀ pᴀ‘ta′q·ɪpïγa. cʊ·′q·ᴜpιm·aik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa yįŋï′mputs·.

18. Coyote and His Daughters.

cιna′ŋwaφɪ m·α′va‘ qan·ι′χ̯aip·ïγa ma·n·ι′χ̯ιk·ᴜ pa·tcü′ŋwιχ̯aɪ‘pïγa‘ ųnι′ŋuts· cʊ·′q·uc·ᴜ tuwa′tsιχ̯aɪ‘pïγa. cιna′ŋwaφɪ mɔγʷa·′q·an·intcᴜpïγa ųnιtc a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷi′ya·q·‘ mįmwɪ pa·tcü′ŋwïnɪ nɔ·vι′k̯·a·q·‘ nï′ʼ aik̯· a·va′ŋwɪ pįn·ι′a·vιva·tsï′q·w ɔvʷa′xιtca.itcï‘. ųnι′ŋuts oʼᵘ cιna′ŋwav ava′ŋw a·vι′p·ïγa mam·ï′ᴀcuaq·‘ pa·tcü′ŋwïaφï nɔ·vι′k̯·aux·ᴜ. cιna′ŋwaφɪ pa·tcü′ŋwïaφï wïwï′xï‘ pįn·ι′a·vιp·ïγa. am·u′ŋwant ųnι′ŋuts· patcü′ŋwïa·ŋ‘ tïvʷι′t‘c at·ïŋwai′yaq·w[182] wïγï′ŋqaip·ïγa. cιna′ŋwav ʼu′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ na·χa′m·ιŋup·ïγa. ųnitc a′ip·ïγa, ya′a′iva·n·ιanɪ qatcun· oi′t·aφï pa·χa′in′nιva·ŋ′wain·ι‘. nį′ni‘ ya′a′ik̯·anɪ qᴜ‘tsι′k·ˣk̯ava·nɪ, a′ip·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts· qa′tcᴜ pi·′vun·ιk̯·am·ιava·ŋwą′ᵃ qᴜ‘tsι′k·ˣk̯aŋumï‘tsïnɪ tį′ŋwιn·ι‘ nïγï′m·aŋwιt·ux·w pɔ·rɔ′q·uvʷa‘. ųnι′ŋuts· nïŋwï′nts· tïna′ŋqwantïm·anaŋqw pι′tcιva·ntï qa′tcu′uŋw sa′a′ŋqïqava·ŋwą′ᵃ. ųnι′ŋuts· qïma′ŋac·ᴜ pana′ŋqwᴀtïm·anaŋqw pι′tcïva·ntuc·ᴜ qatcu′ʼuŋw sa′a′ŋqïqava·ŋwa′aiŋw. sʊ·′yuχwa.in·ι ina′ŋqwᴀ ų′wayaxain·ι‘ qatcu′ʼuŋw sa′a′ŋqïqavą·ŋwą′ᵃ. cʊ·′ɪyᴜ tavamaŋwï′c·ιn am·a′naŋqwᴀ pι′tcïvʷa·ntï ųnι′ts· to·′p·uŋquχʷaiva·ntï ų′wayac·amp̓ uvʷai‘ sa′a′ŋqïqava‘, a′ip·ïγa cιna′ŋwaφɪ. ųnι′ŋuts· ya′a′ip·ïγa mava·′nt‘uγwa·ŋ‘ qᴜ‘tsι′k·ˣk̯ap·ïγa. ųni′ts· tį′ŋwιn·ι aŋa′χïm·aŋwɪtux·w pɔrɔ′q·ᴜpïγa. a′ip·äts aŋ‘ pi·′vun·ιk̯·aip·ïγa ųni′ts a′ip·ïγa, mǫa′n·intc aŋᴀ mompa′q·ᴜ. ‘an·ι′axai′ a′ik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa piya·′ŋᴀ.

tïvʷιc· oʼ a′ip·ïa·ŋ o·′p̓·ac· an·ι′p·ïγa. paa′iyɔm·un·ι a′ivap·utsιŋw ïï′m′müp·ïγa. ųni′χ̯ᴜcampa·m‘ qa′tc am·u′ʀᴜcu′aik̯·an·ι′p·ïa′ᵃ. qatc ʼι′m·į‘ sa′a′ŋqïqava·ŋ′waiyam‘ a′iγua·ŋ ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ mom·ǫ′αŋųm ïχïr um‘,[183] a′ip·ïγa pivi′a·m‘. pina′ŋqwᴀ ta·va′ï‘ mą·wï′c·ιn[184] am·a′naŋqwᴀ pι′tc‘pïγa to·′q·warïm·į‘ qava·′ᵃva′anᴀ. ⁱʼi′ŋ a′iχ̯uaŋ ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa pivi′a·m‘. ųnι′ŋuts· pa·tcü′ŋwïa·ŋ am·ï′n·arïiyαγ a·vι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts ι·′tcuq·ᴜ piya·′ŋ a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′aŋᴀ moa′i′yam uŋw qa·′ya′ait·ïaχaip·ïa′aŋ o·′p̓·a·ŋ‘ moi′n′niχ̯wa′ᵃ, a′ip·ïγa. a′iχ̯uaŋ′aŋ °′o′x·p̓a′ᵃ moi′n′nip·ïγaiyaŋ‘. qa·tsιn′nɔrɔ′p·ïγa a′ip·atc aŋ‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ cιna′ŋwaφɪ pᴀˣqą′ųm·in·ιmpïγai′ŋw qa·′tsï‘ ųni′ŋumiŋk̯a′aiŋw sa·′ᵃntïq·a·m·ιp·ïγa. ‘aa′ik·w, a′ip·ïγain·ι a′ip·ats·, mų·′an·in·ι a′iyaŋ‘ mιa·′ʼp·utsιŋwïac·ᴜ pᴀˣqa′ŋum·į‘. ‘ųni′ŋuts ‘a′x·pïnɪˣk̯aip·ï-

to its very end. "Right here?" "Yes! at that place," said he. That boy stuck out his buttocks there. When he did this, Porcupine shook (the tree) by stamping once. As soon as he did that, the boy fell off and his belly burst. "You may say anything."[80]

18. Coyote and His Daughters.[81]

Coyote was living there. He had five daughters[82] and he had one son. Coyote built a house of cedar bark, and then he said, "Do you all, my daughters, lay the bark on, while I shall lie down in the (house) and see the openings."[83] And then indeed Coyote lay in it, while his daughters covered it with bark. Canis pudenda suarum filiarum vidit cum jaceret. Deinde una ejus filiarum vulvam habebat pulcherrimam. And then Coyote got sick. Then he said, "I shall die, I shall no longer live. When I am dead, you shall all burn me on a wood pile," said he. "And then you shall not look back as you return but shall start off quickly away from me. And then a person will arrive from the west, but you shall not make mush for him. And then another one will arrive from the north, but you shall not make mush for him. Still another one (will arrive) from the south,[84] but for him too you shall not make mush. Another one will arrive from the rising of the sun and he will have a black horse. Only for him, then, will you make mush," said Coyote. And then he died and they burned him at that place. Then quickly they started off away from him. The boy looked back and said, "My father has rolled off." "What are you talking about?" said his mother.

Sure enough, it happened just as he had said. Unmarried men, three in number, arrived, but though they came, they paid no attention to them. "You shall not make mush for these, as indeed your father said," said their mother. After a while there arrived from the rising of the sun (one who was seated) on a black horse. "This one, as he indeed did say," said their mother. And then he lay between her daughters. And then in the morning the (boy's) mother said, "Go ahead! go and lead him around yonder to where your father used to hunt rats," said she. When she had spoken thus, he led him around in yonder direction. The boy poked in holes for rats with his stick. That Coyote killed the rat every time, and when he had done so, he always ate it raw. "Oh!" thought the boy, "it looks like my

γaiyaŋ‘. ‘u̧ni′k̯·a·q·oaŋ‘ cɪna′ŋwav aŋ‘ qa·′tsi‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋuts· tï‘tï′q·ᴀpïγa. ‘an·ɪ′an ‘aik·ˣ. m·u̧α′nɪ, a′ian ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa.

u̧nɪ′ŋuts· ’o′‘p̓a’ᵃ qan·ɪ′ŋwɪtuγwαφï tɔγɔ′q·wɪpïγa. ‘an·ɪ′an ‘aik·ˣ. moan·, a′ian ïγïr ‘aik·ˣ, a′ip·ïγa. u̧nɪ′ŋuts· piya·′ŋ a′ip·ïγa, ïvʷï′rαŋw aχï′m·aŋwɪt·ux·w yo′n′nɪŋumpa‘. cïna′ŋwavɪaraŋw uŋwaro’ᵅ marï′n′ɴᴀˣquvʷa·ntïraŋwᴀ. ïvʷï′raŋw u̧nɪ′ŋuts· tuγu′ntuγwaq·a̧umpa‘. u̧nɪ′ŋuts o’ᵘ tuγu′ntuγwaq·a̧umpïγa. ava·′ntï ’o·′p̓·ac·u̧n·ɪ a′iva·ntï, aip·ïγa. cɪna′ŋwav, ‘a′itcaŋw, aip·ïγain·ɪ‘. u̧nɪ′ŋuts ’o′ˣp̓a’ᵃ qa·n·ɪ ’u′ra‘ ɴᴜˣqwi′ŋqw’aip·ïγa. u̧ni′ŋuts uvʷa′‘ pɪ′tcïχwa’aip·ïγa naŋqa′q·aip·ïγa’aik·w wa′iχan·a’am‘ qan·ɪ′vaŋwi̧ʏᴜ. u̧nɪ′ŋuts uvʷα′ŋwɪtux·wpïγa qan·i̧′‘. u̧ni′χuaŋ uvʷi′n·aŋqwɔp·ai‘ wa′iχ̯·ᴀpïγa. *sɪna′ŋwav uvʷa′‘ nan·ɪ′n′naŋwɪtux·w nǫn·u′q·wɪpïγa.* u̧ni′χuaŋ‘ pina′p·utsɪŋw αŋ a′ip·ïγain·ɪ‘, tïna′ŋqwantïᴀcuyaχwɔn·ǫᴀ p̯ïn·ɪ′k̯·aiŋuŋqʊ·p·‘. a′iχu̧n·ɪa·ŋ‘ cɪna′ŋwaφɪ tï·i′ntï‘ p̯ïnɪ′k̯·aiŋᴜpïγa. u̧ni′ts· maa′ip·ïγaiyam‘ tuγu′ntuγwa·m‘ pɔ·rɔ′xuαm‘. cɪna′ŋwaφɪ paŋwa′ɪ‘pïγa a′iχaic· a′ip·ïγa, m·i̧′mɪ sɔ·n·ɪ′aŋwïχaiva·ntïm‘. a′iχuαŋ‘ sɔ·n·ɪ′aŋwarïχaiŋᴜpïγa. maŋa′iac· imi′χain·ɪ‘ tï′ʀᴀ‘cɪn′avɪχaiva·ntï mi̧m·i̧′αntsɪγαntïmpa·iʏᴜ tᴀ‘tcɔ′n′naxa‘ wa’a′ᵘxwaivä·ntï. a′iχuaŋ‘ mava·′ai‘ cɪna′ŋwaφɪ w’a′ux·wɪˣkup·ïγa tᴀ‘tcu′n′naxa‘.

19. The Bird that carried People away.

mʷα′vayaxwa·ŋ a′ip·äts· qa·γu′ŋw’aiφ qan·ɪ′χaip·ïγa. a′ip·atc aŋ‘ paχa′in′nɪt·ïvʷɪtcuαp·ïγa. u̧nɪ′ŋuts· mɪa·′′p·utsɪ‘ wana′ʀᴜ‘pïγa. u̧nɪ′ŋᴜtsi’q·w wa·tcɪ′p·ïγa’aik·w qa·χu′αφï qatcɔ′a·m‘. u̧nɪ′ŋuts i·′tcuq·ᴜ p̯ïnɪ′k̯·aip·ïγ uvʷa·′ntï‘ p̓ɔ·′′avɪχain·ɪ uvʷa′ŋwɪtux·wqwa’ik̯·a‘. ‘a′ik·w, qa·χu′nɪ, in· aro’ i′ŋᴀ, a′ip·ïγa. p̓ɔ·′′an aro′′, a′ip·ïγa qaχɔ′aŋ‘. u̧ni′ŋuts a′ip·ats· mia′′ants ava′′t·ï‘ wana′ʀᴜ‘pïχaic·ᴜ. u̧ni′ŋuts· tïntï′axa·m·a′q·w watci′p·ïχa’aik·w. i·′tcuq· uvʷa·′ntï‘ p̯ïn·i′k̯·aip·ïγa p̓u’ɪ′tcatsɪχain·ɪ uvʷα′ŋwɪtux·wqwa’ik̯·a‘. qaγu′nɪ, in·i′ntc uvʷ aro’ i′ŋᴀ. p̓u’ʷi′tcatsɪŋw aro’ᵅ, a′ip·ïγa qa·χu′aŋ‘. u̧ni′ŋuts· mɪä′′änts ava′′at·ï‘ wa′n·aʀᴜ‘putsɪγaic·ᴜ. u′vʷa·′q· u̧nɪŋuts· pa·ˀa̧′′nɔq·wɛitcɪtcɪmpa‘[185] watci′p·ïγa’aik·w. i·′tcuq· uvʷa·′ntux·wpïγaic·ᴜ uvʷa′ŋwɪχain·ɪ ava′′ᵃt·ï‘ nana′ŋqavaχantï qarï′p·ïγa. ’u′vʷaiyauq·‘ ya·′q̇·waip·ïγa’aik·w qa·χu′vatcuχwaφï. in· aro’ i′ŋᴀ, qa·χu′nɪ, a′ip·ïγa.ic·ᴜ. qa·ts aro′′ qï’ï′ŋqïva·ŋa’m·inɪ.

’u′vʷaiyauq·‘ ma·m·a′′c·aγwɔits a′ip·atsi ᴜˣqwɪ′yuruŋqup·ïγa.

father, for he is always killing the little ones." And then he watched him as he lay in hiding. As he did so, Coyote, having killed a rat, ate it up. "What did I say? 'My father,' that, indeed, is what I said," said he.

And then he ran in yonder direction towards the house. "What did I say? 'My father,' that, indeed, is what I said," said he. And then his mother said, "Let us all run away from here. It is Coyote who will be in pursuit of us. Let us, then, all go up to the sky." So then they all went up to the sky. "There will be the same sorts of sound here as ordinarily,"[85] said she. Coyote thought, "Where has he gone to?" and then over there towards the house he ran along. And then he arrived there and heard their talking in the house. Then he went into the house, but as he did so they were talking outside. Coyote kept running there back and forth. While he was doing this, the youngest child thought, "I wish that he would look up here." As soon as he thought this, Coyote looked up and then he discovered them travelling along upwards. Coyote yelled and, so doing, he said, "You shall be the Dipper!"[86] When he had said this, they turned into the Dipper. "You on the other hand will be a desert-dog,[87] scratching around in little hollows of ridges, you will be barking!" When she said this, Coyote began to bark at that place, scratching around with his claws.

19. The Bird that carried People away.[88]

There, it is said, lived a boy with his grandmother. The boy learned how to walk, and then he made a little net. When he had made it, he set it at the head of his grandmother's sleeping place. And then in the morning he looked there. Lice, it turned out, had got into it. "O my grandmother! what sort of thing is this?" said he. "It is my lice," said his grandmother. And then the boy made a little larger net and set it at the entrance end of the tent. Early in the morning he looked there. Mice, it turned out, had got into it. "My grandmother! what sort of thing is this?" "They are mice," said his grandmother. And then the boy made another net, a little larger. Then there he set it in a smooth path. Early in the morning he went up to it. In it, it turned out, sat something that had big ears. Then he went and brought it to his grandmother. "What sort of thing is this, my grandmother?" said he again. "It is a rat, it will bite you, my dear."

And then the old woman made a bow and arrows for the boy.

maŋa′c· a′ip·äts ‘a·m·a′′aic·ᴜ wan·a′run·aφï nan·a′p·ïγa. ᵘ′u′vʷa·′q·‘ wan·a′iyaφï maa·′v′ï′axarux·ᴡ pɔ·′a·χantïmpa‘ watcι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·ᴡqιp·ïγaic·ᴜ. ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι‘ ta·vu′ts· qarï′p·ïγa. ava·′nt̓uχwa·ŋ‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsιaŋ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ‘ qa·χu′vatcuχwa·ŋaφ[186] ya·′q·ɪpïγa. ųni′ts ′u′vʷa·′q·‘ wan·a′iyaφ wa·tcι′p·ïγaic·ᴜ saŋwa′vï w′a′xarux·ᴡ pɔ·′a·xantïmpa‘. ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·ᴡqwa′aip·ïγaic·ᴜ ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι‘ s·i′umpun·ιk̭·arïp·ïγain·ι‘ qa·′m· aŋ‘. uvʷa·′ntuγwa·ŋ‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγaɪ‘cuaŋ ųnι′ŋuts· pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ‘ ya·′q·ɪpïγaiyaŋ‘ qa·χu′vatcuγwaφï. ųnι′ŋuts ′u′vʷa·′q·‘ wan·a′iyaφ watcι′p·ïγaaic·ᴜ tümpʷι′‘ tïn·a·′ᵃva‘.[187] ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·ᴡqιp·ïγa ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι‘ tᴜˣqu′p·uts· qa·rï′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsιaŋ ιya′vaχaŋqaic·ampa·ŋ‘ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ïγaiyaŋ‘. ųnι′ŋᴜtsιaŋ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaiyaŋ‘. ųnι′ŋuts· qa·χu′vatcuχwa·ŋaφ ya·′q·ɪpïγa. a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγa qaχɔ′aŋ‘, ᵘ′u′n·ɪcampa′ᵃ wan·a′ʀᴜ ṗa′a′v′im·in‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋqïŋumpa‘. a′iχ̭ᴜcampa·ŋ a′ip·äts· ′o′‘ṗa′ᵃ wan·a′ŋwantcιχw′aip·ïγa. ᵘ′u′vʷa·q·‘ watci′p·ïγa wan·a′iyaφ. ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·ᴡqιp·ïγa ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι‘ tïγι′ᴀ qa·rï′p·ïγa. uvʷa·′ntuγwa·ŋ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγaic·ᴜ. ųnι′ŋᴜtsιaŋ‘ nɔ·′q·ᴡɪpïγaiyaŋ‘ qa·γu′vatcuχwaφ. ųni′ŋuts· qa·γo′aŋ‘ pu′ι′c·ïrï′ιp·ïγa. ′ų′n·ɪsampa′ᵃ wan·′aŋwantcï, a′ip·ïγa. a′iχ̭·ᴜcampa·ŋ ′o′‘·ṗa′ᵃ wan·a′ŋwantcïχw′aip·ïγa ′u′vʷa·q·‘ wa·tcι′p·ïγa wan·a′iyaφ. ųni′ts a′ip·ïγain·ι‘, in·i aro′′avï‘ ṗu·′ṗ·am·in i′tcï pɔ·′a·χant aʀ ma·′vïaχantï‘. ųni′ŋuts ι·′tcuq· ‘ava·′ntux·ᴡqιp·ïγa tᴜˣqu′m·um·utsιχ̭ain·ι uvʷa′ŋwɪ qa·rï′p·ïγa. ‘a′ip·atsι′ŋw uvʷa·′ntux·w qᴜ‘qo′q·ᴡɪpïγa. ųni′χ̭aic·′uŋᴡ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsι′ŋᴡ piyɔ′x·qιp·ïγa′aiŋᴡ qa·χu′vatcᴜχwaφ. qa·χo′′oŋᴡ tïvʷι′ts· sïrï′′ⁱp·ïγa.

‘ųni′ŋuts ᵒ′o′‘·ṗa′ᵃ wan·a′ŋwantcïγwa′aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ ′u′vʷa·q·‘ wan·a′iyaφ watcι′p·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·wˣqιp·ïγa ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι‘ qwι′yaχantï qa·rï′p·ïγa. a′ip·ats ιya′vaχap·ïχa′aiŋᴡ ųnι′χ̭aic·ampa′aŋᴡ qᴜ‘qu′q·ᴡɪpïγa. ųnι′ŋᴜtsi′ŋᴡ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïγa′aiŋᴡ. ųnι′ŋᴜtsi′ŋᴡ piyɔ′x·qwa′aip·ïγa′aiŋᴡ qa·χu′vatcuχwaφ. ïra·′ï‘, a′ip·ïγa qaχo′′oŋᴡ. mʷα′nɪcampa′ ǫnɪ. qatcu′rax·qa′ᵃ[188] naŋqa′ŋwą′ a′.iŋqïnαnɪ. a′iχ̭·ᴜcampaŋᴡ ᵒ′o′‘ṗa′ᵃ wan·a′ŋwantcïχw′aip·ïγaaic·ᴜ. ųniŋuts ᵘ′u′vʷa‘ wan·a′ŋwantcip·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts i·′tcuq· ava·′ntux·ᴡqιp·ïγa ava′ŋwιχ̭ain·ι i′avιnt̓u′αt·im·ʷιn·ι a·vι′p·ïγa. ‘a′ik·w, a′ip·ïγain·ι a′ip·ats· pï̯n·i′ŋwïn·ιχ̭a′aiŋᴡ. i′i′ŋai a′imɪˣk̭a‘ qa·χun· uŋᴡ ιyä′r′uιχ̭aiaŋanɪ, a′ip·ïγain·ι‘. a′iχaic·ampan·ιa·ŋ‘ qᴜ‘qu′q·ᴡɪpïγaiyaŋ‘ ma·n·ɔ′n·ι ųni′χ̭uaŋ ᴜˣqwι′yuaŋ‘ tᴜ‘pʷi′k·ᴜpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts atci′m·a·ŋaφ tsi′ï′m·uχwιp·ïγaiyaŋ‘[189] tcᴀˣqι′v′uιya·ŋ‘. ųni′χ̭uaŋ‘ qa′tcᴜ yu′mu′x·ʷᴀpïa̓′ᵃ.

That boy grew up together with the net which he made. There right in the brush at a trail he set his net. And then early in the morning he came to it again. In it, it turned out, was sitting a cotton-tailed rabbit. He shot there at it and then he killed it. He brought it home to his grandmother. And then again he set his net there right in the sage-brush at a trail. Then early in the morning he went off to it again. In it, it turned out, sat a jack-rabbit, looking out of his light gray eyes. There again he shot at it, and then he killed it. He brought it home with him to his grandmother. And then again he set his net there at the base of the cliff. Then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, was sitting a wildcat. Then, although he was afraid of it, he shot at it and killed it. Then he brought it home to his grandmother. "Oh!" said his grandmother, "that's enough of making nets. An animal will kill you, my dear." In spite of her saying this the boy went off yonder to set his net again. There he set his net. And then in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, sat a deer. He killed it there and then he carried it home to his grandmother. Then his grandmother was surprised. "That's enough of setting nets," said she. In spite of her saying this, he went off yonder to set his net. There he set his net, and then he thought, "What sort of thing, I wonder, is it by which this trail has been gone over through the brush?" And then early in the morning he came to it. A panther, it turned out, was sitting in it. The boy kept shooting there at it, and, so doing, he killed it. And then he came home, dragging it along to his grandmother. His grandmother was exceedingly surprised.

Then he went off yonder to set his net again. There he set his net. And then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, was sitting a grizzly bear. The boy was afraid of him. In spite of this, however, he shot at him and killed him. And then he dragged him off to his grandmother. "My!" said his grandmother, "that is enough for you. Do you not hear what I say to you?" In spite of her speaking thus, he went off again yonder to set his net. And then he set his net there. Then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, lay something that was dreadful in appearance. "Oh!" thought the boy, while he stood looking at him, "it is this one that my grandmother has always been referring to, inspiring me with dread for him," thought he. In spite of his thinking thus, he shot at him. When he did so, all of his arrows were used up. And then he kept poking him with his bow in his testicles. As he did this, he (the monster) did not move.

u̧ni′x̧·ᴜcuaŋ′ nı̥ŋwı̈′n·ɔ·ᵊɸɪ qwı̈ı̈′p·ı̈γaiyaŋ‘. u̧nι′ŋᴜtsιaŋ‘ tuγu′mpai aru′q·wa·x·ɪ ya·ŋwι′m′mιap·ı̈γa. ᵘ′u′vʷa‘ pa.i u′a′xav ɔγɔ′ntɔn·ɔq·wιtcı̈ um·a·′ŋ‘ ya·′p·ιtcιχwa′aip·ı̈γa. u̧nι′ŋuts a′ip·ı̈γa taγa′p·ı̈aŋwı̈av u̧mu′rux·w, ᵘ′u′vʷa·ntı̈yαnɪ qı̈tca′rı̈′mαp·ɪ ya·′ŋqı̈qaq·ɪ. a′ı̈vʷιn u̧mı̥′yuma·x·ɪtı̈‘ paγa′in′nim·inαn‘ paγa′in′nιvä̈iyɛı̈‘. ᵘ’u′vʷa·n ᴀ‘pı̈′iχ̧un i′ŋ a′ip·ats· tsı̥yu′m′muχwιyı̈nɪ. u̧ni′ŋᴜtsιaŋanɪ qı̈tca′rı̈′mαŋqı̈qava·ŋan i·′tcuq·ᴜ, a′ip·ı̈γa‘ nı̥ŋwu′n·ɔ·ᵊɸɪ. u̧ni′ŋuts i·′tcuq· a′ip·atsı̥‘ tı̈′mα′q·ᴀpı̈γaiyaŋ‘. maŋa′c· u̧ni′ķ·aŋum·ı̈·q·a·mı̈ mava′iyɔn·ι‘ tı̈·‘ na·va′c·ᴜ kiya′p·ı̈γa a′ip·ats·. ‘aŋ· an·i′k·ˣ tı̈′ma′q·ᴀqain·an·ιaraŋ ’uŋwᴀ, a′ik·ˣᴀpı̈γa nı̥ŋwu′n·ɔ·ᵊvι‘ taχa′p̓·ı̈aŋw. u̧ni′ŋuts· tavaiya′.uq·wa·q·‘ nı̥ŋwu′n·ɔ·ᵊɸɪ pι′tcı̈pı̈γa. u̧nι′ŋuts a′ip·ı̈γa, ᴜ′vʷa·ntı̈yαnɪ qı̈tca′rı̈′mαt·ı̈vʷιtcᴜqwain·αnɪ ya·′ŋqı̈qaq·ɪ. ma·m·u′c· a′ik·ˣᴀpı̈γa, umα′ŋa’ᵃ tı̈′mα′q·aγuc·ampan·ı̈mɪ na·va′c·ᴜ qwı̈rı̈′k·ιm·ı̥‘.

‘a′m· ɔγɔ′ŋqwarı̈rı̈‘ nı̥ŋwu′ŋw αmı̈ cʊ·′q·uc·ᴜ yʊ·yu′′uχwaɪ‘pı̈γa a’a′ŋavı̈χaip·ı̈γa co·′vʷantı̈m‘ qa′tcᴜ yuyu′uẇaip·ı̈ȧ’ ᵃ’a′ŋavı̈′aip·ı̈ȧ’ puvʊ·′iyaip·ı̈ȧ’. u̧nι′ŋuts· maŋa′c·ᴜ ma·n·ɔ′q·oαm‘ tı̈vʷι′ŋᴜpı̈γa. u̧nι′ŋuts am·u′ruγw a′ip·ı̈γa, ı̈vʷι′′yaŋwaraŋwᴀ pᴀ‘pa′q·ąumpȧ·ŋw. ı̈vʷι′ya·q·‘ mı̥m·i′ŋwantı̈ tᴀ‘sι′p·uɸᴜ‘caxaik·ˣ. u̧nι′ŋuts ɔra′q·ava‘ puvʷa′ŋwɪtuγwaraŋw uʀ yo·′n′nιŋumpa·nᴀ. u̧nits o’ ’o·′p̓·ac· ‘an·ι′k·ˣᴀpı̈γa a′.in′naŋw. tᴀ‘sι′p·ı̈‘ tᴀˣqι′uγιŋqı̈qap·ı̈γa qı̈tca′vιna·ᵃγιt·ux·w. u̧nι′ŋᴜtsιaq·‘ tı̈′ma′q·ᴀpı̈γa. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ nı̥ŋwu′n·ɔ·ᵊɸɪ tᴀ‘cı̥′ρ·aux·ᴜ pi′tcı̈χwa′aip·ı̈γa. u̧nιŋuts am·u′rux·w taγa′p·ı̈αŋwı̈αv a′ip·ı̈γa, ’u′vʷa·ntı̈yαnɪ qı̈tca′rı̈′map·ɪ ya·′ŋqı̈qaq·ɪ. a′iγuaq̇·aŋ uvʷa·′ntuγwaq̇·aŋ‘ ya·′ŋqı̈qaq·ɪpı̈γa. maŋa′c·ᴜ tı̈ˣqa′pı̈γa′aik·w cu′αŋumı̈‘tsı̈′q·w ᴀ‘pı̈′ip·ı̈γa. u̧ni′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ ma·m·u′c· an·a·′ᵃγιt·ux·w pɔ·rɔ′qᴜpı̈γa ɔra′q·‘ˣqain·aɸ. maŋac· ’u′vʷaiyauq·‘ pᴀ‘pa′q·aiya′aip·ı̈γa. u̧nι′ŋuts· ma·n·a′.in·ι’ⁱk·up·ı̈γa u̧ni′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ qa·rı̈′r aʀ nı̈ntcı̈′tcuq·ᴜpı̈γa. uvʷa·′ntuγwa·ŋ a′ip·ats aŋ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpı̈γaiyaŋ‘. u̧nι′ŋᴜtsιαm‘ ma·n·ɔ′q· u̧nι′c·u̧n·ιa·m‘ naya′p·a·ŋqı̈‘u′ιp·ı̈γa nı̥ŋwı̈′aχantı̈‘. wı̈‘cι′a·χaiķ·ain·a·ŋ‘ paı̈c·axa′ʀᴜqwap·ı̈γa. u̧ni′ŋuts· tı̈vʷι′p·ı̈ uvʷa·′x·ɪtux·w ma·vι′ŋwan·ɔiŋqı̈q·‘pı̈γa. u̧nits a′ip·ats a′ip·ı̈γa am·u′rux·w, ı̈vʷι′ya·q·‘ pı̈vʷa·′ntı̈m·anaŋqwaŋumɪ yʊ·′′ᵃt·ı̈‘pı̈aŋum ’o·′p̓·at·ux·w mı̈mı̈′n’ı̈‘cιk·wa’ᵃ nı̈′′ aiķ· uvʷa·′ntux·w nı̥′nι‘ ya·′vaiyιp·ı̈aiyαnɪ paiyı̈′q·w’aivä·ts·. u̧nι′ŋuts ‘ava′′a·x·ɪ pɔ·rɔ′q·ᴜpı̈γa ’o·′p̓·at·ux·w tı̈′ɸʷɪpı̈aγaɪ‘pı̈aɸı̈ [190] mı̈mı̈′n’ı̈‘cιk·w’aip·ı̈γa.

maŋa′c· a′ip·ats· qa·χo′av u̧wa′′ura‘ paiyι′q·w’aip·ı̈γa. uvʷa‘ pιtcı̈′χw’aip·ı̈γa qan·ι′χ̧aip·ı̈ȧ’ŋw qa·χo′aɸ. marı̈′c·uχwain·ι‘

After the boy had done so, the Man-Carrier picked him up and carried him along under the sky. There on a little knoll covered with firs that came right up out of the water he arrived with him. And then he said to his servants, "Do you there fetch for me the blood roast.[89] This time I have come back from a little further away than I ordinarily go to. While I was sleeping there, this boy was poking me. Then you all shall make a blood roast of him for me in the morning," said the Man-Carrier. And then in the morning they roasted the boy. After they had all done this, the boy played away up yonder as though it were nothing. "Who is doing that? It looks like the one that we have roasted under the ashes," said the Man-Carrier's servants. And then when the sun was going down the Man-Carrier came home. Then he said, "Over there do you all fetch for me the blood roast that I have asked for." Those said, "Though we roast him under the ashes, that one always arises as though it were nothing."

On the fir-covered island the people had one leg or one arm, others had no legs or no arms or no eyes. And then that (boy) asked all of them, and he said to them, "Let us all kill him. Go ahead, some of you, and look for flint. Then we will dig the place into which we shall all run." Then, sure enough, they did as he had said. They chipped flint into small pieces into the blood that was to be roasted. And then they roasted it. That Man-Carrier came home in the evening, and then he said to his servants, "Over there do you all fetch me the blood roast." When he had said this, they brought it to him there, and he ate it. When he had finished eating it, he slept. As soon as he did this, those (mutilated captives) all started off into the pit that they had dug. Then that one kept groaning with pain and started to fidget around. As soon as he did this, the island began to shake. There the boy killed him. And then he caused all the inhabitants to appear just as they had been before. What had been his feathers they made into a bridge, and then they scattered dirt over it. Then the boy said to them, "Do you all turn back to whatever places you have been brought from, while I will return yonder to where I have been brought from." And then they started off over the (bridge) and went off, each returning to his former country.

That boy went back towards his grandmother. There he arrived at what had been his grandmother's house. It seemed, as it turned

qa·n·ι′p·ïn·ι‘ naya′ϕᴀˣqaɪ‘pïγa qa·χo′aŋaχain·ι aŋ‘ mava′ŋwɪ pa·sa′χwavυ̥nιk̫·aip·ïγain·ι‘ qa p·ï̥n·i′n·ai’p·ïγa. imi′ntcu’ aik·ˣ nï̥′ŋwï paγa′in’nιχ̫a‘, a′ip·ïγa qa·γo′aŋ‘. ï’ï′ŋ‘, maa′in·ιŋun·ɔ‘c[191] o’ᵘ, a′iχuaŋ a′ip·atsi‘ qaγo′aŋ‘ maa′in·in·i’ⁱp·ïγaiyaŋ‘. tïvʷι′c·uχwain·ι‘ qaγu′t̓sιŋw uru′’ap·ïγa.

out, like an old uninhabited house. His grandmother, as it proved, looked watery gray in her eyes[90]—she could not see. "Are you a person that are making that noise of walking about?" "Yes, touch me, then!" When he had said this, his grandmother touched the boy. Sure enough, as it turned out, it was her grandson.

II. PAIUTE NON-MYTHICAL TEXTS.

1. Po·′p̓·a·q̇·wa’mʿ qa′iva·vιtcιtsιŋwαʿ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mɪʿpïʿ pᴜʿpu′tcutcuγwαp·ï.

nḭ′ni a′ip·atsιγa·q·unɪ qana′rï uvʷa·iʿ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mιp·ɪ tïγa′ɪʿpïγαntï yïvʷa′naŋwaimpan·aχaχa ḭmï′’ɪʿtu’ᶻ. ụnι′tsιχwa’amʿ cï′ra·tsιŋw αmʿ[192] cï′ra·m·anaŋqᴡᴀ[192] qana′rï uvʷa ḭmï′’ⁱʿ. nï′γwa’ᵃ ma·′q·ʿsιmananaŋqᴡᴀ[193] qana′rï uvʷa·′ntux·wqwa’aiʿ. ụnιtsιχwa′’an uvʷa·′n·ι’ⁱ qa·n·ι′väʿ. ï′vʷaiyauq·uγwa·ŋ ʿɔąiʿ cï′ra·y uŋʿ nιa·′vι’ŋw a′iḵ· ụmu′rᴜx·ᴡᴀ qanι′χantïm·ʷaʿ, tɔ·′m· ιŋ umaŋʿ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mιuφʷɪtuŋqïva·ŋum a′ïφɪ tᴀʿcï′p·aux·ᴜ, a′iḵ·axwa·ŋ ʿɔąiʿ.

ụnι′tsιγwa·ŋ ʿɔąiʿ tɔ·′m· uŋ aivam um·u′ŋwantïŋwa’ᵃ w’a′p·amantïʿ wïʿqa′vιtcaq·aiʿ. ụnι′ŋᴜtsιgwax·qa’m ʿɔąi ụm·ʷa′ntïʿ wa·ŋwι′t̓·ιḵ·aiʿ. ụnι′ŋuts ụmα′ntïʿ wι’α′ŋqïn·’ᴀˣqaiʿ. ụnι′ḵ·aŋumï·tsιk[194] ụnι′ŋuts ɔra′q·aiʿ. uvʷa′’a·γ ụnι′ŋuts· pa′iyan·ιʿ[195] wawa′tcι ɔra′q·aip·ιʿ. u′vʷaiyauq·wa·ŋ ʿụnι′ŋuts· ma·mpu′tc uŋʿ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mιuφʷɪt̓uiʿ. ma·′m·a’ɔtsιŋwïx ’um· ụnι′ŋuts· pim·ι′ŋwï’ιḵ·aiʿ ʿa′ivamï ụmu′ŋwantïʿ ta·a′inɪˣḵaŋum·ιʿ. a′ivam·ïχ ’umʿ ta·vi′ḵ·am·ιp·ɪ ta·vi′m·ιntïaφï w’ι′m’mιaq·um·ι’αmʿ. qana′rïm·a·m·a’ɔtsιŋwïχ ’umʿ qatcʿ wï’ι′p·ʊ·tcutcuxwaŋwa’ᵃ sï′ra·m·a·m·a’ɔtsιŋwïχ’a·′m· uŋᴡᴀ pᴜʿtcu′tcuγwat̓·uyïq̇·wamï po·′p·a·’ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mιŋwï’ιp·ιʿ. ụnι′tsιχwa·ŋʿ tɔ·′m· uŋᴡᴀ mαmpu′tsι uŋw uŋwa′vinaŋqᴡᴀ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mιuφʷɪt̓uiʿ. nï′χwα’ ɔ′vʷaiyauq·ʿ paiyι′q·wɔ’ɔiʿ ma·′q·s·ιn ava·′ntux·ᴡᴀ. i’i′tcιa·q·ʿ pïvʷa′iyauq·ʿ qana′rïⁱtsιŋw’aq· umʿ ma·m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mɪʿpïʿ pᴜpu′tcutcuγwαp·ï.

2. The two Horse-tail Hair Brothers, a Ute War Story.

nḭŋwï′ntsιŋ ụmʷα′vaʿ qa′ivamʿ qa·n·ι′χaip·ïγa qava′uxᴡᴀʿciväïx·ɪ na·va′vιŋw a·m·ï′axav’amʿ qa·n·ι′γaip·ïγa. tïna′ʿtux·wqan’ι′ntcïmʷḭʿ am·u′vʷantïʿ qɔγɔ′’ⁱpïaγa′ɪʿtuaiʿ. qava′uxᴡᴀʿcιväïx·ɪ nava′vιŋw a′ip·ïγa’aimʿ, impʊ·ᵘru′’αvïʿ[196] nιŋwï′nts· na·ŋwα′ntux·w pa′.iχa ụnι′ḵ·arïmʿ nḭ′nι nḭŋwï′aiyαn o·′p̓·a·q·ʿ. ïvʷïn ụnι′ŋuts· nḭ′’ o·′p̓·a’ anι′ŋqʿt̓uaχw’ɔivaʿ. m·ʷa′ᴜp̓a’ᵃ pɔrɔ′m’mιap·ïγa qa·va′uxᴡᴀʿcιvaïγ αmʿ nava′vιŋw uvʷa′iy’umʿ qwɔavi′ŋᴜpa·yuφ narï′vʷιŋup·ïγa’aimʿ. ’i′m an·ḭ′ᴀ nɔ·n·ɔ′c·ιvätcʿ, a′ip·ïγa qava′uxᴡᴀʿcιväïx·ɪ tïvʷi′ŋuŋqwa’aiŋw tcᴀˣqa′.itsιaφï. nï ïγïr ʿa′im·ḭʿ qa′tcᴜ tümpʷι′yooᴀ tïŋwα′vaxaŋ’waq̇·uq·w uwa′’aiyɛiʏ wi′avun’nιa’q·w yụnι′ax·ᴜ qava·′aiʿ pïvʷa′’ᵃn·αnɪ na·′ᵘq·wiŋqït·uan·αn[197] uwa′’eyɛi ụŋwa′’axaruxwaŋ’uŋwa’aq·ᴜ tɔγʷɔ′ɪmᴜˣtaq·aŋ’wïŋq̇uŋw qᴜʿqwι′t·ua·ŋʿ pᴀˣqa′ŋumpa·p·ɪ, a′.in· ïγïr ʿa′im·ḭʿ, a′ip·ïγa tcᴀˣqa′.i’tsιaŋʿ. i′mɪ tɔγɔ′in·op̓·ac· a′imɪˣḵaʿ, a′ip·ïγa qava′uxᴡᴀʿcιväïx·ɪ. ma·m·ụ′ŋwαnt a′iφᴀputsιŋwḭ ɔα′vanax·pïγa. ụnιtcι a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa, qaᴀtcu′’q·w aᵞa′n·ɪˣḵaɪʿpin·ι

II. PAIUTE NON-MYTHICAL TEXTS.

1. How the Kaibab Paiutes learned the Bear Dance.[91]

When I was a boy, a bear dance took place at Kanab,[92] when people had come back from the fall hunt. Then the Cedar City Indians[93] arrived at Kanab from Cedar City. I went to Kanab from Moccasin Springs, then I stayed there at the camp. And then the Cedar City chief said to those who were camping, "Tom here will sing the bear dance songs for you this evening," that is what he said.

Then Tom together with some of the young men cut down cedar branches, and then they stood some of them up and cut notches into them.[94] After they had done that, they then dug a hole. They then placed a pan over the hole that had been dug,[95] and then Mamputs[96] sang the bear dance songs. Then the women danced back and forth, and some of the young men they kept hitting with pebbles that they threw at them. The young men that were hit would commence to dance along with those who were hitting. The Kanab women did not know how to dance, so the Cedar City women taught them how the bear dance was performed. Then Tom sang the bear dance songs after Mamputs. After that I went back to Moccasin Springs. This is the time when the Kanab Indians learned the bear dance.

2. The two Horse-tail Hair Brothers, a Ute War Story.

The Indians were living there on the mountain and the two Horse-tail Hair brothers were living among them. Some of those who were out hunting were killed by some people. The two brothers said, "Claiming what for themselves[97] might be the persons who act in that way to my people? Let me, then, go off yonder to engage with them." The two Horse-tail Hair brothers started off and travelled along in that direction. At yonder place where they were camping over night they asked each other, "What have you ever dreamt?"[98] said Horse-tail Hair, questioning his younger brother. "I, indeed, am wont to dream that when guns are fired and bullets drop down just like mud, bullets do not go through the horse that I am riding, but if anyone shoots him right on the forehead he will be killed. That, indeed, is what I am wont to dream," said his younger brother. "You have always been dreaming just like myself," said Horse-tail Hair. Some of the young men returned from spying. Then they

naia′vaŋwα’ᵃ qa·n·ɩ′aγant uʀ, a′ik·ˣᴀpïγa. qwitcu′vatsɩtcïm·a·q·‘ qa·n·ɩ′aγantï a·′γap·ï̧n·ɩyuγwɩp·ïγa tïvʷɩtc o′’ᵘ qa·n·ɩ′aγant aγa′nɪˣk̯aɪ‘tsŋ̥nɩ‘ naiya′φᴀˣqaip·ïä’ᵃ paŋwa·′ᵃvan’nɔaγantï uvʷα′ŋwɪtux·w tɔ‘ca′iyua·γaɪ‘pïγain·ɩ‘. qan·ɩ ųnɩ′ŋuts ųmɩ′’ɔ̀ɔitsɩφ mɩa′’ànts ɔγɔ′ntun·uq·wɪpïγa.

tuγwa′r’uɩŋqw’aix̯·ᴜ a′m·ᴀ co·′p·a·γaip·ïγa. ųnɩ′ŋuts· qan·ɩ′aγantï ‘a·′’inɩk·wᵓ’aiŋᴜqwa·q· ’a′xavatcux·w pɔrɔ′q·ᴜpïγa. qava·′ŋw ta·′p·ɪᵗˢtcaq·aip·ïγa qan·ɩ ųn·a·′ᵘq·wᴀ ma·m·u′c·’um·ï tï‘tï′p·unaq·‘ˣqap·ïγa qwɩtcu′vatsɩtcï ama·′m·‘ tᴀ‘ta′p·ɪ‘tcaq·‘pïγa. qava·′ŋwï̧ am‘ pïm·a·′m·‘ ta′p·ɪˢtcaq·‘ˣqain‘ tï‘ca′vï‘ ts·ka′p·ɩn’naq·am·inïmpïγa. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ sua′p·itciq·‘pïγa am·u′ŋwαntï qa·n·ɩ′χantïm·ʷï̧‘. cʊ·′yuc·ᴜ yu·′t·ą·nï̧ŋwïŋwï̧ a·m·ï′ŋwαntï qa·n·ɩ′ t·ïra′χuava‘ piya′ŋ’wɪpïγa. ųnɩ′ŋuts o′iŋwαntsɩχαntï ava′n’ɴɔˣqʷɔm’ᴍɪtsɩχaip·äntï’aq·w ɔra′p·ïγa uvʷaŋw ųnɩ′ŋuts· ɴᴀ‘cɔ′χu’map·ïγa. tʊ·ʸwα′n am·ï′ŋwαntï yu·′tsɩŋwï̧‘ mï̧m·ï′n’ɪ‘cɩk·wᵓ’ɔip·ïγa. ma·m·u′c·ᴜ nava′vɩŋwï we·′tc‘qo’om‘ ta·vɩ′n·ïmpuruatsa·mïφ[198] maγa′x’aiya·ŋqïts a·m·ï′axavat̕cuγwαm‘ ta·ŋ’wa′c·uŋup·ïγa’aim‘ qwaia′ŋqwᴀ‘pa·m·ï′m‘ na·va′c·ᴜ ts·ka′n·a·tsɩm·‘ w’a′tcɩγɩŋᴜpïγa. tïna′ŋqw’αm‘ m·ʷα′’axarɔχwa’m‘ tᴜ‘pa′q·ɪˣk̯ɩp·ïγaɪ‘co’m‘ ava′’am‘ na·′ᵘq·wɩŋqït̕·uap·ïγa’aim‘. tcᴀˣqa′.itsia·ŋ aŋ‘ puŋqu′ᴀ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜpïaγaɪ‘t̕uai‘. m·aŋa′c·ᴜ pa·vɩ′aŋ aŋ aŋa′ᴜṗa’ᵃ taŋ’wa′c·uŋup·ïγa. ųnɩ′ŋᴜqwa·ŋ‘ tcᴀˣqa′.itsiaŋ aŋa′vɩnaŋqwᴀ‘patci‘ tavɩ′p·ïγa. maru′q·wᴀtuγw’αm ɔγɔ′ŋqarïtsɩtcï tï·′ŋqw’aip·ïγa’aim‘.

man·ɩ′χiyut·avam·an·ɩ′am‘ na·′uq·wɩŋqït̕·uap·ïγa’aim‘ puŋqu′a·m·aŋ‘ na·ᵃvɩ′n·aŋqwᴀ pᴀˣqą′ųmɩn·ïmpïγaɪ‘tuai‘. ɔ·′vɩs·a’m·aq·antïnɩ anɩ′k̯·aip·ïγa pa·′ᴵn’ɔaχant‘ nï̧ŋwu′ntsɩŋwï αm‘ qo′in’ɪˣk̯ain·a·m‘. qɔ’ɔ′it·ï·rïm·ï̧‘ pa·′ïŋwa·m· ar o′iŋwaγantï uvʷα′ŋwɪtux·w ɴᵘˣqwɩ′p·ïγa. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ qa·nɩ′t·ïraχuava‘ ɴᴀ‘sɔ′xɔ’ma·ᵃvɩp·ïγa‘ tïχï′ⁱya’ᵃⁱp·ïγa ųnɩ′avɩχ̯a‘ man·ɩ′χ̯ɩyut·uχwan·ǫ‘. tcᴀˣqa′.itsɩaŋ aŋ‘ qava′uxwᴀ‘cɩväïχɩ‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtï‘pïγa tᴀ‘ci′aŋqwa’aix̯·ᴜ. ųnɩ′ŋuts· qava′uxwᴀ‘cɩväïχ aŋ‘ tava′iˣ maŋ’wï′c·ɩk·ˣᴜ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtï‘pïγaic·ᴜ ma·n·ɔ′q·ɔ qava·′ŋwï̧ tᴜ‘pʷi′k·ᴜqwa·m·ï. mam·a′’m‘ qwɩtcu′vʷarï‘ nava′φɪtsɩŋw qa·rï′p·ïγa’aim‘ pïʸa·′m·ï nava′viŋwï̧‘ pᴀˣqa′ŋᴜtï·ᴵrïm·ï̧‘. pavɩ′tsaŋ[199] aŋ a′ip·ïγa, a′it̕cïa’q·w w’a′ŋɩn·a·m· ur ‘a′.i’niŋᴜcampᴀ ta·mɩ′ntcu’ ųnɩ′ŋuts i′va·’m ųmu′vʷɩnaŋqwɔp·α pa·γa′in’nɩva·’mï ųmï′ac· o·′p·a·’m‘ ma·n·ɩ′k·w’aiŋᴜtï·’q·w, a′ip·ïγa. puŋqu′tsiam· aŋ‘ qwᴀ‘cɩ′m·antuγwan·ɩaφ pɪˣk̯a′ωaγaip·ïγa uŋwα′v’antuχwa’am‘ na·ŋwa′’aim‘ ts·pi′ŋᴜpïγa’aim‘. i′m ᴜˣqwai iŋwɩ′t·ʊ·x·w qᴜ‘qwi′p·ᴀpaγaimpa‘.

said, "The camp does not look as though it could be easily handled," said they. On a knoll they sat and watched the camp from their hiding place, and really the camp did not look as though it could be easily handled. It looked like a plain dotted with white[99] passing through the meadow valley. And at a little distance from the camp there was a small knoll covered with firs.

When it commenced to get dark, (the Utes) were assembled together on it. And then, as soon as everything became quiet, they started off right into the camp. Horses were tied to each of the tents and those (Utes) led them off one by one and tied each of them on the little knoll. They always cut through the ropes with which the horses had been tied. Some of those who were living in the camp awoke. One from among the Ute Indians was left behind in the center of the camp. Then he dug a hole in the shaded bend of a little wash.[100] And then he covered himself with earth in it. During the night some of the Utes turned back home. In the morning those two brothers, having hung their hatchets through string loops tied to their wrists, galloped their horses right into the (enemy) and, having come out beyond them, they whooped as though it were nothing at all. Turning up again (towards the knoll), they came right through there, and at that place the two of them engaged in battle. Someone killed his younger brother's horse. That elder brother of his charged right past him, and when he did so, his younger brother lit right behind him. They went up into that little fir-covered knoll (in order to get a fresh horse).

For five days the two of them engaged in battle, and their horses were killed one after another. As though covered with timber laid low was the open valley with people lying slain. The blood of those who were killed was streaming in the wash. That one (who had hidden himself) lay covered with earth in the center of the camp. He was hungry while he lay in this condition for five nights. Horse-tail Hair's younger brother was killed as dawn was approaching. Then Horse-tail Hair was also killed when the sun was up, after all the horses had been used up. On that knoll two brothers were sitting, kinsmen of the two brothers who were killed. The elder brother said, "Now their whooping has ceased, but shall we two then continue to walk about here[101] after they (have died), when those have had that happen to them?" said he. Their horse had a sore back clear down to his tail, and both of them got on top of him. "You, indeed, shall shoot in the opposite direction as we move along." So then

ųnι′ŋᴜtsi’m o’ am·ï′axavatcuχw’αm‘ puŋqu′tsιa·mïφ kwɪ‘pap·ᴀpa′x·ɪpïγa. na·nι′n’naq·ɔvatcïam·ïφ qᴜ‘qwι′p·ᴀpax·ɪpïγa na·va′c·’um‘ ts·pι′k·w’aiŋᴜpïγa’aim‘.

ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ ɴᴀ‘cɔ′xɔ’ma·ᵃvιtc aŋ‘ tʊ·γwa′n‘ qwïrï′q·ɪpïγa. ųnι′ŋuts·maŋwα′φᴀˣpïγa qa’nι[200] u’a′xarux·w. ųnι′χuaŋ aŋa′vat̔saŋw qa·′m’mιap·ïγaɪ‘t̔uai‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ tümpʷι′ ava·′ᵃruq·waip·a·’q·w a·′γa’mïc·i·ⁱk̯·aip·ïγa. mam·u′c· aŋa′ᴜpȧ’ᵃ qa·′m’mιap·ïγa tɔ‘tsi′γaik̯·ain·a·m‘ nava′viŋwį̈‘ ts·tsaŋki’aq·a′m’mιaxa‘. maŋa′c·ᴜ ma′uṗ·a’ᵃ paiyï′k·ɪpïγa tïvʷι′p·ïaiav ’u′ra‘. pa·vι′tsιaŋ, ïvʷï′’ŋwαnɪ pį̈nι′ŋwïn·ǫ·n·uq·wιχw’aiva’aŋw, a′ip·ïγa. ųnι′ŋuts °’o′ˣ·ṗam’mιap·ïγa nιŋwï′ntsιγain·ι‘ pao′wɪ‘pa·ntux·w ya′uq̇·wa·p·ïγa. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ tïvʷa′‘ ta·ŋa′xw’aip·ïγa. ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ tïvʷa′‘ ta·ŋa′xw’aip·ïγa ma·ŋa′c·ᴜ qava·′ai ᴀ‘pɔ′n·ait·ïŋwavaxaŋkιχuaŋ a·tcï′αφ wa·vu′n’ɪ‘pïγa. nï′c·amp a·n·i′k̯·, a′ip·ïγa pa·ᵃvι′tsιaŋ‘, pᴜ‘ca′χaiχai’mɪ. uvʷa·′yu’m‘ na·ŋwa′’aimï paiyι′q·w’ɔip·ïγa.

3. Mampu′ts·’ Style of Beginning a Speech.

ï′vʷιa·q·‘ ma·′n·ɔn·ι nana′ŋq‘ˣqa‘ m·ʷa′ntsιŋwïnɪ[201] piya′tsιŋwïnɪ pa·vι′tsιŋwïnɪ patsι′tsιŋwïnɪ tɔγɔ′tsιŋwïnɪ qa·γu′tsιŋwïnɪ ivätcι t·ï·′‘ pι·′n·ɔ· taŋ’wa′avιt·ai ampa·γa′ɴᴀ.

they whipped their horse right into them. They shot in both directions as they moved on and came out clear beyond as though it were nothing at all.

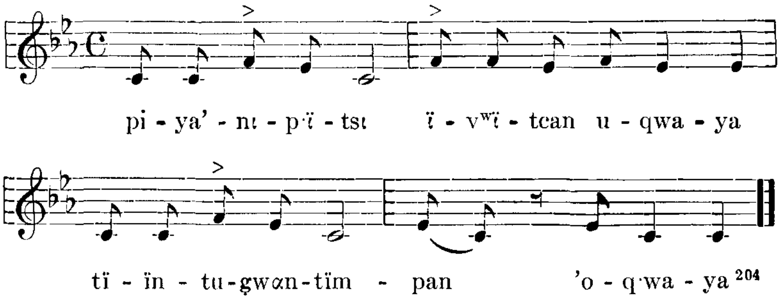
That one who lay covered with earth got up at night. Then he crawled on his hands and knees through the camp. As he did so, people were dancing along singing (the scalp dance) to meet him. That (Ute Indian) was in hiding in the shadow of a rock. Those people were moving along singing past him as they carried the two brothers' heads on poles. That one turned home in yonder direction towards his country. The elder brother said, "Let me go to stand around and look for him." And then he went along in yonder direction. A person, it seemed, went down into the creek. That one galloped down while the one (who had come back), as the noise of horse's hoofs was heard, got his bow ready for shooting. "It is only I," said his elder brother, "hunting for you." From there both of them went back home.

3. Mamputs' Style of Beginning a Speech.[102]

Do you all hear, my dear fathers, my dear mothers, my dear older brothers, my dear older sisters, my dear grandfathers, my dear grandmothers, the words of the chief at Los Pinos,[103] way up from here!

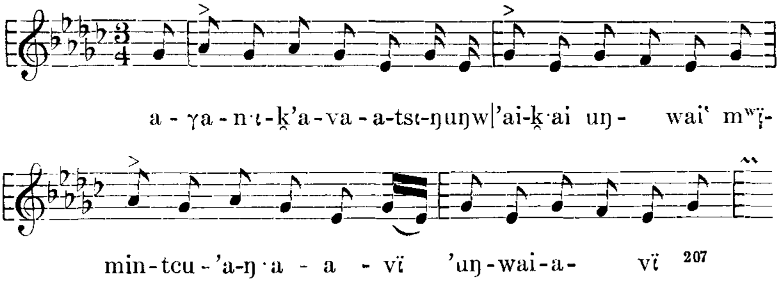
III. PAIUTE MYTH RECITATIVES.[202]

1. Eagle's Myth Recitative.[203]


pi - ya' - nɩ - p·ï - tsɩ ï - vʷï - tcan u - qwa - ya
tï - ïn - tu-gwαn-tïm - pan 'o - q·wa - ya 204

qa''mïn·avɩya·'tï·'q·av'aiva·'[vï·]
ï'vʷïqw'a·n·o·' ɩ'vasampa·'[vï·]
qa·'rï·'mi·'a'γwa·n [o·qwa·'ya·].
si'vii·ntï·vʷi·'p·ï'vʷ'an· [o·qw] ai'k·ᵡ
u'vʷa'a·ni[vï·'] qa'm·ïnav'ɩya·'t·ï-[204a]
qa'mïn'avɩya·'t·ï·'q·axw'aiva·'tsɩ.
i'va'a·[vï·'] qa'rïvʷa [oq·wa·'ya·]
ma'va'a·[vï·'] qa'n·i·'ara'm·i·,
ma'i'an· [oqw] a'iqa·'[vïαn·i'n·a'],
qa'rïm'avaa·' qa'ni·'ara'm·i·.[205]

2. Sparrow Hawk's Myth Recitative.[206]


a - γa - n·ɩ - k̯'a - va - a-tsɩ-ŋuŋw|'ai-k̯·ai uŋ - wai' mʷï-
min-tcu - 'a-ŋ ·a - a - vï 'uŋ-wai-a- vï 207

sapi'gak'a'vaa·'tsɩŋw' a'ik̯·aiy'ï'[vï'].
tïvʷɩ'tsɩsa'mpaa·'ŋ uŋ 'uru''aiyï'[vï']
qwiï'qwai'i'naa·'ŋ uŋ 'uru'aiyï'[vï'].
uŋwα'vatco·'qwa·a·'qwai'ɩva'n·ɩx̯a·'a·'.[208]

III. PAIUTE MYTH RECITATIVES.

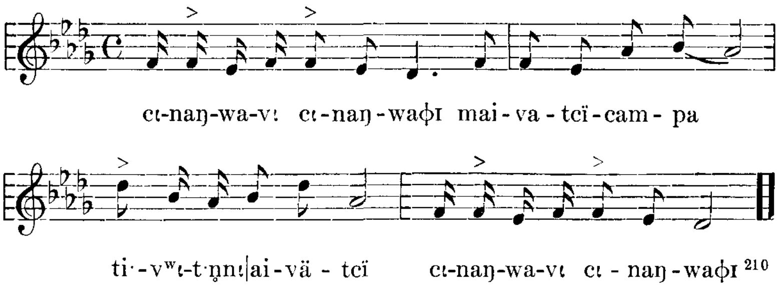
1. Eagle's Myth Recitative.

My dear mother, let me
Go to the east;[104]
I shall eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself.[105]
Do you, however, here
Remain, indeed.
In the country of the Sibit Indians, say I,
Am I there
About to go to eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself.
Here you shall stay,
There at our house,
That is what I say,
Stay there at our house.

2. Sparrow-Hawk's Myth Recitative.

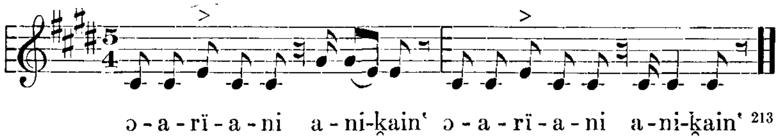
Doing what will you all, as you say,
You him
Overcome, as you say?
Truly he is
The one that has taken her away.
To him, then, let me go.

3. Rattlesnake's Myth Recitative.[209]


cɩ-naŋ-wa-vɩ cɩ-naŋ-waφɪ mai-va-tcï-cam-pa
ti·-vʷɩ-t·n̥nɩ|ai-vä-tcï cɩ-naŋ-wa-vɩ cɩ-naŋ-waφɪ [210]

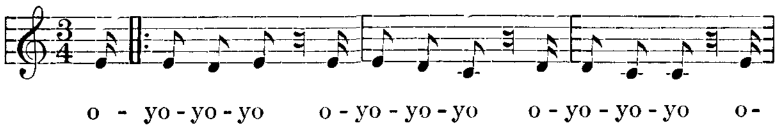
nï′c·ïtca·ŋwaχ’a·′ nɔn’nɩ·′x̯a nɔn’nɩx̯a·′.
nï′aq· [oqwaiya·a·′] wa′ntsɩv’uŋqo·aŋ uŋwa·′
pa·′q·aŋumpa’antïŋwa·′, ma′iyan [’oqw] aik̯·a·′,
cɩ′naŋwavɩ cɩnaŋwa·′φɪ cɩ′naŋwavɩ cɩnaŋwa·′φɪ.[211]

4. Iron-Clothes' Myth Recitative.[212]


ɔ-a-rï-a-ni a-ni-k̯ain‘ ɔ-a-rï-a-ni a-nɪ-k̯ain‘ [213]

ma′iyan [’o·′qw] a′ï‘ɩga·′[vï·′]. i′mintco·′a[vï′] uma′n·ɩmi·′
i′migwa·′[vï′ïvï·′ni′] cɩ′naŋwa·′vɩ′y u′ŋw’aya·′
o′n·ɩt·o·′ik̯a′‘aqo·′ŋwa′ ma′n·ɩga·′[ïvï′αn·i·′n·a′‘].
u′ŋwas’o·′[vï′] wantsɩ·′vuŋqu′n u′ŋwa nɪ̯·′nɩya′a[vï′n·ɩ·′‘]
qa·′q̇·e′ŋuqwa′ntï[vï·′nɩ′] qa·′tcï·′ mą′.im·iŋwa′itï′‘.
i′mintco·′ uvʷa′i uma′n·ɩmi′ tu′c·umi·′ya[ïvʷï′n‘].
ɔ′arï·′ani′ m·a′ik̯·a′qu′ŋwa a·′n·ɩk̯a′a[vï′n‘]
u′ŋwaya′s·uqwa′ s·ɩna′ŋwavɩ′ ma′n·ɩto·′ik̯a′aqo·′ŋwa′
to′c·oo·′vʷa′ ma′ik̯·a′qo·′ŋwa a′n·ɩχa′ imi·′‘.[214]

5. Coyote's Lament.[215]


o - yo-yo-yo o-yo-yo-yo o-yo-yo-yo o-

3. RATTLESNAKE'S MYTH RECITATIVE.

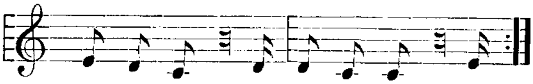
O Coyote, Coyote! though wont to speak so,
As though wont to speak truly, O Coyote, Coyote!
Teasing people, carry me, then, on your back! carry me, then, on your back!
It is I who the Antelope
Will kill, that is what I say,
O Coyote, Coyote, Coyote, Coyote!

4. IRON-CLOTHES' MYTH RECITATIVE.

That it has been done by one who spies on me, that it has been done by one who spies on me,
That is what I say. You are not wont to act in that way,
You, then, as Coyote
Has caused you to act thus, doing these things.
That antelope of mine
Has made a raucous sound, though he is not wont to make that kind of noise.
You, then, are you wont to do that, are you wont to grind seeds?
As one who is spying on me has told you, so you do,
As that Coyote has caused you to do,
Saying, 'You shall grind seeds,' doing that are you.

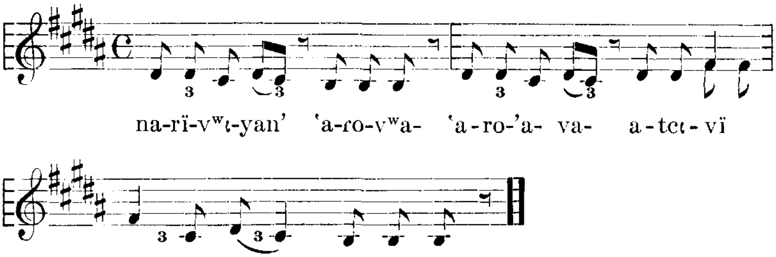
5. COYOTE'S LAMENT.

Oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo!



ivä′n·i· una′vïχa- ava·′[vïʽ], oyo′yoyo oyo′yoyo.
aγa′nιga′i- ιχ̭wa·′n·ι ʽa′ivïuŋwa′c·u[vʷï], oyo′yoyo
ιtcï′ani· ιya·′ntï- t·u’i′ŋqïgai- ιya′q·ani·, oyo′yoyo.[217]

6. Red Ant’s Myth Recitative.[218]


na-rï-vʷι-yan’ ʽa-ro-vʷa- ʽa-ro-’a- va- a-tcι-vï
co- q·u- camp uŋ-wa-vï[219]

o·′tsιga′iι′vatcï′ nį′’ï(vï·′n·i′n·an·i·′na] cι′naŋwavi·′ i′mi[vï′]
nï’’ [uqwa·′ʽa′yavï′] co·′q·uca·′mp u′ŋwa[vï·′] o·′tsιga′ii′vätcï′.

nį′nia·′χwa′χain·i′ qwa′ut·uγwa·′ʽa′ro·[vʷï·′] pï′mpïn·a·′ʽa′yï[vï′]
nį′nia·′χwa′χain·ι′ wa′qιt·uγwa·′ʽa′co·[vʷï′n·ι] ų′ni·yï·′ï′[vïn·ι′ʽ].

ϊ′vʷϊyaγa·′pi′ [vïn·ι] ta′ŋwaya’a·′ro·′wa′iyï nι′ŋwuruqwa·′tu′γwana′-
a·′q·ana·′ca′mparaŋwa·′ nι′ŋwïruqwa·′tu′γwana·′camp a·′raŋu·′
a′ro·wa′iYï.
ϊ′vʷϊyaγa·′p•′[u′qwaiya′] ϊ′vʷutcani·′i′ga[vï′n·ι] nį’’ umpi·′ca′campa′
a′muvʷatcï·′ tɔ′ŋwaqι′ŋU.[220]

7. A Myth Song.

qa·′p·ï aiy a′ik̭·amip·ɪ uvʷa·′i tïγwi·′n·aχa qa·′p·ï aiʽ qaγa·′v’ɔ-q·wan[221] uq̓·waiʽ.
i·mi + ya’ i·mi·′ya’
ta′vatsιva na′ŋwaq·wa· ta·’vi·′n·i·
i + yaγam·a·tcιtco·m·aʽ.[222]

Here shall I put away my quiver, oyoyoyo oyoyoyo!
Why did that one say that to me, oyoyoyo!
Warning me of this? oyoyoyo!

6. Red Ant's Myth Recitative.

It is my custom always but one
Little arrow to have, O you Coyote!

I am the one that is wont to have but one little arrow.
It was my lot too, facing about the other way, to keep bending
  down with buttocks stuck out.
It was my lot too, facing this way, to do thus.

Alas that it is we, as it seems, who are beaten,
That it is we who are beaten!
Alas! let me, then, merely for fun,
Shoot at them.

7. A Myth Song.[106]

What people always say was sung at that point, when telling the story. Let me, then, sing that which was sung:

Of you, of you
The leg bone, make I a rattling noise with, while the sun is shining.

IV. UTE MYTHS.

1. Porcupine tricks Coyote.

yαŋα'mbïts ʋ·'p·ᴀpïg̨a. ʋ·v ura'[1] kᴜʽdju'm ʋ·'p·a'ʽ pörö'p·ïg̨a. ųwas· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq· ʋ·'pʽpïg̨a na·ndɩ'n'ʽbug̨aⁱm'ʽ. ʋ·'va ïra' sųwa·'ᴀxpïg̨a[2] g̨wɩtca'p'ïŋ ʋ·'va garï'p·ïg̨a. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ tɩ·vʷɩ·'ʽpug̨aik·ɪ. nį' ara''ʽ we·'ts·ɩŋ'ʽ g̨wɩdjap'ʽ. ų'wac· ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· o·'pˣpug̨a yaŋa'mbïts o·'pˣpug̨aic. ų'v ura·' g̨wɩdjap'ïŋʽ garï'p·ïg̨aic. ųwac· u''vʷaiyauq·ʽ tɩvʷį·'ʽpug̨aic·'ʸïq·ʽ. ų'wac· ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· o·'pʽpug̨aic. ʋ·'vand ura·' tįvʷɩ'ŋʽpug̨aic. a·'vʷε'am ïŋgï' e·'ⁱp·áʽ pörö'ⁱʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨ ura·' qwᴜdjun ųmʷį' g̨wɩdja'p·ʽ. ų'was· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq· o·'pˣpug̨aic. u''vai ïra·' ną·wa·''m u'ʀ cu''a·x·pïg̨a ʋ·''vʷai. ųwac ʋ·''vʷaiyauq o·'p·ʽpïg̨aic. ʋ·''vʷai ura·' cu''a·x·pïg̨a. ų'was· ʋ·''g̨wandɩʽ tɩvʷɩ'ʽᴀxpïg̨a. a·'vʷɩdjam' ɩ''vai pöru'q·ᴜ, maip·ïg̨ ura·'. ųwac· ur o·'pʽpïg̨a.

ʋ·''vai ïra·' a·va'n'nᴜˣg̨wɩnt ura''p·ïg̨a. ųmuc ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ g̨we·ε'ndux ɩʸuwɩ'p·ïg̨a.[3] ųwac ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, no·'γwɩnʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨a yαŋα'mbïdj u'ŋʽ. nį' a·''ʽ. ga'tcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c. ųwa'c ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʽ ma'ip·ug̨aic. nį' a·''ʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨ ura·' cö'inɩʽ. ka'tcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨ ųwa'c. mą·'yan a'ik·ˣ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʽ, ka'tcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨aic. ųmuc ura·' qᴜˣdjum· ų'ʽ pa·'manun·ɩ tᴜˣbʷi·'p·ïg̨a. sï'is ura·' pɩ·ya'u'wɪxpïg̨a. uŋ' ura·' a't·u'γwa·v'ɩm ura'p·ïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʽ, nɔ·'γwɩnʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. nį' a·''ʽ ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c. o·'vʷaiʽ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųʷac yαŋα'mbïdj ų'ʽ. ųwac· ura' uxg̨a'ip·ïg̨a ųa'vadjux pa·γa·'va' tsɪbį'ˣpug̨a.

nivʷa''na'ʽ karï''wï'ᴀ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, katcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨a. ya·'vaγaiɩnʽ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c wï'ï'vɩdju'γwavanʽ pa·'vauɩnt·ux. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, a·'p·ïg̨anɪ narɩ'avaʽ karï''wï'ᴀ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. ųwac u''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, katcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨aic. wï'ï'vɩdju'γwavanɪ. ya·'vaγaiɩnʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨aic ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ ųwa'c. pa·'man·uq·ˣdu'wac'ïŋʽ tᴜʽpʷi·'p·ïg̨a. ųwac ur u''vʷaiyauq·ʽ ma'ip·ïg̨aic g̨ut·c ų'ʽ, įmʷï'ⁱ gu'c nį·'naiʽ mövö't'öⁱp·a' karï''wïavanɩ. ka·'tcʽ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c iαŋα'mbïdj ų'ʽ. ya·'vaγaiɩnʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. pa·'vauɩⁿtug̨wanʽ wï'ï'vɩdju'γwavanɪ söγα'k·uikʷa'mʽ. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, nįpa' a·' tɔγʷɔ''ⁱ. ʋ·'+vʷai ʋ·'+vʷąi, ma'ip·ïg̨ ur ųwa'c. aγa'n·ⁱ' ura·' nį''pa'ʽ ʸïg̨a'vanɪ. nį gu'c ma·'nai'am ɩntcε ya·'vaγaiʽ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʽ, ga'tcʽ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. nį' ara''ʽ ma·nɩ'umbantɪ u''vʷaiyauq· ara''ʽ gatcɩ'ᵘm'ʽ pɪʽk̯a'k·uvʷauaį'tʽ. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·, ïvʷï'cᵃ' o'φɪ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ ųwa'n·a·x· yɩg̨a'p·ïg̨a.

ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ g̨ʋ·'dj ų'ʽ paγa'nʸˣg̨wɩp·ïg̨a pa·'wauintuγ uru'ʽ. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ tįvʷɩ'ˣpïg̨ai'ɩŋ'ʽ. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ, ka'tcʽ pa·'dɩruγwavacɩram' anɩ'k̯·aʽ. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʽ ma'ip·ïg̨aic

Charlie Mack, Uintah Ute Indian, White Rocks, Utah

(Taken by J. A. Mason)

IV. UTE MYTHS.

1. Porcupine tricks Coyote.[1]

Porcupine was going there. Right there were buffaloes, they were moving on in yonder direction. He thereupon went off yonder, tracked them. Now there (one buffalo's) dung was quite fresh, it was lying[2] there. Then he asked it (how long it had been lying there). "I am his dung for some time."[3] Thereupon he went on, Porcupine went on again. And there another's dung was lying. Then he asked it again, and again went off yonder. When over there, he asked again. "Just now, indeed, have they moved on through here," said then the buffaloes' dung. And then he went on again in yonder direction. Now there the tracks of them were quite fresh. Then he went on again; there, now, they were quite fresh. Right there he asked (some dung). "Just now they have set off from here," it then said. So he went on in that direction.

There, then, was a large stream. And those (buffaloes) were lying on the other side. Then said Porcupine, "Come and carry me!" "I?" (said one of them). "No!" said he then. And then again he said, ("Come and carry me!") "I?" said one of them then. "No!" said he, it was that (Porcupine) that spoke. He said "No!" again. Thus those buffaloes were all gone through one after another till just one was left. He, then, was the best one of them. That (Porcupine) said, "Come and carry me!" "I?" said he then. "Yes!" said he, the Porcupine. That one came to him, he crossed over the water.

"Ride on top of me," said he then. And then that one said, "No! I am afraid," he said, "I shall fall down into the water." Thereupon the (buffalo) said, "Ride between my horns." Then he, again, said, "No! I shall fall down. I am afraid," said he again. Everything that belonged to him was gone through. And then that buffalo said again, "You, indeed, shall sit in my nose." "No!" said then the Porcupine. "I am afraid," said he. "I shall fall into the water when you breathe." And he then, "(Is it) all right inside of me?"[4] "Yes, yes," said that (Porcupine) then. "But how will you enter inside of me? Indeed I am afraid of these quills of yours." And he then said, "No! I shall be doing it so as not to be hurting you." So the (Buffalo) said, "Go ahead, then!" and that one entered inside of him.

And then the buffalo started to go off into the water. Then the (Porcupine) asked him (if they had arrived on the other side), but he (said), "No, we are still in the middle of the water." And then

tįvʷį''ˣpug̨aic'ïŋʻ. a·'vɩdjaramɩ̆ pagɔ'ava tʻqa'wɩ', ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c. ųwac ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʻ pɩnɩ't·u'x tcʻpį'ˣpug̨a. ïvʷïc o'φɪ tsʻbɩ·'' oφɪ. ka'tcʻ, ma'ip·ug̨ ur ųwa'c, ma·va'nduk·o'a[4] me·ɩ't·ox. ųwac ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʻ mįʻ tʻqa''wɪʻpïg̨a. ïvʷïc' o'φɪ, ma'ip·ug̨a. ųwac u''vʷaiyauq·ʻ pi·'ŋ'naŋ[5] uru'ʻ kẅᴀci·'ᴜxbap·ug̨a.[6] ųwac u''vʷaiyauq·ʻ bön'djɩ''na·p·ug̨a. ųwac ur ʋ·'vʷandux kwɪʻpa'mbɩdjɩ'ˠwap·ug̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ kᴜˣdjum 'u'ŋ ųa'vatcux ųnį'ᴜxpug̨a uvʷa'nduˠwa' ųʻ. ʋ·''vʷaiyauq· a·'k·ᴜˣg̨wɩp'g̨ap·ug̨aⁱ'ɩŋ u'vʷandux. ųwac· ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʻ pɩg̨wa''yaiq·ˣᴜpug̨a pa·'ma·nuq·ʷup·ʻ. ųwac ur u''vʷaiyauq·ᴜ tcɪʻbɩ'p·ïg̨a yaŋ·a'mbïdj ų'ʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ pɩyɩ'ʀsav ö''ai ų'na·xɪ karï'p·ug̨a. ųmuc u''vʷaiyauq·ʻ gatcε''ïŋʻ pa·'k·ʻpïg̨ai'ⁱ.

ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ tcɪʻbɩ'p·ug̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ʋ·''va wįnï'p·ug̨a ka·'p·ïg̨ ura·'. ömbu'ᴍᴀsïn tɩγa'n·ɩn·ɩ'ʻ, ka·'γ oru'ʻ ma'ip·ïg̨a. pa·' 'auʀ nᴜˣg̨wɩ'p·ïg̨a tsaγa't·cɩma'na·x yɔγɔ'vʷudj ura·' ʋ·''vʷa paγa'n·ʸˣpïg̨a. nɩŋga'k·ᴡpïg̨a ʋ·''vʷaiyauq·ʻ ömbï''masɩn tɩγa'n·ɩn·ɩ', ma'ip·ug̨ ura·' ųwac nɩŋga'k·ᴡpug̨aik·ɪ yɔγɔ'vʷudj ų'ʻ ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· uvʷa'ndug̨ap·ïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ yɩŋɩ'mbïdj ų'ʻ ʋ·''va paγa'nʸ'ˣpïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ tɩvʷį'ˣpug̨ai'ɩŋʻ. öm anɩ'ak·ʻ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ, gatcɩ'n anɩ'aŋwa'. ömbu'ᵐᵃsɩnʻ sïγï'runɩ'ɩ̆ ma'ik·a'n ïŋkï'ʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ, katsʻ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. ömbu'ᴍᴀsɩnʻ tɩγa'n·ɩn·ɩ', ma'ik̭· ïŋgï ö'mʻ, a't·ⁱnɩŋgaq·aiyaq·a'n ïŋgï'ʻ. uvʷa'ɩts uva'amʻ ma'ip·ïg̨a na·'nauwɩt·uγwa'mʻ ma'ip·ïg̨a. ka'tc ïŋkï 'öm ma'ïŋwa'. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ yαŋα'mbïdj ų'ʻ, o·'waiʻ, ma'ip·ïg̨a. nį gɩ ma·'vandux kᴜˣdju'nʻ pᴀˣg̨a'iʻ, ma'ip·ug̨ ʋ·''vʷaiyauq· ųwa'c ɩαŋα'mbïdj ų'ʻ. uvʷa'ik̭·a·[7] anta'na'ik̭·a·.[8]

ųmuc u''vʷaiyauq· ų'wa'vanduγwap·ïg̨aim'ʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ ma'ip·ïg̨a, ma·'v'aγ ų'ʻ wą·''untʻ tɩγå'n·ɩvån·ɩąʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ kᴀʻg̨a'ʀpïg̨a ų'wa'v'a·x qwa'iyaŋˣbatcuwą' wa'ų'ᵘ̥ʻpug̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ɩαŋα'mbïdj ų'ʻ tɔγɔ'q·ʻpïg̨a. wą·''ųxpug̨ ura·' ɩvä'ndɩγwαc ąva't·ambu' ba'a'ntug̨wacï'ïŋʻ wą·''ųxpug̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ yɔγɔ'vʷudj ų'ʻ tɩγå'nʸˣpïg̨a'ɩŋʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ yɔγɔ'vʷudj ų'ʻ pago'avandux kwɩdja'vɩyųʻpïg̨a tɩγå'nʸˣpug̨aicⁱ'ɩŋ u''vʷaiyauq·ʻ. ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ų̈nɩ'ts sᴀʻpu'vʷï'aŋ'ʻ tᴀʻdjɩ'p·ɩŋgup·ïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ, ma·'nɔq·ᴜ sᴀʻpu'vʷɩa'ŋʻ parɩ'γɩŋgwɔiyaq·ˣ. kadj uru'' mama'ndɩʻ tʻka'n·oap·aiʻ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ yauwɩ'kᴡpug̨aik·ˣ pa·'vanduγ uru'ʻ uvʷa'k·ʻ parï'x·pïg̨a. ųmʷa'nt u''vʷaiyauq·ʻ kᴀʻba'qʻpïγa mi·'puwuts yuu'φɪ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ g̨wïï'p·ug̨aik·ˣ tɪˣdɩ'k·ʻpïg̨aik·ɪ. ö'tcaγatcɩvεtc ana'mbaγap·ïg̨a, mama'ndiγεtca·ŋ' tɪˣdɩ'q·ʻ, ma'iᴜ̨pïg̨a kanų'ʷaitɩmbantɪ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʻ cïrï''a·p·ïg̨a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ųwa'vatcuˠwaųˣpïg̨a. ma'id'ïnˣ g̨wa'i a'ik·ˣ.[9] gadj uru'' mama'ndɩʻ tʻka'n·oap·aiʻ. uvʷa'nduγwac'ïŋʻ

the (Porcupine) spoke again, asked him again. "Now we have come to be near the shore," said that one then. And then he came out on to land. "Now, then, get out!" "No!" said then the (Porcupine), "further off yonder." So he got some distance further. "Go ahead, now!" said (the buffalo). And then that one hit his heart with his tail, whereupon he scurried off, startled. Then he fell down over there. And then the buffaloes came up to him at that place and gored him there with their horns, and they ripped him open all over. He, then, came out, the Porcupine. He had been sitting inside of his hip bone, so they did not kill him.

And so he came out, and there he was standing and singing. "With what, pray, shall I be butchering?" said he as he sang. The water was flowing a little distance along from there, and Coyote was walking about there. He heard then, "With what, pray, shall I be butchering?" as (Porcupine) spoke; Coyote heard it. And then he went right up to there. There was Porcupine walking about. And then he asked him, "What did you say?" said he. And then (Porcupine said), "I did not say anything. 'With what, pray, shall I be scraping off willow-bark?' that, indeed, is what I said." And then, "No!" said (Coyote). " 'With what, pray, shall I be butchering?' that, indeed, is what you said. Indeed I heard it plainly." There they were saying the same thing over and over again, they kept answering each other. "You did not indeed say so." And then Porcupine said, "Yes." But then that Porcupine said, "I did kill a buffalo right there." "Yes, my friend!" (said Coyote).

Then they went up to the (buffalo). And then (Coyote) said, "The one that jumps over him shall butcher him." So he ran and jumped over him, to the other side of him. Then Porcupine ran but jumped only as far as here, right on his rib he jumped. So then Coyote butchered the (buffalo). Deinde Canis secundum flumen defaecavit, and then he butchered the (buffalo) again. And then, so doing, he took out all of his paunch. And then he (said to Porcupine), "Go and wash out all of his paunch. Do not eat anything of it." So he carried it off to the water and washed it there. Out of it, then, a bit of fat broke off. Then he took it and began to eat it, when somebody a slight distance away was heard talking.[5] "He is beginning to eat from it," exclaimed he who was not present. And then (Porcupine) was scared, while that (Coyote) went right up to him. "That is not what I said. You are not to eat any of that." Going right there, he knocked him dead with a stick. And then he

ˣwɪʿti′ravɩp·ïgai’ɩŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ɩαŋα′mbïdj ųwa′iʿ pïga′p·ïgai’ⁱŋʿ nąwa′ik·ᴜ pïga′p·ïgai’mʿ. yɔγɔ′vʷudj ų′ʿ pai′k·ᴡᴀɪpïga.

ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ɩαŋα′mbïdj ų′ʿ soγa′p·ɩtspïga. yɩvʷɩmpʿ na·′naγɩnɩ’, ma′ip·ïga. yɩvʷɩmpʿ nana′k·wpïga. tʿqu′av ur uma′ndux yɩvʷɩ′mb uru′ʿ djadja′u’wɩnap·ïga ma·nu′q·ᴜ. urïc ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ yɩvʷɩ′mb uʀ nana′k·wpïga. urï′s· u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ ma·′va t·ɩ yɩvʷɩ′mbum ɩnɩ′k̯·aip·ïga tʿqɔ′av u′ʀ. yαŋ·a′mbïdj umᴀ ga·rɩ′p·ïga yɩvʷɩ′mbum ma·′nun·ɩ tʿqo′av u′ʀ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ yɔγɔ′vʷudj ų′ʿ pɩ′djɩgwa’pïga ka·nɩ′vav urï′ʿ. pɪsɛ′rɛnɩaʿpuga u’vʷaiyauq·ʿ, kᴜˣdju′na’n ïŋkï′ pᴀˣga′iʿ, ma′ip·ïg u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ. ɩaŋ·a′mbïdja’n ïŋgï′ pᴀˣga′iɩs. nį’ pïga′i’ïmʿ. o·′wai, ma′ik·ˣᴀpïga dɔwa′t·cɩwą’ʿ. ma·′nun·ɩ ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ˣ uvʷa′ndux unį′ᴜˣpïga. u·va′ w̯a′ik·wpïga. ka yä′nᴜpïga. ųmuc u′’vʷaiyauq·ˣ waxga′ik·ˣᴇpïga. pɩná′saγʷαts punɩ′k̯·aip·ïga. ųwac ʋ·′vwaiyauq· ɩaŋα′mbïdj ų′ʿ, tɩna′ŋkwtiasaγʷɔn·ɩ punɩ′k̯·aigup·ʿ, ma′ip·ïga.in·ɩ ɩαŋα′mbïdj u′ŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ punɩ′k̯·aip·ïga. o·′+ʿ, ma′ip·ïga tini′aʿpïga. ųmʷu′c u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ pumbu′nʸ’ˣk̯aip·ïga. yαŋα′mbïdj ma·′va t·ɩ ga·ri′p·ïga yɩvʷɩ′mbumʿ, tʿqu′avɩmáis. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ yɔγɔ′vʷudj ų′ʿ, ma·ma′ntɪ pana′ŋkw wį̈na′iʿ tcᴇˣqa′itcɩwï’amʿ ma·mu′ruxᴡᴀ. o·′waiʿ, ma′ip·ïga ɩαŋα′mbïdj ų′ʿ. mïnɩ′guc ma·nu′n·ɩa·k·’ mama′ntcaaŋkʿkaivánⁱ. maŋaiarɛs mïnʿ qï′mava waua′tcuvanɩ[10] mį·ʿ. ï′vʷïy o′φɪ mama′ntca·ŋqaya·q·ʿ, yɔγɔ′vʷudj ų′ʿ ma′ip·ïga. kura′t·cɩvɩsampᴜ pa·na′ŋkw. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ wį̈na′ipugaik·ʿ pa·na′ŋkw. pa·′ma·nɔq·ʷɔm’ʿ qʷɔγï′ⁱp·ïga kura′v uʀ.

ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ pɩna′ŋqˣwtimwa ma′ik̯·ɛndiam ǫ′ⁱʿ[11] qʷï′wɩïp·ïgai’ⁱʿ[12]. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qïdja′vɩ’a ma·γa′p·ïgai’ʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ pönö′’á·p·ïga sᴀʿpu′ⁱŋ’ u′ʀ pöʿdö′’na·p·ïga. kwɩdja′vanɩɛnʿ. u′’wai, ma′ip·ïg ųwac yαŋα′mbïdj ų′ʿ. ųwac o·′p·a’ pa·′xgwï’ïp·ïga a′ip·adj ų′ʿ. ɩvɩ′ɛndug a·′’ʿ. ka′tcʿ ma·nα′ŋkwbatcux. tidju′anɩ ara′’ qˣwa·na′ʀ gwɩdja′p·ɪ. kwɩdja′’öⁱvánʿ, ma′ip·ïga. ųwac ur u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ yαŋα′mbïdj ų′ʿ naŋa′i’aip·ïga. ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ųwa′c ta·nɩ′ntcʿkɩŋqʿpugaik·ɪ. u′vʷaiyauq· ur ųwa′c ųna′p·aųʿ wï’ï′vɩdju’gwap·ïga ï′p·uru′qʿpuga.

u′ʀᴜsambak·ʿ pɪsɛ′rɛnɩɛn·αnʿ.

2. Coyote deprives himself of his Eyes.

ųwac u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ yɔγɔ′vʷudj ų′ʿ. ʋ·′va paγa′n’ˣpïga. amba′tcʿpɩm’mɩap·ïga nɩŋga′q·aik·ųʿ. ųwac u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ ųmo′vʷatcuxpuga. ųmuc ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ wɩdjɩgɩ′wɩt·cⁱuʿ pu’ɩ′av uru′ djadja′ᵘ’wɩnam’mɩap·ugaik·ʿ qana′vumandux. ųmuc ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ tsanɩ′ntsɩgɩk̯a.unumpugaik· qana′uv uru′. uruc u′’vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu’ɩ′m uʀ uvʷa′ųˣdugwac

took up the Porcupine as meat and put them together (, porcupine and buffalo). Coyote returned home.

Then Porcupine came to life again. "Red pine, start growing right up!" said he, and the red pine grew up. All the meat he threw on to the red pine, and the pine grew up. Then that meat got to be up there on the pine. Porcupine was sitting on the pine tree (with) all the meat. Now Coyote arrived at his own house. Then he told (his folks), "I have really killed a buffalo," said he then. "I have really killed a porcupine too. I have put them away." "Yes!" said they, (wife) and children. So they all repaired to that place, and then they hunted for (the game). The youngest one was looking. Then Porcupine, "Would that he might look upward this way!" thought Porcupine. So he looked. "Oh!" said he and told (them). Then they all looked. Porcupine was sitting up there on the red pine with the meat. And then Coyote (said), "Throw some of that down to your younger brothers." "Yes," said Porcupine. "You all will be ready to catch it, but that one, (the youngest,) you will put off apart further away. Now, then, get ready to catch it!" Coyote said. "Even if but a bit of the neck (throw) down!" And then he threw it down, and the neck killed everyone of them.

And then he got the youngest and gave him the paunch-blood[6] to eat. He, then, became filled up in his abdomen, he swelled up. "Defaecaturus sum," (inquit). "Yes," said the Porcupine. That boy kept going further and further along the (limb). "Right here?" "No," (said Porcupine), "a little further ahead. Male olens est excrementum." "Defaecaturus sum," inquit. And then Porcupine was angry, and he shook the (limb) with his foot. So that one, then, fell down and burst to pieces.

It is the end of my tale.

2. Coyote deprives himself of his Eyes.[7]

Now Coyote was going about there. Many were moving about noisily and he heard. And then he went to them. Those little birds[8] were throwing their own eyes while in motion on to a willow. And then they would shake the willow and those eyes of theirs would leap back in again. Now they were eating camass, big camass, as

ta·vɩ′navɩtcʿqunumpug̣a. ųmuc u′vʷaiyauq·ʿ ya·mba′iʿ avat·’ɩya·mba′iʿ tʿqa′q·a.ųnumpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ, ta·w ųnɩ′va tcʿˣqa′i’djɩwunʿ, ma′ip·ïg̣a. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ pöru′q·ʿpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu’ɩ′av uru′ qana′uvumandux djadja′u’wɩnaq·ʿpug̣a. ųwαc yoγo′vʷudj ų′ʿ ųmʷu′a’ ųnɩ′p·ïg̣a. qana′v uru′ tsanɩ′ntcɩg̣ɩk̭a.unumpug̣aik·ʿ. uruc u″vʷaiyauq· uvʷa′ųˣdug̣wac ta·vɩ′navɩtcʿqunumpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ yambaiʿ tʿqa′q·a.unumpug̣a.

ųwac u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʿ pu’ɩ′av uru′ na·mu′rɩravɩnumpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ, qatcą·′ u′c a′ių wa’, ma′ik·ˣpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ sundu′naik·ˣpug̣ai’ⁱŋʿ. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu’ɩ′av uru′ djadja″wɩnaq·ʿpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ qana′v uru′ tsanɩ′ntsɩg̣ɩk·ˣpïg̣a. yoγo′vʷïdj ųa′iʿ puɩ″ŋ u′ʀ qatcʿ wu’ɩ′p·ïg̣aⁱ’ⁱ ųmʷαc ma·′vųm uru′ pᴀʿdja″aq·ʿpug̣a. uvʷa′q· ųac tsanɩ′ntcɩg̣įʿcup·ug̣a. ųmuc *puru′qᴜ’ɔⁱpïg̣a*[13] *su′mbaiq·ᴡpug̣ai’ⁱŋ ugwa′ndug̣wac.* ųwac u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ uvʷac paγa′n’ˣpïg̣a. ųwac ʊ·″vʷaiyauq· o·′p·ʿpug̣a qatc uruʿ pu’ɩ″ɛiʿ. wa·′mamat’tc u′va’mʿ paγa′n’ˣpïg̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ punɩ′k̭·aip·ug̣ai’am o·′p·’aŋgo’ŋʿ. ɩni′ aiᴜpïdj anɩ′k· anɩ″wɩaγa, ma′ip·ïg̣ai’ⁱm ųmu′c ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq· ųwa′vatcuxpug̣ai’ⁱmʿ ųwa″vamʿ pɩ′djɩg̣wap·ug̣ai’ⁱmʿ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ pa·vɩ′djɩvumʿ pu’ɩ′ˣᴡqa’mɩnɩp·ïg̣a ųmʷa·′c uru′ punɩ′k̭·aik·ᴜ wa·′ᵐᵃmat’dju ųmʷį′ʿ.

ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ nana′m·aⁱ’ o·′p·a’ʿ paγa′ip·ïg̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ wa·′ᵐᵃmat’tcuʷ u′mʿ, ųwɔ′nαmʿ qᴜʿdju′mʿ, ma′ip·ïg̣ai’ⁱmʿ. o·′waiʿ, ma′ip·ïg̣a yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʿ. i′väs·ɩ qa·rɩ″mʿ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· ųmu′vʷatcuwaų’ˣpug̣a[14] qᴜʿdjum ųmʷį′ʿ ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ mɩndö′n·ˣpug̣a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qo′k·ᴡɪg̣up·ug̣a toa′waγaq·antɩmband uru′ʿ i″ɛt·ɩasampᴜ qo·′q·ᴡɪg̣up·ug̣a. qᴜʿdju′ɪn ųwand ʊ·′vandux kᴡɪʿba′mbɩdjɩ′ap·ïg̣a. wa·′ᵐᵃmat’tcuʷ ų′m. o·′va’amʿ punɩ′k̭·a·rɩp·ug̣ai’amʿ. ʊ·′vaw[14a] uru′ ᴡᴀˣg̣a′ip·ïg̣aik·ʿ. ï′o·p·aŋqʷᵊ’ainumpug̣a ugwɩ′nᴀsuv uru′ u′rɩat·ɩs qwïɩ′q·ʷ’ainumpug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq· ųwa′vatcuxpug̣ai’ⁱmʿ. aγa′n·ɩk’ anɩ′k·ˣ įmʷɩi nʊ·′waiʿ o·″am ï′o·p·aŋqʷ’ai’m·ɩ. qa′tcʿ nava′cⁱn anɩ′k·ˣ ana′p·ain o·′vaiʿ, qa′tcʿ ya·′n ųwai″ʿ, ma′ig̣äinɩ. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq· ųwa′vatcux paγa′ip·ïg̣a qᴜʿdjun ųʷa′iʿ pᴀˣg̣a′q·ain’ᵃŋ ǫwa′iʿ. ųwa′v ųwa′ik·wpïg̣a.

ųvα′c·į’αm ava′γanɩntcʿpug̣a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· ʊ·′va qarɩ′p·ug̣a ava′γarɩp·ug̣a. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ wa·′m·at’djuw ų′mʿ tiγɛ′n·ˣpïg̣ai’amʿ. ųmuc ʊ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ qanɩ′ntcʿpug̣ai’mʿ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qarɩ′p·ug̣a. qïna′nʿtug̣waq· yïⁱï′γarip·ug̣aik·ˣ qa·rɩg̣ uru″ʿ qanɩntcʿqw’ai’nam uru″ʿ yïɩ′arɩt·ᴜpug̣a. aγa′nˣk̭ain’ᵃm ara″ qanɩ′ntcᴜq’ainanïmʷ ï′ntcʿ. nava′c·ɩn ara″ anɩ′k̭·ainʿ ta·wɩ′vatcux

they moved on. And then, "Let us be together as brothers," said he, so they started off (with him). And then they threw their eyes on to a willow and that Coyote did so along with them. They all shook the willow as they moved on and then those (eyes) leaped back in again. And they would eat camass as they moved on.

Now that Coyote was always the first to throw his eyes, so they said, "Indeed he is not good." Then they wished bad to him.[9] And then they threw their eyes and shook the willow. Coyote's eyes did not fall back, right there on the tree they remained stuck. There he shook it, but in vain. They went on ahead and left him behind in the same place. Right there he walked about, and then he went off yonder, deprived of his eyes. Two girls were walking about there and they saw him as he went off in yonder direction. "What young man is it that is going along?" said they then. And then they went to him and arrived where he was. And then he covered his eyes with a weasel hide when the two girls saw him.

Then they went all together in that direction. And the two girls said to him, "There are buffaloes over there." "Yes," said Coyote; "do you two remain right there." And then he went up to the buffaloes, and they started to run. He kept shooting to where they were making a stamping noise, he kept shooting without particular aim. One of the buffaloes fell down right there. The two girls were sitting there and looking. He hunted around for his arrows; he always went past them, it was only by his smell that he would pick one up as he wandered about. And then they went up to him. "Why is it that you always go past your arrows?" "No! I do so merely for fun, to see how many have gone—with that in mind." And then the two of them went to that buffalo which he had killed. They all arrived where he was.

Right there they put up a brush lodge,[10] and then he stayed there, sat in the shade. Then the two girls started in butchering. And then they built a wickiup, and he sat (there). He made the doorway facing in another direction than where he was sitting, he made several entrances to the wickiup that they had built. "What is it that you have done done with this wickiup that we have made?" "It is merely for fun that I have done so, thinking that if enemies suddenly

qïma′ndjⁱuwα ųnι′uŋqᴜ ma·′p·a″ʿ djιvų′ˣg̣ug̣uvαʿ, ma′ig̣äin·ι. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pᴜʿdju′tcug̣wap·ug̣ai′am wa·′ᵐᵃmat′djuʷ umʿ ma·′ciicqʷᵓ′aiʿ. qa′tcʿ pu′ι″εt· ara′q·aʿ, ma′ip·ïg̣ai′ⁱm ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ.

ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ söndö′naip·ïg̣ai′amʿ. ′ïˣpu′ig̣up·ʿcaγʷɔn·ι, ma′ip·ïg̣ain·ι′αmʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ᴀˣpu′iva·q·ᴜpïg̣ain·ι. ųwα″vandux cą″avιp·ïg̣a cu′q·unan·ι. cu′q·ʿpa′andug̣wαn·ι ta·wa′tcavιp·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ᴀˣpu′iq·ʿpug̣a. ųwac u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu′ι′ąv uru′ ųwacqʷᵓ′a′iʿ pu′ι′xᴜg̣a′mιnιp·ïg̣a. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu′ι′xᴜqa′mⁱp·uⁱ′aŋ uru′ ιmι′t·ux ιnι′p·ïg̣a punι′n·″ʿpug̣aik̭·a′mʿ pu′ι′ŋ uʀ qa′tcʿ ya′nᴜpug̣a′ⁱ. uruc u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ pu′ι″ŋ uʀ qatc yä′nᴜpug̣a′ⁱ mo′p·uwi′aγaip·ïg̣a pu′ι′vąˠwï′nťιŋʿ. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ qᴜʿdju′n ųwa′iʿ tö″vai′ʸaŋʿ qwïï′wιyųˣpug̣aik̭·′amʿ. ʋ·va″na′ŋα′mʿ ta·wa′tcɪtιp·ïg̣a qᴜʿdjun ųwa′iʿ tö′vȧ′vȧ′ȧnʿ. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq· ö′rï′c·aip·ïʿ qwï·′wιųˣpug̣aic′ʸαmʿ. uva″naŋ′amʿ tʿcą″ȧnʸʿtιp·ug̣a. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ toγo′q·ʿqʷᵓ′aⁱp·ug̣ai′ⁱmʿ sïmba′iq·ʿpug̣ai′amʿ ųwαc uvȧ′ⁱc ᴀˣpu′ip·ïg̣a. ųwac u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ tᴀʿpu′n′x̭pïg̣a. tᴀʿsι″avιmbandux tʿsą″avⁱp·ïg̣a ų′muvʷatcuγ ampa′γaγa a′ip·ïg̣a wa·′ᵐᵃmatcu ųmʷų′ qᴀʿg̣a′ʀqaik·ᴜ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ, tᴀʿpu′n·′tc uru′ʿ pïŋg̣a′.unik·ˣ, ma′ip·ïg̣a. töˢdjι′nʿ pι′aγaŋg̣ι. ųwai u″vʷaiyauq·ʿ namba′wauφ qari′rι tanι′ntcιg̣ιp·ïg̣ai′ⁱŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ tᴀʿpu′n·′ˣk̭a′ŋ ö′rï′caip·uva′n tʿsą″avιp·ïg̣a. qᴜʿdju′nʿ tö·′vȧvιmpȧ′anʿ ta·wa′tcι′avιp·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ tᴀʿpu′n′ˣpïg̣a. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ tᴀʿbu′n′ˣk̭a ǫru′ʿ wa·′ᵐᵃmat′djuʷ u′mʿ g̣atci″mʿ yá′n·ʿpug̣aⁱ″.

ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· o·′p·′ǫʿpug̣a[15] ug̣wι′n·anaq·ʷɔ′ap·aγaiŋkᴜpïg̣ai′ⁱmʿ. ʋ·′vandug̣w ʋ·″vʷaiyauq· ug̣wι′maip·ïg̣aik·ˣ ną·′wai′am uru′ʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ʋ·′p·ᵃ′aųʿpug̣a ug̣wι′n·antιnag̣waip·ïg̣ai′ⁱmʿ. ųmuc ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ wa·′ᵐᵃmat′tcuˠʷ u′mʿ pimi′vunιk·ąɪʿpïg̣ai′ⁱmʿ. ma′ip·ïg̣ai′ʸαmʿ. ną·′wavandug̣wam uru′ʿ ma′wι′cpïg̣a. wᴀʿdji′x·pug̣ai′ⁱmʿ tιvʷι′dju wᴀʿdjų′ʿpug̣ai′ⁱmʿ. ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq· wᴀˣdju′ŋˣqwa′m uru′ʿ si′ᵘg̣wandιʿ tönto′avaγat·ˣpïg̣a. ιn·ι′t·ug̣wa′m ιnι′ᴜˣpug̣a sι′ᵘg̣ʷand uru′ʿ tιrȧ′vιtc tιvʷι′g̣ąnʿpǫʿ.[16] ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ini′t·ug̣wa′m uru′ ιnι′ųŋq ï′mʿg̣untʿ qᴀˣg̣a′ʀpug̣a tιvʷι′g̣anˣpaųʿ ųmuc ʋ·″vʷaiyauq·ʿ wa·′ᵐᵃmat′tcuˠʷ u′m ʋ·va′ndιamʿ tιva′ʿ punι′k̭·aip·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʿ qan′nι′g̣a·vaʿ qari′p·ïg̣a. ųmuc punι′k̭·aip·ïg̣ai′αmʿ kιε′ŋxpïg̣ai′αmʿ,[17] na′n·ucuφɪ to″waiʿ tʋ·′ʀqaγarιʿ, ma′ip·ïg̣ai′m ųmu′c wa·′ᵐᵃmat′tcuˠʷ ų′mʿ. naγa′tcιw ara″ wï·′tsιnʿ qwö′ö′p·ïⁱʿ to·′wa·ʿ, ma′ip·ïg u″vʷaiyauq· ųwa′c.

u′ʀcambaq·ʿ pɪsε′rεnιan·anʿ.

come upon us, we might hurry out through those (openings)." And then the two girls understood that there was something wrong with him. "He must be without eyes," said they then.

And then they fooled him. "Would that he might go to sleep!" thought they. And then he began to feel sleepy. He put his head on the lap of one of them, on to the other he had his foot extended as he lay down. And he had his eyes covered. Then they took off the bandage that covered his eyes and looked at them. His eyes were not there. Those eyes of his were not there, but there were many fly-eggs in his eye-spaces. And then they took the buffalo's hind-quarter, and they placed his feet on the buffalo's hind-quarter. And then they also took a rotten log and caused his head to lie on it. Then the two of them ran away and left him there. He was sleeping there yet. And then he woke up. He was lying with his head on ants, and he said, speaking to them, for the two girls had run off, "Being awake, go ahead and do it!"[11] said he then. "My head itches." And then her who was sitting at his foot he shook with his foot. But, when he awoke, he lay with his head on a rotten log and with his feet extended on a buffalo's hind-quarter. And so he awoke and, when he had awakened, the two girls were not there.

Then he started off in that direction, he walked about to get scent of their tracks. There, then, he found their tracks by smelling. And then he started off on it, went off to track them by their scent. Now those two girls looked back and caught sight of him. He came upon their tracks, came near to them, and almost caught up with them. And then they, when he was (nearly) up to them, caused (their) jingles to make a rattling noise. They turned to a side, having thrown the jingles down a steep cliff. But he, when they had turned to a side, ran straight ahead down the cliff. Then the two girls looked down there. Now that Coyote was sitting at the base of the declivity. They looked at him and laughed at him. "He is sitting and eating his own marrow," said those two girls. "It is marrow of mountain sheep which I have killed long ago," said he then.

That is the end of my tale.

3. Wildcat and Coyote disfigure each other.

pᴜʻcu′ntᴜgwɑtc ʊ·′′va tava·′avɩp·ïga. yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʻ o·′p·ʻpuga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pᴜʻcu′ntʻgwɑdj ų′ʻ tava·′′ʻpuip·ïga. ųwɑc a′t·impunɩt·ʻpuga pᴜʻcu′ntʻgwɑdj ų′ʻ. ųwɑc punį′wųnɩp·ugai′ŋʻ. aγa′n·ɩvanɛaŋanʻ, ma′ip·ïgain·ɩ. quⁱva′i′aŋ maiyäuq·wpuga tümba′i′aŋ tcᴇˣpa′γanap·uga pu′ɩ′ą unɩ′p·ugaic ava′t·ɛa′ŋʻ pɑi′tcʻpuga. mö′ö′′ɑŋʻ ma′iagwɩdjap·ugaic qᴜʻcɩ′′aŋʻ ma′iaq·ᴜpugaic. manɔ′q·ᴜduˀwaic′ɩŋʻ ma′iagwɩtcʻpuga. ųwac uva′c avɩ′p·ïga tümbüɩ′tc′ɩvä′nʻ. ųwɑc ųnɩ′gaic′ɩŋʻ pa′x·qʷᵓ′öp·ïga. ųwɑc yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʻ o·′p·ʻpuga ʊ·′vai u′′vʷaiyauq· öˣpu′iva·q·ʻpugain·ɩ. o·′vac ta·va′′öˣpïiq·ᴜpuga tümbüɩ′tcivá′nʻ.

ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pᴜʻcu′ntʻgwadj ų′ʻ ta·vu′n′ˣpuga. aγa′nʸ·ˣqwᵓ′ɔik̯·ɛ·n, a′ip·ïgain·ɩ. punɩ′k̯·aip·ïga qᴡᴀʻcɩ′vantiav uru′ʻ gatci yä′nᴜpuga′ⁱ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ gʷïri′k·ɪpïga. gʷïri′k·ts uru′ʻ quva′iav uru′ʻ ma·′waγanʸ·′ˣpïga. aγa′nʸ·ˣqwᵓ′ɔik̯·ɛ·nʻ, a′ip·ïgain·ɩ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· ava′iʸauφʷ punɩ′k̯·aip·ïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ qïma′nʻ punɩ′t·ᴀpïga. aγa′p·′ųˣgwai′ŋʻ, ma′ip·ïgain·ɩ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· o·′p·′aŋ′ʻ nandi′n·ᴀpugai′ⁱŋʻ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· o·′v avɩ′p·ïga yoγo′vʷïdj ų́ʻ ma′ip·ïgai′ŋʻ pᴜʻcu′ntᴜgwɑtc ų′ʻ. pᴜʻcu′ntᴜgwɑtc ų′ʻ ųwa′φᴀwųnɩ′p·ïga sųma′iwųnɩp·ïga ųwa′vatcuxpuga tcᴀˣtʊ·′q·w′aŋpugai′ⁱŋ pa′a′t·ɔx qᴡᴀʻcɩ′′aŋ ųnɩ′p·ugaic tcᴀˣtʊ·′q·w′aŋpugaik·ˣ tümba′i′aŋ tcᴀˣpa′q·anap·ugaic. pu′ɩ′′aŋ ųnɩ′p·ugaic gwandu′p·ʷɪt·′ɩp·ugaik·ˣ. pɪˢdjo′q·ʷᵓ′aiya′ŋʻ tcʻxa′vɩnap·ïgaic. pa′x·qwᵓ′ᵓⁱp·uga ųnį′m′mᴀˣgutcɩ′ɩŋʻ.

yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʻ uva′c avɩp·ïga pa′x·qwᵓ′ɔik̯·ą′ uru′ʻ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ ta·vu′n′ʻpïga. aγa′n·ˣqwᵓ′aik̯·ɛɛ′nʻ, a′ip·ïgain·ɩ. muvʷɩ′t·auvʷ ï′p·unɩn′ˣpuga. qᴡᴀʻci′vandɛauφʷ punɩ′k̯·aip·ïgaic qᴡᴀʻcɩ′′ⁱŋ pa′a′t·ɔγɔp·uga qᴡᴀʻcɩ′yauvʷ ï′p·ɩyaγʷɔn·ɩp·uga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pa′x·qwɔ′ɔⁱp·uga pa·′vandux na·′vunɩk̯·aip·ïga pa·′voųʻ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pa′a′t·ɔγɔndi mövü′t·′ɔŋgaip·ïga. o·′waiʻ tɔγɔ′isamp öˣpa′q·aitcɩvąɔnt ivi′n′nɩgup·ʻsamb ura′′ᵃⁱʻ. tɔγɔ′nʸ′nɩnɩasampʻ, ma′ip·ïgain· u′vʷaiyauq·ʻ.

4. Owl's Widow goes in Quest of Chicken-Hawk.

mo′p·ïⁱts qanɩ yaip·ïga[18] su′q·us towɑ′tcɩgäip·ïga. ta·vʷï′yaaimpurunumpuga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pɩwa′′ŋ ų′ʻ ta·vʷï′yaaiŋkwɪk̯äiq̇·ųʻ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ ta·vʷu′öᵒvʷ uru′ʻ tᴀʻci·′tcʻpïga. urï′c tᴀʻtö′nʸ′ˣtia′ŋʻ nɩvʷa′ʀᴀtön′ítia′ŋ ura′ṗ·ïga cu·′q·ᴜpandis. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·

3. WILDCAT AND COYOTE DISFIGURE EACH OTHER.[12]

Wildcat was lying there in the daytime. Coyote went along in that direction. Now then Wildcat was asleep in the daytime. The Wildcat looked very beautiful, and that one stood looking at him. "What shall I do to him?" thought he. He pressed his face back with his hands, he ripped his mouth wide open, and he did so likewise to his eyes, he made his eyes look big. His hands he pressed back so as to make them short, and his tail also he shortened by pressing back. Everything that there was on him he shortened up by pressing back. In that same place he was lying on the rock. When he had treated him in that manner he went off. That Coyote went along in yonder direction from there, and then he began to feel sleepy. Right there in the daytime he fell asleep on the rock.

And then the Wildcat awoke. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. He looked to where his tail was wont to be at his side, but it was not there. And then he arose. When he had got up, he felt all over his face with his hands. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. And then he looked at his shadow and he appeared different. "In what direction did he go?" thought he. And then he tracked him along there. Now there Coyote was lying and Wildcat found him. Wildcat stood near him, stood thinking of what to do. He went up to him, stretched him out long, and did so likewise to his tail, pulled it out. His mouth he ripped open wide and his eyes he treated similarly, made them long and narrow. His waist above the hips he also narrowed. He went away when he had finished with him.

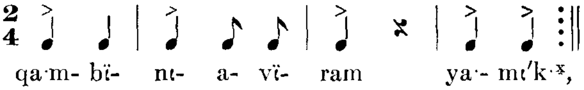
Coyote was lying in that same place after he had gone away, and then he woke up. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. He kept looking at his nose, he also looked then at his tail. His tail was long and he kept dragging his tail after him. And then he went off to a creek and looked at himself in the water. Sure enough he was long-nosed. "Yes, it is all right when I might want to be drinking down in a rock hole. Everything is all right," thought he then.

4. OWL'S WIDOW GOES IN QUEST OF CHICKEN HAWK.[13]

Owl dwelt (there) and had one boy. He used to go out hunting for brush-rabbits. One time his wife, after he had gone out to hunt for brush-rabbits, cracked off the leg bone of a brush-rabbit. There was that one place where he was accustomed to stamp his feet,

ųvʷa′q̓·‘ tᴀ‘dɔ̈′n’ˣtιaia’ŋ uru′‘ wa′ιxt·’ιp·ïgaik·ˣ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pιdjι′p·ïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ tᴀ‘tö′n’ɪtuawaγap·ïga nιŋga′q·aiq̓·ų‘ a·′ᵘ’wιnι toa′waγap·ïga naιnba′na·x·duᵞwą’ŋ‘ ųwa′c nιŋga′q·arιp·ïgaik·ˣ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ yïga′p·ïga qari′p·ïg u′’vʷaiyauq·‘. ta·vʷï′yaaimpi·ʸιg uru′‘ qari′p·ïga. pι′tc‘qai uru′‘ qanι′vauφʷï. tᴀ‘cι′q·ιnaik̯·ain‘, ma′ip·ïga, punι′ŋk‘qaik̯·an, piwa′iavʷ ųwa′i‘. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ punι′n’ˣpïgaik·ˣ öovʷ u′ʀᴜ namba′na·x·dugwa’ŋ‘ qavι′tcaik·ᴜpïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ų′na·γaik·ˣ tsε′agwιdjap·ugaik·ˣ namba′na·γ’ai’ŋ uru′‘. avʷï′cιq· ųnι′p·ïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ wi′t·avaiťc‘ qari′p·ïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· öro′γwa·nʸ’ˣqup·ïga wi′t·a·vaitc uru′‘ qari′gaic. uva ųnι′p·ïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· amba′x·pïga. ǫmʷu′i guc qï‘cä′vιmbâtcuγw ųnι′’waiavänι. ų′’ᵃˣg ųwα′c ma·nu′q·ᴜtïm·ʷa·c qɔ’ι′ntɪ tιwa′q·aiyεntɪ. ų′ŋavatcuγwa·ŋa′’ ya·′ᵘ’waiavänι towa′tcιyân ι̥ŋa′i ų’ʷaq· a′itcιaŋ‘. ampa′γamaq̓·ᴜpïga. ampa′γamaq̓·ᴜts uru′‘ yⁱ’a′ik·ᴡɪpïga.

ųmuc ʋ·′’vʷaiyauq· o·′p·a’‘ pa′x·qwɔ’ɔip·ïgai’m‘ towa′tcιavʷ ųwa′i‘ nǫ·′’ιaγa o·′p·‘pïgai’ⁱm‘. ʋ·′va pǫnι′ᴀ qanι′yaip·ïga[19] pιε′tc’ιŋ‘ ti′rava qari′p·ïga tavι′n’naip·ugwauφʷ maumα′ťc ųwa′ι̥‘ nιŋga′q·aiq̓·ᴜ qa·′p·ïga pǫnι̥′ ų‘ pǫnι′avïauφʷ tsaγa′γarιp·ïga.



ma′ip·ïga. ömbï′sιnια’ ųnι′’wι‘ ömbï′sιnιaŋ ya·′’wι‘. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ mauma′ťc ų′‘ pι′djιgwaitc uru′‘ pɪsε′rεnιaŋk‘pïgai’ŋ‘, ųwa′c·ɪdja’γ u′c mʋ·′ą ų′‘ ʸι′a′ik·wa’ᵋ, ma′ip·ïga pǫnι′ay ųwa′ι̥‘ pιε′tcι‘ pɪsε′rεnιαŋ·gïga‘. ömbï′sιnιεiyaγå’ⁱ ųnι′’wι‘. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pa′x·qwɔ’öp·ιga mauma′ťc u′ŋ‘ towa′tcιauv ųwa′ι̥‘ nǫ·′’ιaγa‘. må·′cɔγɔvʷïdj ų′‘ ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ yaγa′q·ᴜpïga pa′x·qwɔ’öⁱk̯·a’m uru′‘. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ må·′cɔγɔvʷudj ų′‘ pumbą′’ uru′‘ qari′q·ain ʋ·′va uvo′ų‘ sι’a′q·ˣpïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ qa·′γais uru′‘ nιŋga′q̓ᴜpïga pιε′tci’ŋ u′ŋ‘ yaγa′p·ïga. aγa′n·ιg’a′ik·ˣ pιʸε′n·ɪ ǫmʷöι̥ nuwqwa′i‘[20] qa′tc‘ mą·′ι̥mιŋwa’. nava′s·ιn a′ik·ˣ tiri′q̓·yaγaγa[21] wï′t·ambï‘ sų̈′m·aiyε‘.[22] qa·′tc‘, öm’ʷ ïŋqï′ qatc‘ ma·′ι̥mιŋwa’. ι̥nι′samb uru′’ ǫmʷö′iφᴀ qɔ′ⁱnʸˣqwɔ’aik̯·εntɪ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ugwι′uxqaip·ïga[23] pǫnι̥ ų′‘. pιε′tcιauvʷ ųwa′i‘ pïmba′‘ qari′q·ain ugwi′n’ɴɪ‘pïga. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pιε′tcιauvʷ ųwa′ι̥‘ ι̥mι′t·ugwą’ŋ‘ qwï′ï′p·ïgai’ŋ‘. uva′ndi ι̥mι′t·ugwą’ uru′‘ qwïï′ts· ugwι′nʸ’ˣpïga. ivⁱä′ntɪ mauma′’ŋgwą·nai‘, a′ip·ïg ʋ·′vaiyauq·‘. ιndji′’ca’ tsa·′ᵞwąnai[24] ǫmʷö′i pïmba′‘ qari′q·ain‘,

where he was accustomed to stamp his feet to remove the snow. And there at the place of stamping his feet she stuck around the (bones). And then he came home and he made a noise of stamping, while she heard it; very plainly a noise was heard of something piercing into his feet. She heard it as she was sitting down. And then he entered and sat down; when he had finished with hunting for brush-rabbits he sat down, having come home in his house. "My feet are cold," said he, "please look at them," (said he) to his wife. And then she looked at the bones that had been splintered off right into his feet. And then she pressed them back into his feet. She was through with it. And then he sat a little longer. He commenced to suffer after remaining seated a little while longer, and he kept on suffering. And then he spoke, "You indeed shall proceed to Chicken Hawk. He is the one that kills every kind of animal, being a good hunter. To him you will go and you will take this boy of mine to him, his paternal uncle." He finished talking. When he had finished speaking, he died.

And then the two of then went off in yonder direction, she carrying with her her boy. They went along yonder. There Skunk was dwelling, and his mother was sitting outside at an outdoor camp fire. The young woman heard him as Skunk sang; he was sitting and sewing his skunk-robe.

"Our river-rock robe is flapping,[14]
Our river-rock robe is flapping,"

said he. "Hurry up and go along, hurry up and take him[15] with you," (said the old woman). Now the young woman, when she had arrived, began to tell her her story. "That one indeed, his father, has died," said she, as she told her tale to Skunk's mother. "You two hurry and go along," (said the old woman), and then the young woman went off, carrying her boy along with her. The old woman then began to cry when they had gone off. And then the old woman sat right down in the place where the other had been sitting. Now, while he was singing, (Skunk) heard how his mother was crying. "Why do you do that, my mother? You have never acted like that." "For no particular reason I act like that, crying out of lonesomeness, thinking of old times." "No, indeed you have never done that sort of thing. Somebody must have passed by and been with you," (said Skunk). And then Skunk hunted around by smelling. He kept sniffing at where his mother had been sitting. And then he took his mother away from (her seat). When he had taken her

pǫ̈nį ų′‘ tιvʷι′ŋˣpïgai’ⁱŋ‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ tivʷi′aŋgų’ uru′‘, ömbu′′ aik·ˣ tιvʷι′aŋga ųwa′įya’ pavι′tcι’m u′ŋ‘ ʸι’a′ik·ᴡɪpuga mǫǫ′p·ιtc ų′‘, ma′ik̯·a ɔc[25] pιʸwα′γaip·ï̜ ’u′ŋ‘. υ·′vaiyauq·’um ųmu′c ųnι′′wιεi‘ ma′ik̯·a’m u′c. υ·′wai‘. ǫ̈m υ·′wai aγa′n·ιχε‘ nį·′nai‘ qa′tc‘ sïndι′t̕·ιŋwa’. ųwac aγa′n·ιgε nιgï′manit·uγwa’ŋ‘ qwï’ï′k·ᴡɪk̯ε a′itcįyän ǫwa′ï‘.

ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pǫ̈nį ų′‘ o·′p·’ąų‘pïga ną·wa′i’am uru′‘ nandi′naγwaip·ïgai’m‘. ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq· υ·′vanduxpïgai’m‘ maumat̕c ų′‘ υ·′vaiyauq·‘ pimi′vunιk̯·aip·ïga ï′tcaγatcιvatcuʸwaŋxpïga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· ᴡᴀˣdju′ŋᴜpïgai’m‘. ᴡᴀˣdju′ŋ‘djι’m uru′‘ yö′′ɴᴀˣgup·ugai’ⁱŋ‘ yö·′nanιp̓·ïgai’ⁱŋ‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pö·′′aiyauφʷ du’u′mˣpïga mandja′wιnap·ïgaik·ˣ tümpüι′tcιmanduxᴜ. inintc‘ qw’a′ï‘ anι′k·ᴜqwa’. yȧ·′nam‘ naγa′tcιᵘw. ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq· υ·va′ndï‘ naγa′tcⁱuw υ·′va·p·ïga ï′tcaγatciφᴀ. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pönι′avųmoγoi’ʸav uru′′ mauma′t̕c ųwa′į‘ naγa′t̕·įᴜ‘pïga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· ųnį′ᴜˣgwą’ uru′‘ ųwα′vιnaγαc mɔγo′i’ą uru′′ t̕sιε′mbιvïaq·‘ naγa′t̕·įᴜ‘pïga pa′x·qwɔ’öp·ïgaic’ïm‘ ųnį′ᴜ‘djιq· uru′‘. i′väc uru′′ qarï′n· ųwaį‘, ma′ip·ïga. ma′igäic o·′p̓·ąųxpïga öa′q·‘pïgai’m‘. qo·′q·ᴡɪpïgai’m‘ ma·nɔ′q·wo’m‘ qɔγɔ′ip̓·ïga. qɔγo′im’ᴍᴀˣgutcι’m uru′‘ qö·′nʸˣpïga o·′p̓·ac. uva′c qarï′p·ïga puni′q·ʷ’aigų’ uru′‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ mιι′t·ɔγʷaŋaiŋgεⁱc ᴡᴀˣdju′′ma·p·ïga. yö·′′ɴᴀˣguvιdjιγwap̓·ïgaik·ˣ. uva′q̇·‘ yö·′nanιp̓·ïga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ pu′nι′k·ᴜpïga tsιε′mbιvï‘ naγa′t̕·ʸk̯aip·ïga. ’o’o′‘ ’o’o′‘ aγa′n·ιnιąq̇·wai‘ cidju′ntogwa‘, ma′ip·ïga. yö·′nanιgaik̯· uru′‘ uma′ndux mɔγo′i’av uru′‘ tsᴀ‘pa′γadjaq·ᴜpïga. punι′k·ᴜgwą’ uru′‘ mauma′t̕c ų′‘ qa′tc‘ yä′nᴜpïga’ⁱ towa′tcιwai’v ųwa′i‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· uva′nduxpïga naγa′tcιwav ųwa′i‘ qʷɔ̈’ɔ̈′ⁱk̯·äip·andux υ·′′ŋ u′ʀ manu′q·ʷop·ᴀ qᴡᴀ‘gwα′φɪpïga. ųwac υ·′vanduxpïga tsöa′p·ïgaik·ˣ pö′′avιm u′mᴀ pᴀ‘ba′tcï’aik̯·aip·ïga υ·′′aŋ uru′‘ wun′na′uam‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ na′i’aip·ïga pǫ̈nį ų′‘, aγa′′vᵃm o·′vʷai‘ nų̇·′rïgaivaιmbï‘, ma′ip·ïg υ·′vaiyauq·‘ pǫ̈nι′ ų‘. ma′igäic υ·′vaiyauq· o·′′p·ïga. ųmʷȧ·c υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ punι′k̯·aik·ᴜ ï′t·ųmʷai’wιap·ïgain·ι pǫ̈nιa o·′′p· u′ʀ. pïŋga′.ųnι′wιą’ towα′p·utcιn‘, ma′ip·ïg υ·′vaiyauq·‘ ᴡᴀ‘tsε′γιŋgυ·k·‘. urïc υ·′vaiyauq·‘ ᴡᴀ‘dju′ŋᴜpïgai’m‘ pönι′a o·’p· u′ʀ. urïc u′vʷaiyauq·‘ na·′waik·wsï′m‘ pᴀxą′ᴜ‘pïgai’m‘.

ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· ųna′mbïdj ų′‘ υ·′va qanι′yaip·ïga.[26] tava′′ᴀˣaway from there, he kept sniffing. "Right here it smells like a young woman," said he then, "but this here where you have been sitting smells old." Skunk asked her. And then, when he had asked her, (she said), "What is it that you were asking? They say that your elder brother has died, the Owl, that indeed is what his widow was saying, and then the two of them were on their way." "Yes, why is it that you did not let me know? Why is it that she has taken away from me my brother's son?"

And then the Skunk started off in yonder direction and followed them in their tracks. Now the two of them were going yonder. And then the young woman looked back. He was coming very close to them. And then he caught up with them. When he had caught up with them, he embraced her, he kept hugging her. And then she took her lice and threw them away on a rock. "Stop this that you have been doing! Over there are mountain sheep," (said she). And right there were mountain sheep, and they were not far away. So he put his skunk robe about the young woman, and then, when he had done so and after he had gone, she put that blanket of his around a wild-rose bush, and having so done, the two of them went off again. "Stay right here," said he, and so saying he started off in yonder direction. He crouched up to the (mountain sheep). He shot at them, he killed them all, and when he had finished killing them off, he came back to the same place. And she was still (apparently) sitting when he went and looked. And then, when somewhat further on his way back, he closed his eyes. Again he proceeded to hug the (bush), there he hugged it for quite a while. And then he opened his eyes to see a rose bush that had a robe thrown about it. "Oh, oh! what is the matter! Don't, you fighter with your finger nails!" While he kept hugging it, he tore to pieces the blanket that was thrown thereon. The young woman was not there, nor her boy. And then he went to his mountain sheep that he had killed, his arrows were lying scattered about in every direction. He went over there and picked them up. Lice were stuck on to his arrows, to the arrow-points. And then Skunk was angry. "Where then would they be remaining?" said Skunk then. When he had said this, pepedit. Then, as they were looking, podex Viverrae kept coming on as in a cloud of darkness. "Move along fast, my dear boy," said she then, as it was coming near. And then podex Viverrae caught up with them. And then it killed both of them.

Now Badger was living there. He slept in the daytime and was puip·ïg̣a nǫnï'cpïg̣a tava'ᴀˣpuig uru''ʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ towa'tcιwav ųmʷų'ᴀ, punι'wawι ivɛ'tcʿ qatcïn a't·n̥nųnïcįwa'. ι·'vuru ura't̓·ʿ nįnï'mbιyätcιamʷ ų''ʿ avι'tcʿ, ma'ik̭·än·ιanʿ. ųmuc ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ qatcʿ mama'ip·ïg̣a'ⁱ pina'ŋqˣwdïmʿ tcʿˣqa'itcι'mʿ tïnι'ᴀˣpïg̣a. ʋ·vʷa'nʿ, ma'ip·ïg̣a pina'ŋkᴡtιtcιmʷ ų''ʿ. ųmuc ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ųʷa'ik·ᴡɪpïg̣a mǫ'avav ųwa'įʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ tιvʷį'ˣpïg̣ai'mʿ mǫmu''amʷ ų''ʿ, maą'c ïŋqï tïnι'aiʿ, ma'ik·ˣpïg̣a pina'ŋkᴡtïm ųwa'iʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· ųna'mbudj ų''ʿ qa·'q·ᴜpïg̣a,

ï·'rïrï·'rï ï·'rïrï·'rï.

tιvʷï'p·uruq·ʿ ya·'q·ɔap·ïg̣a. ʏᴀˣqu'm'ˣk̭âɪp'a'ŋ ʋ·'va tcɪʿkɛ''na·p·ïg̣a. aγa'n·ιam· ara'' ǫnį'ᴜˣg̣wainʿ. pönι'ɛi nïmʷ ara'' ǫnį'ᴜˣg̣wainʿ. ųmuc pa·'p·ö'tön'na·p·ïg̣ai'mʿ. qa·γa·'p·ïg̣a,

ï·'rïrï·'rï ï·'rïrï·'rï.

ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· įnι'p·ïg̣ai'ⁱmʿ poʷα'n·ɪˣqaŋqʿpïg̣ai'mʿ. yoγu'p·ï-g̣ai'mʿ. ųmuc ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ nįu'rιg̣aip·ïg̣ai'mʿ. nįmʷï'i'ŋ ïŋqï qatc ιnį''amantia'ŋʿ qwïų'wa'. qa'tcïn u'ʀᴀtï mą'.iŋwa'. manu'q·ᴜtu'asï'ŋ tᴜʿpwi'p·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ tömpö'ᵒq·wιvιan[27] a·''. ʋ·'rïʿ, ma'ip·ïg̣ ųna'mbïdj ų''ʿ, o·'waiʿ ï·'rïrï·'rï ï·'rïrï·'rï. yoγu'p·ïg̣ai'ŋʿ. ïvʷi'aγa', ma'ip·ïg̣a ma'igäic o·'p̓·ac ya·'q·oap·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷai-yauq·ʿ tιvʷį'ᴜˣpïg̣ai'mʿ. ųʷa'.ιnïmuc anι'k·ˣ ųwa'vatcuxqʷᵓ'aiyai'mʿ[28] qïʿsa'v ǫa'įʿ mǫa'iyą ųwa'įʿ ʸι'a'ik·ᴡɪpïg̣aiq·ᴜ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·, o·'vʷaiʿ, ma'ip·ïg̣a. ïvʷι'aγa ųwa'vatcuˠwa'm uru'' sų·'unι'waian ųwa'iʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ pa'x·qwɔ'öp·ïg̣ai'mʿ.

o·'v'amʿ qanɛ'aγantïmba ava'n'ᴀ pιtci''ˣᴡᴀpïg̣ai'mʿ. nïmʷu'i g̣uc anι'k·ˣ ų'wavatcux ųnι''wιaγai'mʿ qïsa'v ųwa'iʿ. o·'waiʿ wą'naŋʿ[29] tï·''ʿqanι'g̣ɛʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· uva'nduˠwap·ïg̣a ʋ·va pι'tcιq·wᵓ'ᵃp·ïg̣a. yoγo'vʷïdj ųwa'iʿ ta'ų'a·vιŋk̭aip·ïg̣a. må·''ᵃsoγovʷutc uva''ʿ qarï'p·ïg̣a pιɛ'tcι'ŋ ų''ʿ. yoγo'vʷïdj ų''ʿ nιŋg̣a'q·ᴜpïg̣ai'ŋ. aγa'n·ι-g̣ai'ŋʿ qï'maruxᴡᴀ ya·''wιaq·ai'ŋʿ. ivⁱä'n· uvʷ urå''ᵃⁱʿ pιtcι'q·ai-g̣up·umʿ, ma'ip·ïg̣ ʋ·'vaiyauq·ᴜ nιŋg̣a'q·ᴜtsιm uru''ʿ. yoγo'vʷïdj ava'n''ʿ qam·u'waʿ qwö'ö'k̭·aip·ïg̣a. mamų'antɪ yua'q·wa' ųwa'ruγw ʋ·'vaiyauq·ʿ. ʋ·'vaiyauq· ųmų'andïʿ yɔ'a'q·ᴡpwaiaγa. uva'nduˠwa'ŋ ųwa'vatcux tca·wι'navιdjιγw'ap·ïg̣ai'mʿ. ųwac ï'p·unιk̭·arïp·ïg̣ai'mʿ. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq· o·'p·ᴀcï'mʿ tu'u'mˣqwɔ'aip·ïg̣a. ųwac ʋ·'vʷaiyauq·ʿ yoγo'vʷïdj ų''ʿ, aγa'nʸ'ˣk̭a'ŋʿ, ma'ip·ïg̣a. qatci''am ïŋqï tu'u'm·aŋwa'.

dreaming while sleeping in the daytime. And then to his boys (he said), "Look way off yonder, I have not been dreaming well. Somewhere perhaps your aunt is lying down, that is what I think." But then they did not find any one, but the youngest of them, the younger brother, told about it. "Off yonder," said the youngest of them, and then they returned home to their father, and their father asked them. "That one is really telling about it," said they about the youngest of them. And then Badger started in to sing:

"ï·′rïrï·′rï ï·′rïrï·′rï."

He went straight down under the ground. There came to view her body bent sideways. "What is it that has happened to you?" (said Badger). "It is Skunk that has done so to us." They were swollen up with blood. He started in to sing:

"ï·′rïrï·′rï ï·′rïrï·′rï,"

and then he looked at them, he doctored them. Cum eis copulavit,[16] and then they revived. "We indeed did not take any of his things," (said she).[17] "I did not mean that sort of thing," (said Badger). Everything that was on her was gone through, (he refusing each of them). And then, "Vulvam meam?" (said) she. "Just that!" said Badger. "Yes! ï·′rïrï·′rï ï·′rïrï·′rï." Cum ea copulavit. "Good-bye," said he, and, so saying, he dived back again into his hole. And then he asked them (whom they were bound for). "We two are on our way to that one, to that Chicken Hawk we are going, since this one's father has died." Then he said, "Yes, do you two go ahead and proceed straight on your way to him." And then they went off on their way.

There the two of them arrived where many people were encamped. "We indeed are on our way to Chicken Hawk," (said she). "Yes, he lives up above yonder," (they were told). And then she went there and arrived at that place. It was Coyote whom she found to be chief. An old woman was sitting there, (the mother of Chicken Hawk). Coyote heard about her. "Why is it that she is carrying (her boy) along to another place? It is right here that the two of them should have come," said he then, having heard about them. Coyote had been killing many jack-rabbits. "Take one of them over to her then," (said he to one of his people). And then, having taken many of them over, he threw them down there where she was. She merely sat and looked at them, so he picked them up and went back

ųnι′q·ᴡᴀʿcι’. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· ųmǫ′andi tu’u′mxqwɔ’ᵊιp·ïg̦aic. ųwa′vatcuγwa’ŋʿ tcawι′nʿpïg̦aic ųwac ųmu′vʷatci̦ ï′p·unιk̯·arιp·ïg̦aic. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ du’u′mxqwɔ’ap·ïg̦aic’ïmo ·′p·’ac. o·′waiʿ ti̦rι′g·ι’aicι’ŋ a′ik̯·a·.[30] ųmʷą·′ᵃc uru′ʿ pι′tcιg̦waik·ˣ, nį′mʷïⁱ g̦uc ų′wavatcuγwa’m uru′′ ųnι′′wιän ųwaįʿ, ma′ip·ïg̦aiq̇· ų′ʿ mǫ′aγaip·ïg̦ą ųwa′įʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ må′soγovʷudj ų′ʿ. o·′waiʿ, ma′ip·ïg̦a. qatci̦ uru′′ ivä′ʿ avι′m·ιŋwait̕·ʿ. ma·v oru′′ tümba′ia·m öˣpa′q·aitciᵘp·a’ avι′m·ιntɪ.

ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ mauma′t̕c ų′ʿ o·′p̓·ąųxpïg̦ uvå′ndux tümbüidj uru′ʿ qö’ö′γudjait·ˣpïg̦aik·ˣ pö·′p·ïg̦aik·ˣ pïmbą’ ųr avi′m·ιnʿ uva′ndux uva pι′djιqwɔ’ap·ïg̦a. o·va′ŋwɪ muri̦′′ avι′p·ïg̦a avι′t̕·ιava’ŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· o·′p̓·ac tιvʷa′įʿpïg̦a pι′tcιg̦waitc uru′ʿ ï′c·uwain’ɴɪʿpïg̦ain·ι̦. ųmuc ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qamu′ri̦narι̦m ų′ʿ ǫ·′′mïɪʿpïg̦a. a′ip·ɛtc qo·′q·ᴡpaγaip·ïg̦a qamï′ndji̦ʿ pι′tcιqwɔ’aik̯·aiq·u’m uru′ʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· a′ip·ɛtc ų′ʿ tιvʷι′tcʿpinaŋqᴜ qo·′q·ᴡpaγaip·ïg̦a. cu′djιᵘq·uc pᴀˣqa′q·aip·ïg̦a ʋ·′vanduʳwa’ŋ wųna′ip·ïg̦a pιe′tcι ’ų′ʿ qwï’ι′p·ïg̦ai’ŋʿ ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ pi′tcɪtc uru′ʿ pιdjι′q·ᴜpïg̦a na·′mbunιk̯·aip·ïg̦a a′ip·ɛtc ųwa′įʿ. mauma′t̕c ų′ʿ punι′k̯·arιp·ïg̦ai’ŋʿ. caγʷa′iˣpïg̦ai’ŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ ti’ma′p·ïg̦ai’ŋʿ ti’ma′q·aip·ïg̦a wï·′t·avai’tc ti’ma′q·aip·ïg̦a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ tᴀʿdjι′p·ιŋgιp·ïg̦ai’ŋʿ ï′avan’ɴᴀʿtįmʷïɪ uvʷą′ŋᴜ pɔⁱya′p·ïg̦ai’mʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq· įnι′p·ïg̦ai’mʿ uva′nd ï′q·ᴜʿsuaxqᴀʿqaʀpïg̦a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qʿsi′av ų′ʿ yaγa′q·ᴡpïg̦a ųmʷų′andi cu′q·uc tanu′q̇·ᴜpïg̦a. ųmų′andi tanu′q·utc yïndji′q·ᴜpïg̦a qanι′vɛndug̦wavʷ uru′ʿ. uva pι′tcιqwɔ’ap·ïg̦a qʿsïav ų′ʿ qanι′vaǫⁱvʷ[31] uru′ʿ yιg̦ą′ᴜʿpïg̦a. öˣpu′iq·upïg̦a. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ mauma′t̕c ų′ʿ mį·′t̕cʿ tuγʷa′ʀ’ιuŋqᴜ uva′ndug̦wąųxpïg̦a. uva′nduʳwąųxtc uru′ʿ uva′ pι′tcιqwɔ’ap·ïg̦a. maγι′n’ᴀˣpïg̦ai’ŋʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ qʿsav ų′ʿ ki· ki· ki· ki·′k·ʿ, ma′ip·ïg̦a. yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʿ tuʳwan· uru′ʿ cu′p·a·ʀqaip·ïg̦a qwɔ’a′t·ʿqaq·ïŋg̦aʿ yoγo′vʷïdj ųwa′įʿ ta’ǫ′avιŋk̯aiʿ. ųwac ʋ·′vʷaiyauq·ʿ nιŋg̦a′q·ᴜpïg̦a. įnι′nt̕caŋ a′ik·a· anta′′ʸanʿ maγι′′nambιtc a′ik̯·a·, a′ip·ïg̦a. uγʷu′′naiyauφʷ qwï’ι′p·ïg̦a ʋ·′auφʷ tu’u′mʿpïg̦a. u′vandi qo·′q·ʿg̦up·ïg̦a o·′m·auvʷ uru′ʿ. įnɛ′i’aŋ a′ik·ˣ pιʸɛ′i pö̜ą′-

with them. And then Coyote said, "What was the trouble with her?" "Indeed, she did not take them," (said his messenger). "Go again and take some." So he again took some of them and went off again. Going up to her he threw them down again, but once more she just sat and looked at them. So again he picked them up and went back again. "Yes," (said Coyote), "she is still feeling lonesome." When the two of them, (she and her boy), had arrived (at Chicken Hawk's house, she said), "We, indeed, are on our way to that one, as the one that was father of this one said." And then the old woman said, "Yes, it is not here that he is accustomed to sleep, it is over there at the entrance into a big rock that he is accustomed to lie."

And then the young woman started off in yonder direction over there to the big rock. She made round holes in the rock to serve as steps. She pecked at the place where he was accustomed to lie. Proceeding there, she arrived at that place. In there the rabbit blanket was lying on his bedding. And then she went down back again, and when she got there, she felt proud. Now the hunters of jack-rabbits came back, each to his own home. A boy came along shooting the jack-rabbits after the two of them had arrived there. The boy came last of all, shooting along. He was accustomed to kill just one, and right there at his mother he threw it. She picked it up. And when he had gone home, he commenced to suck (his mother's breast). He looked cross at that (other) boy. The young woman was sitting and looking at him. (The old woman) took out the intestines from the jack-rabbit and roasted it in the ashes. It was roasted, it was roasted after a little while. And then she took it out of the ashes, she took out the (jack-rabbits) which had become numerous in there. And then she looked at them and they were steaming very much there. Now Chicken Hawk cried out and grabbed one of them in his talons, and he flew off to his house, holding in his talons the jack-rabbit that he had taken. There Chicken Hawk arrived at his house. He entered and went asleep. And then the young woman, when it had become a little dark, went to that place. Having gone off yonder, she arrived there and caught hold of him. Then Chicken Hawk cried out:

ki· ki· ki· ki· ki·′ k.ʽ

Coyote and his people were gathered together during the night and smoking, Coyote being their chief. And then he heard (Chicken Hawk's cries). "Something has happened to my friend who has been caught hold of," said he. He seized his quiver and took his arrows.

vatcuᵞwaŋxkwɪ'aik·ᴜ. ma′į̨n ųwai ʊ·′v ura′′vα' mauma′ťcι a′sⁱndι′ŋkᴜ. į̨nι′′ŋ ʊ·′vai' sïrι′′åť·ιmbï' ma′igain·ιandjan ųnį̨′ŋᴜ.

ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ wï′tcʽguc qamu′rina·p·ïgaic. yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʽ uvα na′iť·ιwųnιp·ïga. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ ųwa′φᴀ cu·′p̓·a·ʀpïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ tɔʽdjι′′ʷⁱtcawį̨nιp·ïga da′u'a·vι'n ų′ʽ. naγa′m·ιt·ᴜsu'wain'ˣpïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ pinȧ′vιdjιq̇·ᴡᴀpïga. ma′nιn'nιn ųwai uv ara′′vʷï' mauma′ťci 'a′sⁱndι′ŋkᴜ, ma′ip·ïgai'ŋ' qʽsȧv ųwa′į̨'. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ na′į̨'ɛip·ïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ timpu′ruauφʷ mąʷų′q̇·ᴡpïga. urï′c qwɪʽpa′p·aγaip·ïga tιvʷι′p·ï' wï·′αγutcʽpaγaip·ïga. yoγo′vʷïdj ų′ʽ ʊ·′vandι örȧ′′wιap·ïga, aγa′n·ιndja' na′į̨'ɛik·wa' anta′′n'. ʊ·′vandι öra′′wιap·ïga qwɪʽpa′p·aγaiŋkᴜg uru′ʽ ï′ⁱˣwɪʽqap·ιnap·ïgai'ŋ' pᴀxą′ųʽpïgai'ŋ'. ųna′ιnbïdj ų′ʽ ʊ·′vandι öra′′wιap·ïga. urïc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ ya·′q·oaq·ą 'uru′ʽ ï′ᵘˣwɪʽcιtcᴜgwιŋpïgai'ŋ öa′iaŋ uru′ʽ. o·ʀ ara′′ᵃⁱʽ qa′ivayugwιdj ι′ntc.

avʷï′c. u′ʀᴜsambaq·ʽ pɪcɛ′rɛnιan·an'.

5. The Releasing of the Corraled Buffalo.

ᴀˣda′q̇·untc ʊ·′va qanι′yaip·ïga[32] tuwa′tcιuw'aiφ. qᴜʽdju′ŋganιvï qanι′yaip·ïga[32] qᴜʽdju′mᴀ tį̨wa′q·ariga. yoγo′vʷudj ʊ·′va gąnι′yaip·ïgaic[32] ava′n'naγai yoγo′vʷudjι ųwa′į̨' tιγι′t·ᴜʽgwιp·ïga. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ nιvα′n·arȧφɪpïga da′q̇·untc[33] ųwaį̨' towa′tcιwαwa'ⁱ. yoγo′vʷudj ųaį̨' pï′ᵞauwαvandι' ta·vι′p·ïaiaγa yoo′vʷιm' ųwac qwïï′p·ïgaik·ˣ. yoov ura′p·ïga pį̨mą′ 'u′ʀ ta·vι′k̭·aip·ʽ. awïc ųnι′k·ˣpïga nιvα′n·araφɪk̭äp·ïga. yoγo′vʷudj ų′ʽ mι·′arιga·p·ïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ yoγo′vʷudj ų′ʽ amba′x·pïga. pavι′djιdj ųwa′į̨ ųwa′vatcuγw amba′x·pïga. ųmʷu′į̨ guc mι·′ąųxgʷanïmʷ uru′ʽ i′väc paγa′n'nιvän·ι sarι′djuwatcιyɛiʽ[34] qanι′p·uv ιndjι′. ųmuc uru′′ da′q̇·wunduγwatcu ų′mᴀ qwïʽgu′ιvʷandï'm į̨mʷï′į̨'. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ mι·′ąųxpïga uv ura ẉa′ik·ᴡɪpïga. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ qanι′p·uγwandιg uru′ ųnį̨′ᴜˣpïga. sarι′djιwatcιʽ ma·′maip·ïga qanι′p·uγwandug uru′ʽ. qᴜˣgwï·′q·ʽpïgai'ŋ' qanι′vänduγwavʷ uru′ʽ. maιna′x·pïgai'ŋ ųmu′c sarι′djuwatc ųwa′į̨'. urïc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ tava′iya·q·wɔ'ɔp·ïga. ųwac uv ųnι′k̭·aip·ïga sarι′djuwatc ų′ʽ.

urïc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ duγwa′r'ιumpïga. qanι′vǫwǫį̨nt uru′ʽ sɪpä′n'nιndjι tümbüi′tcι į̨mι′t·ux qwï′ï′p·ïaiaγa. söį̨n ʊ·′vaiyauq· ųmų′and

At yonder place he kept shooting with his arrows. (The old woman said,) "It is this one's mother who has gone over to his place." "That, then, is no way to talk when a young woman likes you. I have acted thus thinking that someone has scared him there," said Coyote.

In the morning they went rabbit-hunting again. Coyote stood there at a fire that he had built. And then they all gathered together where he was. He, their chief, stood with his head bandaged. He looked sick with jealousy. And then (Chicken Hawk) was the last to come. "That is not the way to do when a girl likes you," said (Coyote) to Chicken Hawk. And then he got angry and dropped his club on the ground. It bounded along, it cut into the ground as it bounded along. Coyote was scratching away at a hole in the ground. "What did you get angry for, my friend?" (said he). He was digging away there when it came bounding along and just cut him in two, it killed him. Badger was scratching away at a hole in the ground over there, but that (club) slid off of his back just as he was getting into his hole. It is on account of that that there are these mountain peaks.

It is finished. That is all there is of my tale.

5. The Releasing of the Corraled Buffalo.[18]

Crow was living there together with his boys. He dwelt in a buffalo-hide tipi and was keeping buffaloes shut in. Coyote was also living at that place together with many others, and they were starving with Coyote. Now they were having a snow-ball contest together with Crow's boys. One of Coyote's people having been hit with a round lump of fat, he took it up; it turned out to be a round lump of fat with which he had been hit. They were finished with what they were doing, they had been having a snow-ball fight. Coyote spoke of moving away with his people, and then Coyote talked, he talked to Weasel, "You indeed, when we start in to move away, will keep walking around at this same place, after having turned into a little pup at this abandoned camp. It is those Crow boys who will take you up." And then they started to move away, and yonder then they camped. And then the (Crow people) proceeded to the abanddoned camp. They found a little pup at the abandoned camp. They took him to their own house and they fed that little pup. And then the sun began to go down, and that little pup remained there.

Now it began to be dark. Having taken off a flat rock which was inside the house, one of them then took from down in there some

ųna·′x·ti‘ qwï′ï′p·ïga qᴜ‘dju′n‘ tᴜˣqu′′ai‘. pᴀ‘dja′uwuvǫwąųntι t̕uu′mxpïga qᴜ‘dju′nt‘quavι‘. t‘qa′q·aumpugaik·ᵡ. ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ tɪqa′q·‘pïgaik·ᵡ tuγwa′n uru‘. sarι′djuwatc ų′‘ punι′k̭·arιp·ïgai′m‘ sarι′djuwat·ɪ‘qa′u′wɪ‘k̭εi uru′‘ pavι′d·jιts ų′‘. ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ tɪqa′q·αmaq·ᴜpïga. ö‘pa′q·adj uru′‘ tιwą′q̇·‘pïga. tιwa′q·umaq·ᴜdjιk·ᵡ qwᵓ′avι′q̇·wpïga.[35] ųmuc υ·′vwaiyauq· öˣqɔ′′a·q̇·wpïga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ sarι′djuwatc ų′‘ pavi′tci·ts· t‘qa′u′wɪpïga. uva′nduxpïga ö‘pa′q·adj uru′‘ pa·′vi·djidj ų′′ tιwa′ųṗ·u′aiaq· uru′‘ tsa·′p·‘ˣgwa·ŋ‘pïga. ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ qᴜ‘djum ų′‘ pini′t·ux tsɪpι′k·wpïga. pa·′manïn·ι pini′t·ux tsɪpį′ᴜˣpïga.

ųmuc υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ ta·′′vųnįᴜˣpïga pini′t·uγwa′m uru′‘ tsɪpį′ųmaq̇·uq·‘ ta′q̇·ʷïndjιw u′mᴀ. pa·vi′djidj ų′‘ o·′ṗ·ąųxpïga nįwι′ndjιtsqa′wιts‘. qatc‘ paa′iᴜpïgaic qᴜ‘djum u′mᴀ puni′k̔·wᵓ′aiq·ų‘ yoγo′vʷudj ųaį qanι′vändux. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ yoγo′vʷudj ų′‘ ampa′rooq·ᴜpïga tιγi′t·ᵉᴜ‘pïïŋqum uru′‘. ïvʷi′arauʷ anta′′wαn a′ik̭·a·, tᴜ‘ca′γarïm puŋgu′gʷaip·ïga. pιŋgu′auφʷ tsa′a′ip·ïgai′ŋ‘ yoγo′vʷudj ų′‘. qᴜ‘dju′ntιnąų‘pïga qᴜ‘djɹ′m‘ qa p·a′iᴜpïgaic ma·nu′q·ʷop·‘. maγwa′ndι·ⁱk·‘pïgai′m‘ qɔγɔ′ip·ïgai′m‘ ma·nu′q·ʷop·‘tuxw yoγo′vʷutc qa′tc‘ pᴀˣqa′p·ïgå′ⁱ. ǫ·′′ŋ‘ qatc‘ wį′nų‘pïga′ⁱ. cö·′ⁱp·ï‘ nιŋga′i′ʸai‘ pana′u′wïnauwaγaip·ïga pana′ɹ′wïnauwą u′ʀ ï′mᴀcïïŋunumpuga‘ yoγo′vʷudj ų′‘ puŋgu′v′anauvʷ ųwa′į‘ tᴜca′γarιum·ṗan ųwa′į‘. qa′tc. pᴀˣqap·ïga′ⁱ.

6. A Ghost Woman robs Mourning Dove of her Son.

ayö·′v υ·′va qanι′yaip·ïga[36] manu′q·ᴜtïmpu′ι′vιäs ini′numpuga t‘qa′n·umpuga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ towα′tcιyauvʷ ųwa′i‘ wadjι′q̇·ų‘pïga cö′inι badjι′tcι′ŋ ura′ṗ·ïga. wa·′q·unan·ι pi′c·ⁱ′oaγaip·ïga ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· a′.iöv ų′‘, qari′ᴀ, ma′ip·ïga towα′tcιwavʷ ųwa′i‘ tιga′′ʏwaiyε‘.[37] ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· υ·va paγa′nʸ·′ˣpïga ųmu′φᴀ towa′tcιwavʷ ųwa′į‘ pι′tc‘pïga sö·′v′önιp·ɪ. inindj ara′′, ma′ipïga u′vʷaiyauq·‘. punι′k̭·aivą·n‘, ma′ip·ïga. qa′tc‘, ma′ip·ïg ųwa′c padjι′tcι ′ų′‘. ųwac ï′p·ïŋqarιgaip·ïga, ᴀˣqa′įaŋo′ŋ‘ punι′k̭·aivą·n‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· ųwa′ruwąų‘pïgai′ŋ‘[38] tc‘xa′t̕·cιav[39] ųwa′į‘. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·‘ qwïï′p·ïgai′ŋ‘ punι′k̭·aip·ïgai′ŋ‘. ι′n·ι arat̕·ïm uŋgu[40] ′ara′′ᵃⁱ‘, ma′iρ·ïga. qwïï′k·wpïgai′ŋ‘ tc‘xa′it̕·cιąv ųwa′į‘. ųwac u′vac qari′p·ïga. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq· a′yöv ų′‘ pa′ik·wɪpïga tιga′vιyιg[41] uru′‘ pι′djιγwaṗ·ïga qanι′vavʷ uru′‘. pιdji′ᵘp·ïtcan‘ qugų′ąq·ᴜ qwïï′q̇·ιŋ‘ tc‘xa′it̕cι′mʷ ų′‘. qa′tc‘, ma′ip·ïg ųwac, ų′ŋʷan υ·′vai‘ cö′v′önιp· ų′‘ tc‘xa′it̕·cιan‘ qwï·ï′q̇·wa′ᵋ. ma′id′an xgw[42] a′ik·‘, mą′įᴜˣdj uru′‘

buffalo meat. He took many pieces of buffalo meat from inside of a parflèche. They started in to eat it. Now they were eating the meat when it was night, and the little pup sat looking at them, the weasel who had changed himself into a pup. And then they were finished eating and closed up the hole. Having finished with closing it up, they started to go to bed, and then they fell asleep. Then the little pup turned into a weasel. The Weasel went to that hole and took off its lid, he opened the hole. And then the buffaloes came out from inside, every single one of them came outside.

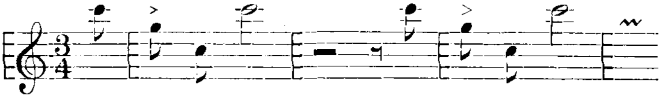
Now the Crows all woke up after the (buffaloes) had all finished coming out. The Weasel went off in yonder direction, having turned into an Indian. The buffaloes were innumerable when he went off to Coyote's camp to see. And then he told them about it. "Buffaloes are innumerable in every direction," said he then. And then Coyote ran out of his camp and shouted out his announcement while they were all starving, "Let us all be off, my friends!" He had a horse that was white, and Coyote caught his horse. They started to hunt buffaloes, buffaloes were innumerable in all directions. They pursued them, they killed them in every direction. Coyote did not kill any, his arrow did not go through. As arrow-points he had cottonwood leaves and his arrow-points would always bend. Coyote on his white horse did not kill any.

6. A Ghost Woman robs Mourning-Dove of her Son.[19]

Mourning-dove was living there. She used to gather and eat all kinds of seeds. Now she went off, leaving home her little boy, and there was one little daughter of hers; two in number were her children. And then the Mourning-dove said to her children, "Do you two stay here," as she went off to gather seeds. And then a Ghost Woman[20] was walking about there and arrived where the children were. "Of what kind is he?"[21] said she then (to the little girl). "Let me look at him," said she. "No!" said that sister of his. That one kept on asking, "Hand him over, let me see him." And then she gave her younger brother to her. Then she took him and looked at him. "Indeed he is of the kind that I thought," said she, and she took away the younger brother. Right in that same place was that (little girl) sitting. And then the Mourning-dove came home after she had gathered wild seeds. She arrived in her own house. "My nipples are swelling up with milk, bring your younger brother over here."

wɪ'ti′ravɩp·ïgai'ŋ' padjɩ′tcɩavʷ ų̈wa′į'. ʊ·′vac yaγa′n·umpïga a′iötcɩv ų′'.

cö·′v'ǫ̈nɩp· ų′' towα′tcɩa ųwą′į' nana′q·ʊt'ɩp·ïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' da'wa′tcɩtc'qau'wɪpïga ti′navurunumpïga tï·′a ųwa′į' pᴀˣqa′q·ai' cu′mbaik·ɩnïmpïgai'm'. pɩ′tc'qa'ŋ uru′' cö·′v'önɩp· ų′' nö·′vɩunumpugai'ŋ'. gatca·′vɩɩq·' pɩ′djɩnumpuga'ⁱ. ųwac da'wa′tcɩgai uru′ avɩ′n·ïmpïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· u'wa′p·a'naŋ[43] uru′' sɔ'a′q·ampɩdjɩnïmpïga yoγu′t'·ʸpɩdjɩnumpugai'ŋ'. ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ',[44] ma′ik·unumpuga cö·v'önɩp· ų′' yoγu′t'·ɩŋgai'ŋ'. aiö′v ų′' ya·aγa′n·umpuga.



ma′inïmpïga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' ti′na·q·wɪpïga u′vandɩx tï·′ᴀ pᴀˣqa′p·ïga tɩγa′nʸ·'ˣpïgai'ŋ'. qwana′ntc ųwa′φᴀ pɩ′tc'pïga. nį·′aq· α′c cɩna′nt'cɩm', ma′ip·ïga. į′n aik̯· a′im·ɩan·ɩ nį' yaγa′r ųwai' tï′c·ain'. ų′'ᵃq α′c· yaγa′m·ɩnd ų′' pɩe′djɩ'ᴍ'. cö·′v'önɩp· ų′' įmʷįį′' qwïï′k·wɪpïgäntɪ wï·′t·ïc. įmʷï′i' guc maŋa′iac tɩvʷɩ′tc' pa'a·ŋ' pïga′vaɩ'. ųwac ųnɩ′p·ugai'ŋ' ųnɩ′m'ᴍᴀˣgup·ugai'ŋ'. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' q̇wana′ndj ų′' pɪ'du′mandɩauvʷ ųwa′ruwαp·uga.[45] ɩndj ara′' wᴀ'tsi′γɩŋgų' uru′' navɩ′mɪduxw wųna′in·ųwaį'. nįwu′mbɩ ųnɩ′p·ïgaic ųwa′ruwap·ugaic navɩ′m'duγwa·q· uru′' tɩra′vɩn·ųwai wᴀ'dju′ŋ'qʷą' uru′'. qɔva′'cavï ųnɩ′p·ugaic. ur ura ma′ip·ïgaic, wᴀ'dju′ŋ'qʷą' uru′' navi′m'duᵞwa·q·'t ɩrα′vɩn·ųwąį'. u′'vʷaiq·uc ųwa′ruwap·uga cɩna′ntcɩavʷ ųwa′į'. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' tɩvʷɩ′dj ba'antïmʷa'ŋ' pïga′p·ïga. pɩ′djɩgwaitc uru′' pɩɛ·′djɩαvʷ ųwa′į ųwa′vatcux mʷαn ʊ·′vaiyauq·' tɔγɔ′q·'qwᵓ'aivänɩam' tɔγu′tcɩvatcu'γwam ųwa′į'. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' pa′ik̇·ų'pïga ma′im'ᴀˣguq·wa'ŋ uru′' qwanandj ųwa′į'. ųwac pɩ′djɩgwa'p·ïga.

ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' sö·′v'önɩp· ų′' o·′ṗ·ąų'pïga uva′ndux ʊ·va′ pɩ′djɩgwaⁱ'p·ïga. ųmuc qᴀ'ga′ʀpïgai'm ųwa′vɩna·γαc. t'qu′av u′ʀ ba'a′ndïm' qo·′'avaq· ųwac uva′q̇· įnɩ′mxcup·uga. ąa′cɔq·uvï·'aiyauφʷ tʊ·′ṗ·ɩ′nap·ïga ųma′q̇·' qa w·a′it·ɩnɩaṗ·' tsi·′ųnɩŋgɩm'cup·uga. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·' wïgu′m'cuam·antiauφʷ tʊ·′p·ɩ′nap·ïgaic ųmʷaq· ųnɩ′p·ïgaic. qatc uvʷa′it·ɩnɩaṗ· ura′ṗ·ïga. qï′maiäc tʊ·′ṗ·ɩ′nap·ïgaic gatcu′'at'·ʸpïgaik·ˣ tɔγʊ·′vʷait·ɩn·ɩ ura′ṗ·ïga ųmʷaq· tsï·′ųnɩŋgɩp·ïga.

"No!" said that one, "it is the Ghost Woman that has taken my younger brother and gone away." "I did not tell you to do that," so crying out, she knocked her daughter down and killed her. In that same place Mourning-dove kept crying.

The Ghost Woman raised the boy, and then he grew to be a man and used to go around hunting. The deer that he killed he always left behind. When he arrived home, the Ghost Woman would always carry it home on her back. Very quickly she would come home with it. When he was a grown up man, he used to lie down. And then, after arriving, she would sit down super penem ejus. Cum domum rediisset, consuevit eum facere sesum copulare. "H', h', h', h',"[22] the Ghost woman would say, cum eum fecit secum copulare. Mourning-dove was wont to cry, "Bring back my boy, bring back my boy," thus she kept saying. And so he went hunting, killed a deer yonder, and cut it up. Eagle arrived where he was. "I, indeed, am your maternal uncle," said he. "What is it that is thus always crying? I am always thinking of that," (said the boy). "Indeed she who is wont to cry is your mother. The Ghost Woman is she who carried you off long ago. You indeed shall put away that (deer) very high up." He did so with it, he finished doing with it (as he had been told). And then the Eagle gave him some of his own soft tail feathers. "This is what you should throw behind you when she catches up." He also took a liver and gave it to him. "You must throw it behind you when she catches up." He also gave a stomach. Again then he said, "When she catches up you must throw it behind you." Just that number of things he gave his nephew, and then very high up he put away the (deer). "After getting home to your mother, you two are then to run away to your mother's father." And then he started back home, the Eagle having finished telling him these things. He arrived home.

And then the Ghost Woman went off in yonder direction to that place, and she arrived there. The two of them, (Mourning-dove and her boy), ran away after she had left. The meat that was high up on top of the (tree) she there tried to get in vain. She plucked out one of her arm-pit hairs and tried in vain to reach it with that, but it was not long enough. And then she pulled out one of her pubic hairs and with it she did as before. It was not long enough. She pulled

manɔ′q·ɔ ųnį′ųmaq̇·ᴜtsɪk·ˣ ’nɔ′q·ᴜpïg̨aik·ˣ qǫ̈·′inʸˣpïg̨a. pɪ′djɪg̨waik̭·a uru″, uva′c a·vɪ′ʽ, ma′ip·ïg̨ain·ɪ. sanα′t·uɣu′aiya′ŋʽ wųnɪ′t̓·įųˣpïg̨a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· uva′n″ʽ cö′a′q·ʽpïg̨a uva′n′dux pɪ′t·ᴀpɪk·ᴜpïg̨a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· avʷï′c ųnɪ′p·ïg̨a uvä′ndïʽ punɪ′k̭·aip·ïg̨a cana′t·uɣu’a’ŋ u′ʀ wųnɪ′t·ˣk̭aip·ïg̨a sǫ̈·′ų’ŋ u′mᴀ pᴀʽba′t̓caik̭·aip·ïg̨a.

ųmuc ʊ·′ṗ·ąųʽpïg̨ai’m aiö·′tcɪw ų′ʽ towα′tcɪ’ɣwai’v ųwa′įʽ toɣo′q·ᴜqw’aip·ïg̨ai’mʽ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· o·′ṗ·ąmᴀ nana′q·oap·ug̨ai’mʽ ma′ip·ïg̨aik·ˣ ną·wa′i’am uru′ʽ o·′ṗ·ąųʽpïg̨a cö·′v’ųnɪp· ų′ʽ. ųmuc ųni′tcɪyaip·ïg̨ai’mʽ ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ᴜ pɪmɪ′vunɪk̭·aip·ïg̨ai’mʽ. ᴡᴀʽtcɪ′x·pïg̨ai’mʽ. pïŋg̨a′sampᴀ towa′tcɪnʽ, ma′ip·ïg ų′wac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ. tïvʷɪ′dj uxdjų′ˣpïg̨ai’mʽ.[46] ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ pɪʽtu′vʷ uru′ʽ cįna′iȧv ųwa′įʽ pą·′ruwaq·ainʽ[47] wųna′ip·ïg̨aik·ˣ. paɣɪ′n·ax·qaʀpïg̨a qa ṗ·unɪ′t·ᴀpug̨a’ⁱ ᴡᴀʽdjɪ′x·ɪk̭ändï’mʷ ų′ʽ m’ą′ʽpïg̨a qatc a·″wɪpïg̨ain·’ɪ ųwa′vatcʽ m’ą′ʽqwᵊ’aip·ïg̨a. urïc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ punɪ′t·ᴀpïg̨a ųwac o·′ṗ·ąųʽpïg̨aic. pïŋg̨ą′ųnɪ’wɪaⁱ’ towα′p·utcɪnʽ, ma′ip·aɣaip·ïg aiʸö·′v ų′ʽ towa′tcɪavʷ ųwą′įʽ. ųmuc ʊ·′vai pɪmɪ′vunɪk̭·aip·ïg̨aicⁱï’mʽ. ᴡᴀˣdjɪ′x·ɪpïg̨aic’ïmʽ ᴡᴀʽdju′ŋʽpïg̨aic’ïmʽ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ nįwu′mbɪ uru′ʽ tïra′φɪpïg̨aic’ɪk·ʽ. pavï′mbara’ciųʽpïg̨a ma·nɔ′q·wop·ʽ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ cö·′v’unɪp· ų′ʽ uva′n’dux qwɪʽba′mbɪtcʽpïg̨a. ǫ̈″, ma′įᴜʽpïg̨a ųnɪ′p·ïg̨a nan·a·′ɣan·ɪ ąnɪ′p·ïg̨a mą·′wavanɪp·ïg̨a nan·a·′ɣan· ųnį′mᴜcup·ug̨a. ʊ·′ṗ·ąųʽpug ųwac. pïŋqą′ųnɪ’wɪaⁱ’, ma′ip·aɣaip·ïg̨a a′iö·v ų′ʽ towa′tcɪavʷ ųwą′įʽ. ųmuc ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ pɪmɪ′vunɪk̭·aip·ïg̨aic’ʸïmʽ ᴡᴀˣtcɪ′x·pïg̨aic’ïmʽ. ᴡᴀʽdjü′ŋʽpïg̨aic’ïmʽ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ q̇ʷövä′c·avï uru′ʽ wųna′ip·ïg̨aic. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· u′vandux kwɪʽba′mbɪtcɪ’g̨wap·ïg̨aic tümbüi″aɣavatcux tümbüi′wuwiyuaɣaip·ïg̨a. g̨atci′q·ᴀ tᴀʽtï″wɪnap·ïg̨a’ⁱ.

o·′ṗ·ąųʽpïg̨a. urï′c cɪna′ndjɪa’ ųwa′įʽ qwana′ndj ųwą′į ųwa′ruwaq·ainʽ tᴜʽbwi′k·ᴜpïg̨a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ, pïq·ą′ųnɪ’wɪaⁱ’ [48] toɣu′tcɪvatcu’ɣwamʷ ųą′įʽ. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq· ᴡᴀˣdjɪ′x·ɪpïg̨aic’ïmʽ tɔɣɔ′äv ʊ·′va qanɪ′yaip·ïg̨a[49] bïŋą·′vatcu’ɣwa’m ų′ʽ ųnɪ″wɪainʽ. ųwa′v’amʽ pɪ′djɪ’ɣwaip·ïg̨ai’mʽ ųwac qari′p·ïg̨a. ųwac ʊ·′vʷaiyauq·ʽ quna′vųna·ɣaiφï yųną′ųʽpïg̨ai’mʽ. ųnį′ųmaq̇·ᴜdjɪ’m uru′ʽ kwci·″ᴀˣpïg̨auv įmɪ′t·ux wųna′ip·ïg̨a w’a″ŋ u′r ï′t·ïrava pïri′ʀqarïp·ïg̨a[50]

out still another one and patched it on to the (first hair). It was just long enough, and with it she knocked down the (meat) as with a stick. When she had finished doing all this, she carried the (meat) home on her back and returned. When she arrived home, "In that same place he lies," thought she. Her pitch-copulator he had stuck up in the ground.[23] And then she sat down on it and jumped up and down upon it. Then she was finished with it and looked there at her pitch-copulator (which) he had stuck up. (Part of) her lungs remained clinging to it in shreds.[24]

The two of them had gone off in yonder direction. The Mourning-dove together with her boy had run away. And then she followed tracks in pursuit of them. The Ghost Woman found their tracks and started off along there. They were travelling along, and then they looked back. She nearly caught up with them. "Keep on a bit faster, my boy!" said the (Mourning-dove) then. She had all but caught up with them, and then the soft tail feathers which his uncle had given him he threw away. It turned foggy and she who had almost caught up with them was unable to see and got lost. Things were as though invisible to her, and she lost her way. And then it cleared up and she started off again in that direction. "Move along faster, my boy," said the Mourning-dove to her boy as she went along. Again the two of them looked behind from there. Again (the Ghost Woman) was coming up close to them. She caught up with them. And then he threw down the liver and it turned to smooth ice all over, and then the Ghost Woman fell down on it. "Ǫ' !" she cried out. She tried to go on, she tried in different directions. She crawled about in different directions, but it was in vain. She started off in yonder direction. "Move along faster," said the Mourning-dove to her boy as she ran along. And then the two of them looked back again, she had nearly caught up with them again. Again she caught up with them. And then he threw away the stomach. And then there she fell down again on to where it was rocky, for there arose many rock canyons. She could not go through it.

She started off in yonder direction. Those things which his uncle, the Eagle, had given him were used up. And then she (said), "Move along faster to your grandfather." And then the (Ghost Woman) again now caught up with them. Rattlesnake was living there, to whom they were proceeding. At his place the two of them arrived, and he was sitting there. And then he put the two of them inside of his sack. When he had done this with them, he threw off his

ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ pι′tcʻpį̈ga marι′n·aγant′ïmʷ ų′ʻ. aγa′p·atca′m ųnį′ᴜʻ, ma′ip·į̈ga tιvʷi′aŋgai′ŋʻ tɔγɔ′av ųwą′įʻ . ιväc uru″ ųnι′vörïq·umbatc ų′ʻ, ma′ip·į̈ga tɔγɔ′av ų′ʻ. tιvʷi′aŋgu ′ųru′ʻ sö·′v′ǫnιp· ųwą′įʻ. ųwac υ·′vʷaiyauq·, ïmb ara″, ma′ip·į̈ga. ′w′a′i′aŋ uru′ʻ ma′itcɪg uru′ʻ yɔγu′t̓·ˣqup·ugai′ŋʻ yoγu′p·ugai′ŋ ųwa′c. urïc υ·′vʷaiyauq·ʻ qanι″ŋ u′ʀ tsunu′wιgιp·į̈ga. ųwac ιʸɛ·′t·u′watcιauφʷ djadja′u′wιnau′wιap·į̈ga ųιnʷą̈·′c wųna′ip·į̈gaic. wųna′ik̯·a′ιn uru′ʻ, ǫ″, ąįᴜpį̈gai′mʻ. υ·″vai marι′n·aγaik̯·ainąn ų′ʻ. qa′tcʻ, ma′ip·į̈g ųwa′c, mą′įmιasambaq· į̈q·ï′ʻ nį·′naiʻ sɔ·′q·ᴜpι manιx·ᴜ. qanι′ŋ u′ʀ tsunu′wιgιp·į̈ga. inι′t·uγwa′ qanι″m i′ntcʻ tcunu′wιgιʻ, ma′ip·į̈g υ·′vaiyauq·ʻ sö·′v′önιp· ų′ʻ. qa′tcʻ, ma′ip·į̈g ųwa′c. į′nιmιasambaq· į̈q·ï′ʻ nį·′naiʻ sυ·′q·ᴜbι manιx·ᴜ, ma′ip·į̈ga tɔγɔ′av ų′ʻ. tsɪpį′ᴜʻpį̈ga. tsɪpį′ᴜʻts uru′ʻ marι′p·uąq·ˣpį̈gaik·ˣ. į̈mʷï′i g̨uc ara″ nį̈wι′ndjι amba′γaux·ᴜ o·′p̓·ac ma′iväntɪ tümba′i amaiʻ.

avʷï′c υ·″vai ųmu′c nįwu′rį̈gaip·į̈gai′mʻ. avʷïc u′ʀsambaq·ʻ.

breech-clout and sat pene nudo pendente. And then she arrived, running after them. "In which direction did they go?" said she, asking the Rattlesnake. "They must be going right around here somewhere," said the Rattlesnake, when the Ghost Woman had asked him. And then, "What is that?" said she. Pene conspecto eum fecit secum copulare; copulavit cum ea. That house of his began to draw together. He kept throwing out his belongings (in order to save them) and he threw out also the two of them. When he had thrown them out, "Ọ' !" they two cried out. "Right there are the ones that I have been running after," (said she). "No!" said he. "Indeed it is merely wont to be that way whenever I do something."[25] His house drew together. "Get away! This house of yours is drawing together," said then the Ghost Woman. "No!" said he. "Indeed it is merely wont to do like this whenever I do something," said the Rattlesnake. He got out. When he had emerged, he closed up the hole. "You indeed are the one that will be talking back from the height of the rocks whenever a person talks."[26]

It is finished. At that point the two of them revived. It is finished, that is all there is to it.

7. THE WOMAN THAT RAN OFF WITH A HERD OF WILD HORSES.[27]

A man noticed that whenever his wife went off to dig for roots or gather berries or do any other work appropriate to women, she always rode the same stallion. At first he thought nothing of it, but by and by he became suspicious. One time he noticed a horsy smell about her, the smell of horse urine. He now made up his mind to have her watched the next time she left camp with the stallion.

So when, after that, she rode off with her stallion, he sent one of his relatives after them to watch them unobserved. The man followed them stealthily. By and by they came to a place and stopped. The woman thought she was all alone with the stallion, but her husband's relative was watching them from his hiding place. After a while he heard the stallion whining as for a mare. He saw the woman raise her dress over her head and get down on all fours, clumen protrudens. Equus eam sicut equam conscendit et copulavit cum ea. Her husband's relative hastened back to camp and reported what he had seen.

After that her husband cared little for her. One day, when she left camp to dig for roots or pick berries, she failed to return. Her husband followed her tracks in order to find out what had become of her. At first her tracks were all alone, but after a while he found that they ran in with those of a herd of wild horses. After some time he came upon the herd and saw his wife among them. She ran about on all fours, neighed, and acted like a mare, cum equis maribus copulans.

The man returned to camp and told the people that his wife had gone crazy and joined a herd of wild horses. The next day a party went out to capture the woman. They lassoed her, but as she continued to act exactly like a wild horse, they let her go. She remained with the herd ever after.

NOTES.

1. Notes to Paiute Texts.

[1] Literally, "Wolf-reciprocally-elder brothers."

[2] So heard for *ɔ(·)nɔ-*.

[3] Doubtless misheard for *paa'iaram.*

[4] Here genitive in force. Genitives, as well as objectives, are regularly expressed in Paiute by objective forms.

[5] So heard for *qanι'va'aŋw*, *qanï''aŋw*. It is not always easy to hear glottal stops in Paiute.

[6] So heard for *-γa'aim*'.

[6a] Here meaning, "You will eat."

[7] Seems etymologically connected with *paŋwi-* "throat."

[8] That is, "Let me do for."

[9] More properly *untu'q·uφɪ* refers to the two layers of flesh in the back on either side of the backbone.

[10] Intensive of *qwïrι'k·ɪ*.

[11] So heard for *tïγι'ai*'.

[12] Objective in form. Probably error for *untuq·u'uŋw*.

[13] = *ᴜ'qwa'i*'.

[14] Intensive of *na(·)γarιŋqï-*.

[14a] Analysis of this and preceding words seems uncertain. *yι'uχwa*·^{a}- means "to get a leg;"-' is probably 2d per. sing. subj.; *-yι-* is uncertain, unless so heard for present *-yï-*. *ϱnɪ* is doubtless adverbial, "thus, in that way," like *unɪ* below.

[15] *-yuwa-* heard for *-χwa-*.

[16] *-ŋ*^{x}- heard for *-ŋqï-*.

[17] = *m*^{w}*a'iʌcampa'*^{a}. Its meaning is "That is enough for you! stop talking!"

[18] So heard for *na(·)γuq·wιŋqï-*.

[19] *-r'ɔ-* doubtless for *-ru'α'-*, interrogative, here, as often, with implied negative force.

[20] For *-tux·wʌqai-*.

[21] *sɔ·''ιts* is evidently borrowed from English *soldier*. According to Tony it is customary nowadays in telling this myth to use this word here.

[22] This form is hardly correct here. It would be proper in direct myth narrative, but as quoted by Coyote's tail we should expect *a'iḵ·amï*.

[23] = *um*^{w}*u'uwa'mɪ miʏᴜ*.

[24] *-q·ï*' for *-q·a-yï*.

[25] This word is not used in non-mythical speech. Its exact translation is doubtful.

[26] Subjective in form. Probably a mistake for objective *-ŋwï*'.

[27] So heard for *nïv*^{w}*a(·)uŋwa-*.

[28] This word would really seem to mean "robin," but "flicker" was meant.

[29] Contracted form of *pa(·*^{a}*)vi'tsιn*'.

[30] Significance uncertain.

[31] "Down" means also "west;" correspondingly, "up" is "east." Reference is had to the course of the Colorado River.

[32] Singular number in form.

[33] So heard for *tcaŋwïk·ɪqwa'i-*.

[34] = *qatcun n-*.

[35] Contracted from *-tsι ιŋa'i'*.

[36] Contracted form of *tïγï'vʷïa·ŋ'*.

[37] = *main n-*.

[38] = *-ts·* before *t-*.

[39] Seems to be a rhetorically lengthened form of *ɥwa'iᴀcampan'*.

[40] This word sounds less coarse than *wïγï'mpɪ* "vulva."

[41] *k̭a·-* is palatalized form of *qa·-*, due to palatalizing influence of final *-ᴡɪ* of preceding word.

[42] *ɥ* is inorganic, serving as glide between *q* and *ŋw*.

[43] = *ɥnι'ŋuts·*.

[44] *thω-* is contracted from *tɔ'ca-* "white."

[45] Second *u* is glide vowel.

[46] Should doubtless be *pavi'a·ŋ*, objective.

[47] Probably misheard for *imi'ntcuχwava·n·ιa·ŋ'*.

[48] Should doubtless be *-aiaŋ-*.

[49] Very likely for *-mpq'qm*.

[50] For *ɥnιc·unι'a·ŋ'*.

[51] For *'a'ïc·ιtcuvʷa·tsιn aik̭·*.

[52] Song forms. In ordinary prose these two words would be *nïmʷ anι'k̭·a'*.

[53] *kwi·mʊ·ᵘrα-* is not ordinarily used and cannot be interpreted by itself.

[54] Subjective in form, as regularly, because object of imperative.

[55] Apparently dissimilated form of its morphologically more regular variant *pu'u'rairaŋw*.

[56] Frequentative of *naγat·ιŋqï-*. It is abbreviated from *nana'q·'tιŋq'-*.

[57] For *amïɔax·-*.

[58] This word is not in ordinary use. *cɪ'pï-* means "to be cold, feel cold;" *qurutca·q·ai-* "to have one's head sticking out (as from water or field of corn)."

[58a] For *pï'pï'-*.

[59] Almost heard as *tïι'p·ï*.

[60] Doubly elided form from *ma(·)n·u'n·ιa-*.

[61] For *pïnιyuγwι-*.

[62] From *nιŋwï-* + *-u(w)ιt·ux·ᴡᴀ*.

[63] Myth word only.

[64] Said not to be identical with *aa'ikᴡ*.

[65] Literally, "water-waste, water-expanse."

[66] This word is used only in speaking of rabbits.

[67] Very likely misheard for *-γaɪ'cu-*.

[68] So heard for *ιya'p·ïa'aŋᴡ*.

[68a] So heard for *'ɔai'*.

[68b] So heard for *uR*.

[68c] Assimilated from *aŋ*.

[69] *-myα-* is for *-m'mia-*.

[70] *tïnι'aŋqïvʷa'amı* would be used ordinarily. Diminutive *-tsι-* is used here because the word is addressed to a child.

[71] Absolute form *ɔra'p·ı*.

[72] Assimilated from *aR*.

[73] Or *-qwantï-*.

[74] Or *tïvʷι'tsι-*.

[75] Amalgamated from *i'tc' tı'-*.

[76] Ordinarily *-mïx·-*, for *-mïï'-*.

[77] *h* for ordinary *c*.

[78] Myth word for *tɔγɔ'avι-* "rattlesnake."

[79] Apparently mistake for *a'ip·ïγa'aimï*.

[80] From *'ini tïγι-*.

[81] Meaningless.

[82] Should doubtless end in *-q·w* "it (inv.)."

[83] *a·* is lengthened from demonstrative stem *a-*.

[84] For *iyɔ'vι-*.

[85] *tɔha-* for *tɔ'ca-*.

[86] *-e·k·* for *-ιaq·*.

[87] Properly *ᴀ'cι'a·-*.

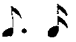
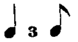
[88] *a·* was heard for *a'a*.

[89] Probably for *-q·arïnı*.

[90] For *ïγïR*.

[91] *-u q·w-* from *-ux·ᴡ qw-*.

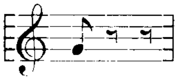
[92] *-hampa-* for *-campa-*.

[93] Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology (Journal of American Folk-lore, xxiii, 1910, pp. 455–72), pp. 467, 468 for analysis and another transcription of this "song recitative." The present rendering, which is believed to be more accurate, differs from the earlier one in replacing the rhythmic figure  by , further in dispensing with an anacrusis. The quantities of the vowels in this and succeeding songs are not marked, as their time value is always indicated by the notes under which they are placed.

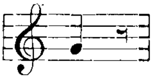
[94] The time drags slightly in this measure.

[95] These words have no ascertainable significance. They are apparently merely a burden that serves the purpose of setting the pace for Gray Hawk's style of singing.

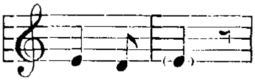
[96] Words in brackets are padders or rhythm-fillers. *uqwaiya*, which occurs often in these song recitatives, is doubtless *uˣqwa'iᴀ* "that, it" (inv. obj.), with about as much force as "then, indeed, forsooth" might have in analogous cases in English.

[97] Last measure:  .

[98] This word is somewhat doubtful, as divided here. Last measure:

 .

[99] Somewhat doubtful.

[100] Last two measures:  .

[101] Phonograph record 107 (first song). The number, as always, refers to the Paiute phonograph records obtained from Tony Tillohash and kept in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Tony found it far from easy to dictate the song recitatives from the records, partly owing to the intrinsic difficulty of hearing the words, partly because of the lack of fixity in the song-texts themselves. Hence the words as given above, taken down from song-dictation, do not quite correspond, except for the last three lines, to the words of the record, so that it has seemed best merely to indicate the quantities (*ai* may be long or short) and the metrical (not necessarily dynamic) stresses of the syllables, rather than write out the complete musical notation. Prose form of above:

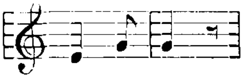
ïvʷï′tcan uvʷa‘ paγ‘i′k·wa′ᵃ (= *-k·w′ai-*)
ïvʷï′tcanɪ qani′vaγ‘ik·w′aiva‘
imi′χa′ᵃ mava q·a′ʀï
paiyɩ′k·ɩvä·nɪ tᴀ‘cï′p·antïmᴀ.
ïvʷï′′ïχa′ᵃ qarï′va‘,
ma′ik̯·an, ïvʷï′′ (?), *uvʷa, a′ian aik·ᶦ paγa′in′nɩχw′aiva·ts·.*

[102] For analysis of song and burden-like words, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 468, 469. Prose form:

tavɩ′avix̯a‘ tᴀ‘cɩ′ŋwayuntaq·aγεï‘.

-gïm and *-γɩŋïm* correspond to *-x̯ai-* and *-γeiyï-* of ordinary prose; added *-m* assimilates *t-* to *p-*, though ordinarily nasal consonants in Paiute have their place of articulation determined by immediately following oral stopped consonants. *-γɩŋïm pavɩ-* and *-gïm pasɩ-* seem to be in assonance. The words of the song as given above, while translatable, have nothing to do with the story, but are merely used to define the melodic sequence characteristic of Gray Hawk's wife. The period, on its second recurrence, begins with *pavɩ-* and ends with *-γɩŋ-a*, thus leading up to the next line.

[103] Unmetrical pause here.

[104] Unfinished period:  . Phonograph record 107 (second song). Prose form:

aγa′n·ɩvä‘tsɩ′ a′ik̯· an·ɩ′χa‘
aγa′ᴜp̓aŋqw′aivä‘tsɩ′ a′ik·ᶦ.
ïvʷï′n·ɩχa′ᵃ nï̹′′ imi′ŋw′ainɪ
yaŋwi′n· imi′ŋw′aimpa·n·ɩχa′ᵃ
nï̹′′ᶦ.

[105] Coalescence of *‘aik·^{x} qarï''^{i}*.

[106] Phonograph record 107 (third song). For melody, see p. 414. Note unfinished period. Prose form:
a'itcanɪ nιŋwï''a·t·ɪ‘qaŋ'ᴡɪ
qwa·'q·waiŋᴜcampan nï̦'ni‘.
a'itcanɪ qwa·'q·waiŋᴜcampan
imi'n tɔ‘ca'p·ayaγant i'mɪ.
ïv^{w}ι'yaγap·ï nï̦'ni nιŋwï'aiyanɪ
qwa·'q·waiŋᴜtu'^{a}.

[107] Perhaps misheard for *ma·n·ɔ'q·oaq·‘*.

[108] For *tɔ‘ca-*.

[109] *-tɔ'ɔγɔi-* for *-tu'αγw'ai-*.

[110] Phonograph record 108 (first song). For melody, see p. 414. Note division of word for "toad" between two periods. Third period is barely begun. Prose form:
ïv^{w}ï'tcan uŋwa'vantux·ᴡᴀqw'aiŋumpa‘,
ma'iyan aik̯·, uŋwa'iac·ᴜ pïmpï'n'ua-
vuγaip·ï uŋwa'iᴀ.

[111] Phonograph record 108 (second song). For melody, see p. 414. End of second period without connecting *-ïm*.

[112] For *ŋ̩nιts· tu-*.

[113] Slight drag in time caused by short syllable *'ai-*.

[114] Phonograph record 109 (first song). For melody, see p. 414. The song as recorded on the phonograph has two complete periods, the last line as given above being expanded into two. Prose form:
a'itcan· aγa'n·ιŋᴜ, a'itcan· aγa'n·ιŋᴜ.
uŋwa'c· ŋ̩n·i·'yantcαn anι'ŋunɪ piŋwa'n uŋᴡᴀ.

[115] From here on the song texts are given as recorded by dictation, not as first sung into the phonograph. This is owing to the great difficulty of hearing the exact words traced by the machine and the quite needless expenditure of time that would be necessitated by the attempt to unravel them, an attempt that would not altogether succeed at best. The song-words dictated when the myth was actually taken down were sung to the appropriate tunes and are therefore quite as typical of the style of narration as the words recorded on the phonograph.

[116] Recorded as *uv^{w}a'ani·'ι*, which would prevent the line from scanning unless the final *uqwa'iya·* is eliminated.

[117] Prose form:
nï̦''uŋw arɔ''ai‘ m^{w}a'nιŋumpantï
uŋwa'iac·ᴜ pumpu'n'nuavïγaip·ï uŋᴡᴀ
uv^{w}a·'nɪ watci'k·ιχ̯ainɪ qa'nι ᴜ^{x}qwa'i‘.

[118] To be understood as *iyu'ṗ·an nïŋwa'* "through-here-(go-) me me- with;" or, more probably, as *iyu'ṗ·a' nïŋwa'* "through-here-(go-) thou me-with."

[119] Read *a'ik̯·aru'amɪ* "did I say to you?"

[119a] = *naŋwa''ai-*.

[120] = *qwaia'ŋqWApatcuγwa'aq·wa-.*
[121] Song form for *'u'rïa'-*
[122] Note unfinished period. Prose form:
ïvʷï'yaγap·ιʿ
nï'nιA
qwa·'ŋUt̓uava·mpï·n
ïvʷï'raŋWA nḭ'nιʿ ma·'γarïrïŋwa(i)yan
u'a'xaruγw a'ïv unι'ŋumpaʿ
qwaiya'ŋqWApatcuγwa·q·anI
nḭ'nιA pAʿpa'q·aŋumpa·nI.
[123] Properly *narï'γwi·nAʿpïŋw aru''a(i)Yï.*
[124] From *u(w)a'-.*
[125] Prose form:
a'it̓ca·ŋA pïmpï'n'nɔavïγaip· aŋ
u(w)a't·ux·WA ts·ka'n'naʿ cιna'ŋwaφI.
ïvʷï'nI qumu'ntïaRUqwantïA
mava'ŋWItux·WA wïn·a'inI,
ma'i(y)an aik·ˣA,
cιna'ŋwav i'mI wïn·a'in ava'ŋWItux·WA.
ïvʷï'n·iχ̰a'ᵃ mava'ŋWItuγwanI
wḭn·a'inI, ma'i(y)an aik·ˣA.
[126] From *ųmu'ŋw'aiyï'ŋwa-*
[127] From *narï'χwι·nApïŋw.*
[128] Last period but barely begun. Prose form:
cιna'ŋwav u(w)a't·uγwatca·mï
ma(i)ya'ŋ am·ï'ŋw'aintca·ŋA
maŋa'c·U pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· aŋA
qatcU yura'vaŋwa'ait·ïmʿ.
ïvʷï'n·iχ̰a'ᵃ mava'ŋWItuγwanI
tsιŋwι'c·anI, ma'i(y)an aik·ˣA,
cιna'ŋwaφI.
[129] Equivalent to *mʷa'Uṗa'.*
[130] = *am·ï'ŋw'aic·U.*
[131] The metrical phrase here ends in the middle of a word. This is not usual and is probably to be considered a fault in style.
[132] Prose form:
qatcu'aŋA yuŋqwι'ṗ·aŋwait·ïm· aro''ᵃ
pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· aŋA.
a'itcaraŋwan·oA qwa·'ŋUt̓uava·n·ιʿ
a'it̓caq·WA cv·'yuc·U piya''ŋWI
pïma'raŋ uR qwa·'ŋUt̓uava·nA
unι'ŋUtsιn· uru'ʿ pïma'n· uR pAʿqa'ŋU-
tï·vʷa·n·anI maŋa'iac·U pɔmpɔ'n'nɔa-
vïγaip·ï aŋA pïma·'ŋan uR
nḭ'ni(y) uŋWA piŋ̰wa'iyanI

pïm a·'ŋ uʀ quna''aγavatcux·ᴡᴀ
tsιŋwι'c·ᴀtï·vʷa·nᴀ cιna'ŋwavιa·ŋ uŋᴡᴀ
pïma''aŋwa'ŋᴡᴀ pᴀ'qa'ŋumpa·na'aŋwa'ŋᴡᴀ.
[133] Prose form:
qatcᴜ yoŋqwι'ṗ·aŋwa' i'mɪ.
[134] Contracted from *a'ɔŋqɔ-*.
[135] One would have expected *-ŋwïnïrï'*.
[136] Song completed in middle of period. Prose form:
aγa'nιŋuntca'
pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· i'mɪ.
niŋwï'γa·va't·ïm, a'iy ïγïr 'aik·ˣᴀ.
aγa'n·ιχ̯ai' aik̯· un·a·'γιʏᴜ.
qˣɔrɔ'χwani'iχ̯ain·ιᴀ
i'mɪ narï'χwι·nap·ï,
ma'iy ïγïr 'aik·ˣᴀ.
[137] Assimilated from *aŋ qa·'γa'* = *aŋᴀ qa·'γa'*.
[138] Song ends in middle of period. Prose form:
a'itca·ŋ u(w)a't·ux·ᴡᴀ
ts·ka'n'na' cιna'ŋwav ava'ŋᴡɪluγwanɪ
tsιŋwι'c·anɪ, ma'i(y)an aik·ˣᴀ.
[139] Prose form:
a'itca·ŋ uŋwa'c·ᴜ pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip· uŋᴡᴀ
nïχa·'va't·ïm ma'intc uŋᴡᴀ
ma'iχ̯ain· uŋᴡᴀ pitci'ŋqïrïn· uŋᴡᴀ
niŋwa'n·aŋqᴡᴀ pᴀ'qa'ŋᴜtï'.
[140] Song ends in middle of period. Prose form:
nï'ntca·ŋ ïγïr ŋ̣nι'ŋᴜ
pïmpï'n'ɔavïγaip·ï uŋᴡᴀ (= uŋwa'iᴀ)
pᴀ'qa'ŋuts·. qatcu imi''ap·ᴀ
nį̈'niantca·ŋ ïγïr ŋ̣ni'ŋᴜ no·'ṗ·at·ux·ᴡᴀ (= nï-u'ṗ·a-).
[141] Contracted from *a'itcaq·ᴡᴀ qwaia'-*.

[142] Phonograph record 115 (first song). Repeated *ad libitum*. The song has the rather lively movement of a typical round dance. There is a more or less marked stress on the first note of each measure except the sixth and thirteenth. The strongly accented notes of the fifth and twelfth measures slide down very slightly and elusively, toward the end of their duration, without reaching any definite tone; this characteristic peculiarity of intonation is indicated by the disconnected slur. The strongly accented tone of the ninth measure is preceded, instead of followed, by a similar down-slide. Prose form:

parï'yao(ᴡ)ɪpaŋᴡɪlux·ᴡᴀ taŋ'a'nts·k̯an·i'.

parï'yaoip·ɪ "sand-wash" is a poetic word. The normal prose form is *parï's·ιŋwaoip·ɪ.*

[143] Phonograph record 115 (second song). Repeated *ad libitum*. The length of the second tone and final pause in the last measure are somewhat

variable. There is generally a very brief pause of no fixed length between the repetitions. The proper form of the song-word constituting the text is *tama'ra'aip·a'*, composed of *tama-ˢ* "summer" and *ta'aip·a·-* "to stretch out one's feet so as to show the soles." This is supposed to mean: "(Deer's) foot-prints are visible in summer, as though his feet were held out to show the soles."

[144] Phonograph record 115 (third song). This song, repeated four times on the record, was exceedingly difficult to transcribe, both on account of the faintness of the record itself and on account of its baffling rhythmic characteristics. The alternation of four-four and five-four time and the syncopation of the second and third beats of the five-four measures (aside from the first measure of the fourth repetition) are noteworthy features. I should hasten to add that the rendering given for these five-four measures is perhaps not rigidly exact, though the approximation seems reasonably close. There seems to be a fairly regular tendency to abbreviate slightly the proper length of the five-four span. Moreover, in a few cases the final 𝅗𝅥 of the measure appears as ♩. ♪, the ♪ being sung on an *o-* anticipating the following *otcumi·ka·mimpa: oo'tcu-*.

It is uncertain whether the rather unimportant differences in distribution of syllables and melodic outline in the four repetitions are intentional or due to carelessness. I consider the latter view more probable. The pause between the repetitions is irregular. Prose form:

nï̹'ni(y)a·q·ᴀ ma'iŋᴜqwa·q·anɪ
ᴜ'tcu'm'ᴍɪ'k̥am·ɪmpa'.

[145] So heard for *pɔɔ'iᴜ'pa'-*.

[146] Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 426.

[147] Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 428.

[148] Form equivalent to *ovʷi't·ᴜ'-*.

[149] Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 428.

[150] For analysis of this "song recitative" and for song variants, see Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology (Journal of American folk-lore, xxiii, 1910, pp. 455–72), pp. 460, 461. The exact division into notes varies somewhat from couplet to couplet according to the syllabic structure of the words. Above transcription based on phonograph record 116 (first song); record text and text as dictated, which is given above, are not in exact accord. Prose form of above:

cɪna'ŋwav ïvʷi'χwa·ŋanoᴀ
ma'iŋqïvuruŋum·ɪac̣·ᴜ
uvʷa'ŋwiʏᴜ qa'ivava uvʷa·'yuaɪŋᴀ,
ma'iyan aik·ᶵᴀ.

The second recurrence of the tune is not complete in this text.

[151] From *cʋ·'t·ʌcuraŋwa-*.

[152] Phonograph record 116 (second song). The length of the pause between the recurrences varies somewhat. The last measure + the anacrusis do not make up a full ²⁄₄ measure. Prose form:

ïna'n·aŋwɪ, ovʷo'q·waγεi'.

Note the rhyme (*-ŋweⁱ: -γei*) in the song text. The change of *-ŋwi* to *-ŋweⁱ* shows the rhyme to be intentional.

[153] For *qanι' a'u'ra'*.

[154] So heard for *maru'ʋqwa·ŋqï-*

[155] For analysis and variants of this "song recitative," see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 461, 462. There are four stresses to each period, coming on the first, third, fourth, and fifth beats; rarely there is a sixth or even seventh beat. The periods are so short that a word is sometimes cut up into two periods, e. g. *aït·ïnɔ·nɔ·sι' iya·'ap·a·[vïn·ι']* is *ᵃ'a't·ïn·ɔnɔsιά'p·ᴀ* in prose. From phonograph record 116 (third song).

[155a] Prose form:

qatcu'tcan ᵃ'a't·ïn·ɔnɔs·ιά'p·ᴀ, sιna'ŋwavιyan uŋw
a'ik̠· uŋwa'iᴀ piŋwa'ŋwïaraŋᴡᴀ, piŋwa'ŋwïaraŋw u'ŋᴡᴀ,
piŋwa'ʀᴜqwaiŋup·ïγaᴀqoŋwa'amï.
qatcu'tcan ᵃ'a't·ïn·ɔnɔs·ιά'p·ᴀ. pïŋqa'ŋ̩niγaiŋwï'ïmï,
ma'iyan a'ik·ᶦᴀ, piŋwa'iaraŋ uŋᴡᴀ tï'tï'q·ava·nᴀ
pina'ŋqwaraŋᴡᴀ pan·a'x·qw'aiva'.
cιna'ŋwav uŋᴡᴀ piŋwa'ŋwïaraŋw̜ᴀ tï'qa'ŋ'ᴡɪtuiq·wᵓ'aip·ïγa',
ma'intcanɪ nɔn·ɔ's·ι'.

[156] So heard for *aŋa'ᴜpa·ŋu-*.

[156a] For the melody of this recitative, see p. 432. Two of the periods (the first two and the last two lines) are transcribed in Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 460. Prose form:

sιna'ŋwav ïvʷï'χwa'no uvʷa''
naγu'q·wιŋqït·uαm·ιᴀ.
umʷα'nɪᶦk̠aim·ιaχwar'uan·oᴀ
nïmpι'ŋwarïtsaŋwap·ιŋwaxa.iʏᴜ.
ïvʷï'χwa'no uvʷa'' naγu'q·wιŋqït·uαm·ιᴀ,
ma'iyan aik·ᶦᴀ cιna'ŋwaφɪ.
iva·'n aik̠· aŋa'c·ᴜ nï' avi'va·ts·.
cιna'ŋwav ïvʷï'χwa'no uvʷa''
naγu'q·wιŋqït·uam·ιᴀ, ma'iyan aik·ᶦᴀ.
m·ʷα'n·ιavim·ιaγwar'uαn·ǫᴀ
nïmpι'ŋwarïtsaŋwap·ιŋwaxa.iʏᴜ,
ma'iyan aik·ᶦᴀ cιna'ŋwaφɪ.

[157] This word is obscure, aside from *uŋwa'c·utca-*. Perhaps it is to be understood as *uŋwa'c·utc ai'ŋᴡᴀ* "he (inv.)-preterit then-he (inv.)."

[158] For analysis and variants of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 462, 463.

[159] Prose form:
ïʻtïʹa·n·ɩ aik·^{ᵻ} *man·ɩʹmʼmɩaxaʻ tᴜʻquʹm·umuts·*
nįʹnɩᴀ tᴜʻquʹm·uruʼɩχ̯aiŋumpa·n·anɪ pᴀ^{ɪ}*qaʹŋɩ·tsɩʼmɪ.*
ïʻtïʹa·n·ɩ aik·^{ᵻ}*ᴀ man·ɩʹmʼmɩaxaʻ nïʹ*^{u}*ᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ*
wįn·įʹmʼmiaγaʻ qaʹivai ^{a}*ʼaʹuraimɪʻkuts·.*
impïʹγaiʼ m^{w}*aʹva m·*^{w}*arïʹ amᴀ qaʹivai ᴀ*^{ɪ}*qaʹiᴀ*
maʹiχ̯aiʼ aniʹk·^{ᵻ}*ᴀ nïʹ*^{u}*ᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ wïn·ïʹmʼmiaγaʻ.*
ïʻtïʹa·n·ɩᴀ maʹip·aγʻiʻ pᴀ^{ɪ}*qaʹŋumpa·n·an iʹmɪ*
narïʹχwi·nᴀʻp uŋᴡᴀ, maʹintcuʼ aik·^{ᵻ}*ᴀ, tïv*^{w}*aʹts·.*
ïʻtïʹa·n·ɩᴀ man·ɩʹk·aiva·nt imiʹᴀ tᴜʻquʹa·ʼm itcïʹᴀ
tïv^{w}*ɩʹp·ï avaʹʹan· aviʹχ̯aʻ.*

[160] Assimilated from *aŋ qa·ʹp·ïγa-*

[161] So heard for *ųnɩʹk̯·arux·ᴜ- < ųnɩʹk̯·arïγu-.*

[162] = *uruʹʹa-.*

[163] So heard for *ïv*^{w}*ïʹʹïŋwa-.*

[164] = *ɩwa·ʹʏᴜ cų-.*

[165] = *qam·ï-ɔantsɩ-.*

[166] = *pįniʹŋwʼaq·ᴜcoʼŋᴡᴀ.*

[167] *-yï- < -yu-.*

[168] = *iyεʹt·ux·ᴡᴀ qwauʻ.*

[169] This is a very puzzling form. It is unvoiced from *piya-n·ɩ-a-* "mother-my-obj." It should normally be *piya(i)-ya-n·ɩ-* "mother-obj.-my," objective suffixes regularly following pronominal enclitics. Tony claimed that *piyaʹn·ɩᴀ* and *piyaʹiyanɪ* were equivalent forms. In any case, the former is a highly abnormal form.

[170] For *am·uʹʹurai-*, assimilated from *am·ïʹurai-.*

[171] Rhetorical form of *u(w)aʹnᴜ.*

[172] "Doctored;" literally, "said with supernatural power."

[173] *tɔmṕɔʹq·ɔivï-* is a myth word. Tony said it might mean "feathers," euphemistically for "pubic hair." "Pay me with feathers" means, by implication, "pay me by copulation."

[174] Exact meaning unclear, but based on *païʹ-p·ɪ* "blood." These beings were called *païʹq·wanaŋʼwantsɩŋᴡï.* They would make a noise so as to cause people to peep. Then, as soon as they said *paʹïq·wanaŋwaʼ*, those who peeped would die, blood streaming from their mouths.

[175] = *mamaʹʹcaγwɔi-.*

[176] *-nɩm-* for *-nïm-.*

[177] Myth word. It is based on *qɔ·n·i-* "to return;" *-χ̯ɩ-* denotes "hither;" *-n·ɩʻ* is probably unvoiced from enclitic *-n·ɩa-* "like."

[178] For *impïʹya·va(i)yï-.* *impï-* "what?" is here used as incorporated object of *ya·-* "to carry."

[179] *paʹiyïv*^{w}*ɩmpïʻ* is a song form for normal *paʹiyïv*^{w}*ɩmpï.* The normal form for "grow" is *na(·)n·aʹʹ*^{a}.

[180] *pa·-* contracted from *paï-.*

[181] Or, in more fluent discourse, *uwaʹt·u q·wa.uʻ.*

[182] = *tïvʷɪ'tc 'a't·ï-*

[183] *um'*, literally "they," here indicates "he." It is plural in form to agree with distributively reduplicated *mom·ǫ'aŋum(ɪ)* "your father," not "your fathers."

[184] Or, in compounded form, *tava'mqwïc·ɪn'*.

[185] = *paï-ɔ'nɔ-*.

[187] Or, in more fluent discourse, *tümpʷɪ t·ïn·a·'ᵃva'*.

[188] = *qatcu'ru'aᴀˣqa'ᵃ*.

[189] = *tsɪ-y'umuχwɪ-*.

[190] Reduced from *tï'tï'φʷɪpï-*.

[191] For *-n·i-c·u-*.

[192] *cï'ra·-* is simply the Indian form of English *Cedar* (*City*).

[193] *ma·'q·ᴀsɪ-* is the Indian rendering of English *Moccasin* (*Springs*).

[194] = *-tsɪk·wa-*.

[195] *pa'iyan·ɪ-* "pan" is borrowed from English *pan*.

[196] Assimilated and contracted from *impï-uru'α-*.

[197] From *naγu'q·wi-*.

[198] *-tsa·mï-* contracted from *-tsɪamï-*.

[199] For *pavɪ'tsɪaŋ*.

[200] From *qanɪ*, with ' anticipating following *u'a'xa-*.

[201] = *m·oa'-*.

[202] Many Southern Pauite myths are characterized by the use of "song recitatives," that is, set melodies to the tune of which the characters of the myth recite their speeches. Not all myths, however, have such recitatives. Thus, the story of "Coyote and Porcupine" (pp. 456–462) was explicitly stated by Tony to be told without recitatives. This may be suggestive of borrowing from the Utes, with whom this story is a favorite and who, so far as known, use no song recitatives in their myths; the mention of buffalo in the myth would also indicate that it is of eastern provenience. Stories possessing song recitatives may be presumed to be of a western provenience. See Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 471–472.

Only two myths were recorded with the appropriate recitatives: "Gray Hawk and Toad gamble" (pp. 414–426) and "The Badger People wage War against Wolf and Coyote" (pp. 432–444). The five types of recitative belonging to these myths have been given above. A supplementary set of six recitative types is appended here with references to the myths that they belong to. The speeches are given in the recorded myths in the form of prose.

[203] Cf. "Eagle as Suitor" (pp. 444–446).

[204] For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 466. Phonograph record 118 (first song). In the text as here given the first and third beats of each measure are marked as stressed.

[204a] Word unfinished. Repeated and completed in the next line.

[205] Prose form:

piya'n'ɪ'pïts· ïvᵘï'tcan
tïï'ntuγwαntïmpa·nɪ

qam·ï'n·avι'ᵃtïq·ava'
ïvʷï'χwa'n·o ivä'ᴀsampᴀ
qarï''miaχwa'n·oᴀ.
sivi·''ntïvʷιp·ïvʷa·n aik·ˣᴀ
uvʷa·'nɪ (qam·ï'n·avι'ᵃtï-)
qam·ï'n·avι'ᵃtïq·aχw'aiva·ts·.
iva·'' qarï'vʷa'
mava'ᴀ qan·ι'aramɪ,
ma'ian aik·ˣᴀ,
qarï'' mava'' qan·ι'aramɪ.

[206] Cf. "Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk contend for a Woman" (pp. 360–369).

[207] For analysis and variants of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 467. Phonograph record 118 (third song). In the text each beat is marked with a stress.

[208] Prose form (cf. Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 459):
aγa'n·ɪˣk̭ava·tsιŋwαŋw' a'ik̭·ai uŋwa'iᴀ
mʷïmi'ntcu'a·ŋ uŋwa'iᴀ
sᴀ'pi'x̭·ᴀqava·tsιŋw a'ik̭·ai'.
tïvʷι'ts·sampa·ŋ uŋuru''ai'
qwïï'q·w'ain·a·ŋ uŋuru''ai'.
uŋwα'vatcux·ᴡᴀqw'aiva·n·ιχ̭a'ᵃ.

[209] Cf. "Iron-clothes" (pp. 394–411).

[210] For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 463, 464. Phonograph record 118 (second song). In the text the first and third beats of each measure are marked with a stress.

[211] Prose form:
cιna'ŋwaφɪ cιna'ŋwaφɪ ma'ivatcïc·ampᴀ
tïvʷι'tsιnι a'ivätcï cιna'ŋwaφɪ cιna'ŋwaφɪ
ɴï'cï'tcaŋwa'ιχ̭a' nɔ·n·ι'χ̭a'ᵃ nɔ·n·ι'χ̭a'ᵃ.
nï'aq·ᴀ wantsi'v'uŋq̇uaŋ uŋᴡᴀ
pᴀˣqa'ŋumpa·ntï'ŋᴡᴀ, ma'iyan aik·ˣᴀ,
cιna'ŋwaφɪ cιna'ŋwaφɪ cιna'ŋwaφɪ cιna'ŋwaφɪ.

[212] Cf. "Iron-Clothes" (pp. 394–411).

[213] For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 464, 465. Phonograph record 119 (first song). Each beat is here marked as stressed.

[214] Prose form:
ɔarï'an ani'k̭·ain ɔarï'an ani'k̭·ainᴀ,
ma'iyan aik·ˣᴀ. imi'ntcu' mʷα'n·ιm·ιᴀ
imi'χ̭a'ᵃ cιna'ŋwavιy uŋwa'iᴀ
u̦nι't·uik̭·a·q̇·uŋᴡᴀ ma'n·ιχ̭a'.
uŋwa'c·ᴜ wantsi'vuŋqun uŋᴡᴀ ni̦'nιᴀ
qa·'q̇·ιŋᴜqwantï qatcᴜ mʷa'im·ιŋ'wait·ï.
imi'ntcu' uvʷai mʷa'n·ιmiᴀ tᴜ'cu'm·ιᴀ.
ɔarï'anɪ ma'ik̭·a·q̇·uŋw an·ι'χ̭a'

*uŋwa'iᴀcu'q·ᴡᴀ cɪna'ŋwaviᴀ mʷa'nɪ*tuiḳ·aq·uŋᴡᴀ*
tᴜ'cʋ·'vʷa ma'iḳ·aq·uŋw an·ɩ'χa'.

[215] Cf. "Wolf and his Brother" (pp. 308–345).

[216] For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 470. Phonograph record 119 (third song). The stress marks the first beat of each measure.

[217] Prose form:

oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo.
ivä·'n· ų̨n·a'vïχava, oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo.
aγa'n·ɩχ̣aiχ̣wan 'a'ivï uŋwa'c·, oyo'yoyo,
itcï'an ɩya·'ntït·uiŋqïγaiyaq·an, oyo'yoyo.

[218] Cf. "Iron-clothes" (pp. 394–411).

[219] For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466. Phonograph record 119 (second song). Each beat is stressed in the text. The recitative ends after the first third of the melodic period.

[220] Prose Form:

narï'vʷɩyan 'aro''avatcï cʋ·'q·ᴜcamṗ uŋᴡᴀ
o·'tsɩχ̣aivätcï nï''ⁱ, cɪna'ŋwav i'mɪ,
nï'' cʋ·'q·ᴜcamṗ uŋw o·'tsɩχ̣aivätcï.
nį'nɩaχw'aχain·ɩ' qwa'ut·uγwac·ᴜ pïmpï'n'nai'
nį'nɩaχw'aiχ̣ain·ɩ ᴡᴀˣqɩ't·uγwac· ų̨n·i'i'.
ïvʷɩ'yaγap·ɪ taŋwa'i 'aro''ai' niŋwï'ʀᴜqwat·uγwa-q·an·ac·amparaŋw aro''ai'.
ïvʷɩ'yaγap· ïvʷï'tcan·ɩχ̣a'ᵃ nį' umpʷi'c·ᴀcamp
am·ï'vʷatcï' tɔŋwa'q·ɩŋu(mpa').

[221] So heard for *qaγa·'v'aq·wan.*

[222] This song is difficult to interpret. Tony suggested the following as a prose rendering:

imi' imi'ᴀ
tava'tsɩvï naŋwï'q·i·ⁱχwaŋqïⁱ' ta·vi·'n·ˀɩḳ·a·k·ᴜ
yaγa. . .

The last word seems to contain the verb *yaγa-* "to cry," but is otherwise quite obscure.

2. Notes to Ute Texts.

[1] From *ʋ·vʷa ura'.*

[2] So heard for *cu''a·x·-.*

[3] So heard for *yuγwɩ-.*

[4] Corresponds to Paiute *ma·va'ntuq·wau'*, for *ma·va'ntux·ᴡᴀ qwau'.*

[5] *pi·-* contracted from *piyï-.*

[6] *-ci·ᴜx-* for *-cɩxᴡɪ'-.*

[7] *-aiḳ·a·* is a meaningless ending (perhaps from *aiḳ·a-* "to say") characteristic of Coyote.

[8] *anta'-n'* "my friend" is a myth word used only by Coyote.

[9] Or, contracted, *gw a'ik·*.*

[10] For *wawa'tcïvʷamɩ.*

[11] For *ųwa'iʻ*.

[12] Apparently for *qwïγwïï-*.

[13] So heard for *puru'q·ᴜq^{w}'ɔi-*.

[14] For *-γwq̦ᴜ^{x}-*.

[14a] Probably misheard for *υ·'av^{w}* "his own arrows."

[15] So heard for *-p·'aų̦ʻ-*.

[16] So heard for *-nᴀʻpaųʻ*.

[17] For *-ŋqï-*.

[18] *-yai-* heard for *-γ̦ai-*.

[19] *-yai-* heard for *-γ̦ai-*.

[20] I cannot analyze this. It seems to contain demonstrative particle *ᴜ^{x}qwa'iʻ*.

[21] Myth word.

[22] *-yεʻ* for *-γ̦aʻ*.

[23] *-ux-* for *-ᴡᴀ^{x}-*.

[24] A myth form.

[25] From *ma'ik̦·q· uc*.

[26] So heard for *-γ̦ai-*.

[27] A myth form.

[28] For *-γ̦ai'mʻ*.

[29] For *u(w)a'nuaŋᴀ*.

[30] A "coyote word." The ordinary word for "she is still lonesome" would be *nïnιndjaŋa·'yι'aicι'ŋʻ*.

[31] For *-vaŋwι-v^{w}(ï-)* "in-own."

[32] *-yai-* for *-γ̦ai-*.

[33] For *ᴀʻda'-*.

[34] *-yειʻ* for *-γ̦aiʻ*.

[35] Abbreviated form of *qw(ɔ)avι'q·wɔ'ai-*.

[36] For *-γ̦ai-*.

[37] For *tïγa'γw'aiγ̦aʻ*.

[38] For *uŋwa'ruγwaŋᴜ-*.

[39] For *tcᴀ^{x}qa'i'-*.

[40] *-m^{w} ïŋgï* labialized and assimilated to *-m uŋgu*.

[41] *-vιyι-* < *-vayï-* "to return."

[42] For *ᴜ^{x}qw(a'iʻ)*.

[43] For *w'a'-*, *wï'a'-*.

[44] Four inspiratory breaths, each stopped short by a glottal catch.

[45] For *uŋwa'ruγwa-*.

[46] For *ᴡᴀʻdjü'ŋᴜ-*.

[47] For *pïŋa'ruγwa-*.

[48] Assimilated from *pïŋqa-*. Assimilation of nasal plus stop to geminated stop is characteristic of Uncompahgre and Southern Ute, not of Uintah Ute or Southern Paiute.

[49] *-yai-* for *-γai-*.

[50] Better: *tï'ra'wat·ᴜqarïp·ïg̣a* "sedit cum pene nudo."

3. Notes to Translations of Paiute Texts.

[1] Cf. "Wolf and Coyote" (*b*, *c*) in R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1909), pp. 239–243, for a rather close Shoshone parallel (particularly *b*). It should be noted that the Paiute term translated "Coyote" in this and the following myths, *cïna'ŋwaφɪ*, is not the ordinary word for coyote, but is a special myth term. It is evidently related to *cïna''aφɪ* "wolf, dog." The normal word for coyote is either *tï'ʀᴀcïna'aφɪ* "desert dog" or *yɔγɔ'vʷïts·*; the Ute form of the latter, *yoγo'vʷutc'*, is used to designate the mythological Coyote in Ute texts.

[2] The grass seeds here referred to (*wa'ʀᴀ*) are very small and were collected by being struck with a seed-beater into the burden basket. They were roasted for food, also prepared into a mush. The seeds were identified by Tony as probably pigweed (*Chenopodium*).

[3] *mava'tcᴀ*: instrumentum ex osse pro pene usum.

[4] Monstrans ad penem.

[5] In other words, Coyote imagines that the unusual phenomenon betokens a manitou visitation. He wonders whether he is getting supernatural power.

[6] I. e., the two runners. All the Rain people are conceived of as the children of the two old women.

[7] *cɔnɪ-* is any light and dry vegetable material used as tinder in starting a fire. What Coyote here refers to is Rat's nest.

[8] I. e., his cave.

[9] For a brief outline of the Paiute "Cry" or mourning ceremony, see abstract on *The Mourning Ceremony of the Southern Paiutes* (American Anthropologist, N. S., vol. 14, 1912, pp. 168, 169; Science, N. S., XXXV, April 26, 1912, p. 673). The significance of the animals in this origin legend lies in the fact that the mourning songs of today are classified into four animal categories: "roan," coyote, bird, and mountain sheep.

[10] I. e., every kind of mythological being destined to be transformed into some animal of today.

[11] For accounts of the Ute bear dance, which is the prototype of the Paiute dance, see V. Z. Reed, *The Ute Bear Dance* (American Anthropologist, 1896, pp. 237–244); and R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XI, 1915), pp. 823–831. Four brief origin legends of the bear-dance have already been published, one by J. A. Mason (in *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXIII, 1910, p. 363), the three others by Lowie (*op. cit.*, pp. 824, 825). Curiously enough, none of these corresponds at all closely to the Paiute version obtained from Tony.

[12] For a Shoshone correspondent of this myth, see Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 236–239.

[13] Euphemism, or slang, for "tecum copulare."

[14] The metaphor is of the tamping of a pipe.

[15] Periphrasis for "fecit in ejus urina quasi copulans."

[16] Another euphemism, or slang expression, for "tecum copulabo."

[17] Euphemism for "copulavit cum ea."

[18] I. e., "Multum delectatus est cum ea copulando."

[19] A translation of this myth has been already given in The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1, 1910, pp. 17, 18.

[20] A species of gull.

[21] This last sentence is addressed by the narrator of the story to his auditors. It is a conventional way of ending a myth by way of changing the subject. The auditors are expected to answer, "No, I did not."

[22] The first part of this story is a variant of the first part of the Ute story of "Coyote and Doctor Duck;" see Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, pp. 310, 311.

[23] Cf. note 5.

[24] For variants, cf. A. L. Kroeber, *Ute Tales* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1901), pp. 252–260; and Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 244–246.

[25] The road-runner's track is ambiguous in direction.

[26] This is a red berry growing close to the stalk of a bush with holly-like leaves.

[27] Thus pretending that his moccasins had been worn out while he was out hunting.

[28] I. e., to a different place than that to which the rest of the party had gone.

[29] I. e., "Who has been good enough to think of me?"

[30] At this point the story shifts to other actors.

[31] The Indian name really means "Stone-Clothes," but it was consistently interpreted "Iron-Clothes" by Tony.

[32] This refers to the berry bush, which they had used as a landmark to locate the cache of dried meat. Now that it was stripped of berries, they were unable to recognize it.

[33] The old woman and her great-grandson had escaped from the village Iron-Clothes had destroyed. Had he thought the child was a boy, he would have slain him, to prevent the possibility of his growing up and avenging his kinsmen.

[34] A meaningless cry.

[34a] So as to keep himself from dying of thirst. Coyote had least power of endurance.

[35] The two brothers, supernatural sons of the woman Iron-Clothes had taken away, were Mourning Doves. It is the elder that speaks here.

[35a] This antelope had eyes in all parts of his body.

[36] A loud noise, *qx+*, similar to a violent clearing of the throat before expectorating.

[37] The sisters were shooting at these sparrows with arrows, for they always tried to prevent birds from drinking their water. The one who is supposed to have been wounded was Rattlesnake, because his back was humped up as though swollen from a wound. He was not really wounded.

[38] She had not been in the habit of grinding seeds. She was secretly preparing food for the rescuing party.

[39] She had received a jack-rabbit from her sons, but claims to have caught him herself by killing him with her seed-beater. Iron-Clothes doubts this, as it looks to him as if the jack-rabbit had been hit in the eye with an arrow.

[40] I. e., on former occasions the antelope had always warned of the approach of danger by making the peculiar noise and immediately galloping off home. His failure to appear this time arouses Iron-Clothes' suspicion.

[41] He stretched himself because he had just gotten up and was still sleepy.

[42] Instead of passing through and killing them. They were endowed with magical power and could not be killed by ordinary arrows.

[43] This tale of Chipmunk and the Giant seems to correspond to the Shoshone trickster cycle of the Giant Dzoavits. In the Shoshone tales the place of Chipmunk is generally taken by Weasel or Mosquito. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 254–262.

[44] Cf., in a general way, Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 265, 266; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 264–268.

[45] Literally, "very well."

[46] I. e., "I asked about it."

[46a] This tale corresponds, in a general way, to R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, p. 277(k).

[47] Merely a burden.

[48] A burden. Based on *taviavi-* "to lie in the sun" and *tᴀ'cɩ'ŋwɩyuntaq·aγ'i'* "keeps changing color like gravel." The meaning of the burden is, then, something like "Lying in the sun, she keeps changing color like sandy gravel streaked by sunbeams." The reference is to Lizard, who is Gray Hawk's wife.

[49] Refers to Toad.

[50] Woodpecker's tree had a single hole for entry, but there was a complicated labyrinth leading to the exit hole at the top. Toad could not find his way out.

[51] A Comanche parallel is given in *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, collected by H. H. St. Clair, 2d (Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1909, pp. 11-13). A translation of the Paiute story has been already published in The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania, 1910, pp. 16, 17.

[52] It is not the ordinary rat that is meant, but the wood rat, found in great quantities near St. George, Nev., and used as food by the Indians.

[53] Rat had butchered the deer on leaves and branches in order to prevent traces of the meat from showing on the earth. By burning the leaves and branches he destroyed all traces of the butchering.

[54] This incident argues a knowledge on the part of the Paiute Indians of the custom of burning the dead. The custom, however, was not practiced by the Paiutes themselves. This point may eventually help to determine from what tribe or area the widespread story of the "hoodwinked dancers" came to the Paiute.

[55] Tony was not quite certain if the story ended at this point or not.

[56] "Him" refers to any deer. Wolf commands Coyote to go out as usual to round up the deer, so that he and his brother Panther may hunt them.

[57] The scene shifts at this point.

[58] The Horned Lark women were married to the Badger people (*ïna'n·ïŋwïŋwï*), who were in the habit of hunting badgers.

[59] The bark referred to is of a cedar-like tree (*ïna'p·ï*) and is yellowish in color. Stockings were made of it as well.

[60] This was not Coyote, first spoken of, but "the idle Coyote," pro catamito usus in loco feminae. Coyote, on returning from the hunt, was the first to make use of him, after which he proceeded to the other camps. After the arrival of the Badger-wives his usefulness vanished. The Wolf and Coyote people had no women before this.

[61] I. e., pudenda. The meaning of Coyote's statement is that his companions are to have nothing to do with the women.

[62] Ad coitum per anum invitans.

[63] I. e., the sticks to which the quivers are sewed on for support.

[64] I. e., of the Bluejays. The blue hats are the untransformed crests.

[65] This is an interesting reference to the rôle of Wolf as creator, an apparently widespread Plateau Shoshonean idea. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, p. 233.

[66] This is merely a fragment of what Tony believed to be a long story. Eagle's song (see III, 1, p. 478) belongs to this story at a point antecedent to the events recounted in this fragment. The tale is a typical suitor myth and corresponds, in a general way, to Lowie's "Lodge-Boy and Thrown-away" (see Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 280–283).

[67] Powell's "Shivwits." A Southern Paiute tribe west of the Kaibab Paiutes and speaking a dialect only slightly different from that of the Kaibabs.

[68] The father-in-law had a pit or cave on the side of a hill into which he caused the smoke to enter. There was no air in the pit at all.

[69] Eagle's feathers were originally entirely white. Only where the feathers were protected by the covering wings have they remained light in color.

[70] I. e., "Quando ille me futuit?" seeing that he knows that.

[71] It is quite likely that the conception of Rattlesnake as "grandfather" is due to, or at least influenced by, a popular etymology connecting *tɔγɔ'aφɪ* "rattlesnake" with *tɔγɔ'φɪ* "grandfather."

[72] I. e., vulva ejus fructus est, cum ea copulavit.

[73] I. e., Gray Hawk.

[74] Transformed from the lice.

[75] Euphemistic for: cum ea copulavit.

[76] Coyote was looking for a pretext to go to her house, so as to have a chance to see the young woman.

[77] When held down by the woman, Gray Hawk made a noise, thus leading Coyote to infer that something was wrong. He thought that Hawk was attacked and made as if to help him by aimlessly shooting at Hawk's supposed enemies.

[78] She commands the bow fragments to come back, so as to prevent further destruction.

[79] This is evidently a popular Plateau Shoshonean tale and has been collected by several ethnologists. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 267, 268; St. Clair, *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, p. 266; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 270–272; Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, p. 317.

[80] An idiomatic phrase expressing contempt. "Though you may say what you will, boast as you like, still you count for nothing."

[81] Cf. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 248–251; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 268–270.

[82] Coyote had names for his daughters, each of which ended in the word for "vulva."

[83] The laying on of the bark was normally the work of the men, not of the women. Coyote pretended to lie down in the house in order to direct attention to any openings they might leave.

[84] Literally, "from here."

[85] I. e., everything about the house will seem as usual, including the talking of people.

[86] A constellation of seven stars is meant. Tony thought it was the Dipper (*Ursa Major*) that was referred to, but was not quite certain. The Paiute term, *sɔn·ɩ'aŋwï*, is an animate plural in *-ŋwï-*, but is not otherwise analyzable.

[87] An ordinary term for "coyote."

[88] Cf. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 282–283, 283–284, 294–295; St. Clair, *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, p. 272; Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, pp. 318, 319. The Shoshone *nüneyunc* "roc," like Paiute *nïŋwï'n·ɔ·ɸɪ*, probably denotes "one who carries people away."

[89] Blood that has been roasted in a paunch under the ashes.

[90] From crying for her lost grandson.

[91] The Bear Dance is a Ute dance that was learned by the Paiute bands in comparatively recent times from the Utes. A series of bear dance songs obtained from Tony all have Ute texts. This little account shows how the dance spread from one Paiute tribe or band to another.

[92] In southwestern Utah. Based on *qana'ʀï* "willow-bordered canyon."

[93] A neighboring Paiute band.

[94] These notched branches are the "rasps" that are used to accompany the bear dance songs.

[95] The hole and the pan served as a resonator for the rasps held down on the pan.

[96] Chief of the Cedar City band.

[97] Literally, "calling on to themselves."

[98] I. e., "what manitou dream have you ever had?"

[99] Referring to the white tents of the enemy. It is not definitely stated who the enemy were. In all likelihood they were either Arapaho or Cheyenne.

[100] A shallow canyon in a plain which fills in the rainy season; a "gutter" or arroyo.

[101] I. e., "shall we two continue to live after our kinsmen have died?"

[102] Mamputs, chief of the Cedar City Paiutes, is supposed to have been traveling about and to have returned from the country of the Southern Utes. He had a mannerism of addressing everyone by a term of relationship, by way of being friendly. An older man he addressed as "father," an older woman as "mother," a very old man or woman as "grandfather" or "grandmother," young men or women as "brothers" and "sisters." This method of address was not, however, according to Tony, the regular practice of all chiefs.

[103] In the country of the Southern Utes.

[104] Eagle lives far away in the west and asks leave of his mother to go east to the country of the Sibit band of Paiutes.

[105] It was taboo for a boy, up to the age of about sixteen, to eat game that he had killed himself, as this would make him weak and lazy. Eagle, who is merely a stripling, intends to break the taboo, apparently as a sign that he is old enough to seek a wife.

[106] This is merely a fragment of a myth. Tony remembered only the song, but was not clear as to its context. A certain character, he did not remember just who, used to hide in the bush from morning till night and sing this song, using the leg bones of his own parents as a rattle. He was caught at this.

4. Notes to Translations of Ute Texts.

[1] For other versions of this tale see I, 17 of this part and footnote 79 of translations of Paiute texts.

[2] Literally, "sitting."

[3] I. e., "I have been lying here as buffalo dung for some time."

[4] I. e., "Would you rather go inside of me?"

[5] Fuit Canis excrementa, ab eo pro custode carnis deposita.

[6] When deer, elk, or antelope was killed, the blood was scooped up with the palms from the ripped carcass and deposited in the paunch. It was carried home in the paunch, poured into a mud-cactus kettle, boiled with water, and cooked to a thick soup or mush.

[7] For other Shoshonean versions of the "eye-juggler" motive, see Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 314–16 (where further cognates are given); also St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–70 (Shoshone) and 278–79 (Comanche).

[8] *wıdjı'gıts*ʽ refers to a small bird with black head and beak and gray back. It is said to make a whistling noise in the early spring and to bring the south wind.

[9] I. e., they exercised their supernatural power upon him to spoil his luck.

[10] Literally, "shade-house-made."

[11] I. e., "Go ahead, continue to louse me." It was the ants that were stinging him. Coyote imagined the girls were lousing him.

[12] Cf. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[13] For another version of this tale see I, 16 of this part.

[14] *qa·mbïnιavï-* was translated "river-rock robe" by Charlie Mack, but I see no reason for this rendering. It is perhaps compounded of *pïnιavï-* "skunk robe" (?) and *qa·-ⁿ*, perhaps "rat."

[15] I. e., "your little boy."

[16] Not actually. What is meant is that penem suum impegit against them, in order to get out the blood with which they were swollen.

[17] I. e., "We have taken along none of Owl's things with which to pay you for your doctoring."

[18] A rather divergent version for the Comanche is given by St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 281.

[19] Another Ute version is given by Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321; a Shoshone version is found in St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–272. Curiously enough, the characteristic "magic flight" episodes, while closely paralleled in the Shoshone story, are absent from Mason's Ute version.

[20] "Ghost Woman" was Charlie Mack's term for what is perhaps better called "ogress." Mason uses the term "devil" for a male counterpart. According to Charlie Mack, she is to be identified with the whirlwind (*turu'n'nιäʀï*), though in the myth she is transformed into an echo.

[21] I. e., "Is he male or female?"

[22] Four inspiratory breaths cut short. Fuit ipsa qui copulavit cum eo, super penem saltando.

[23] In order to trick her and let her think id penem esse. He was accustomed to hide under the blankets et penem suum protrudere facere consuevit.

[24] For she had intruded it too far up. We may be dealing here with a folk etymology. *cö·-* "lung" (absolute *cö·vi-*) is apparently thought of as related to *cö·v'önιpï-* "ghost woman."

[25] I. e., "cum copulo."

[26] Rattlesnake transforms the Ghost Woman into the Echo.

[27] Recorded in English. A Shoshone version is given by Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 294. A similar story, according to Charlie Mack, is told of a woman who joined a herd of buffalo. Charlie Mack also heard tell of women quae cum canibus coirent, but he could not tell whether it was true; he rather doubted it.

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Vol. 65. No. 3.—May, 1931.

SOUTHERN PAIUTE DICTIONARY.

By Edward Sapir.

PREFACE.

The following dictionary of Southern Paiute is based on the Paiute texts which form the second part of this volume and on the grammatical and lexical notes which were secured from Tony Tillohash at the same time as the texts. It is in no sense a complete dictionary of the language but necessarily includes only such material as I happened to record. The entries and the examples which follow must always be understood in the light of a knowledge of the fundamental Paiute sounds and their changes. In other words, the dictionary presupposes Part I, for it would be impracticable to give chapter and verse for each phonetic rule that is illustrated in the examples.

The purpose of the dictionary is twofold: to assist the student in the analysis of the texts; and to provide the future student of comparative Shoshonean with the lexical materials that he will need. No attempt has been made to heap examples, which in most instances would add nothing that is not already evident from the entries themselves and the phonology and morphology of Paiute as described in Part I. On the other hand, distinctive derivatives of stems and compounds are given where available. Cross-references to the texts, indicated by page and line numbers, are given sparingly and with attention to their value for the student.

The dictionary includes all noun and verb (including adjective) stems, pronouns, adverbs, and interjections recorded. Of the elements which cannot occur unless preceded or followed by other elements it includes noun and verb stems which occur only as second elements in compounds, enclitics (including pronominal enclitics), postpositions, and prefixes. It does not include as independent entries the derivational and relational suffixes described and illustrated in the grammar. If an entry, such as an enclitic or postposition, is treated in the grammar, it is merely listed without examples and with the appropriate reference to Part I.

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November 3, 1930.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The order of the letters of the Paiute alphabet used in this dictionary is based on that of the letters of the English alphabet, except that certain letters, symbolizing secondary sounds, are considered mere variants of others, symbolizing primary sounds. Thus, *v* is considered a variant of *p; r*, of *t; k* and *γ*, of *q; kw* and *γw*, of *qw; c*, of *s; ts*, of *tc;* and *o*, of *u*.

The order, then, of initials and medials in the main entries is as follows:

Initial	*Medial*
a	-a-
i	-i-
ï	-ï-
m	-m·-
n	-n·-
	-ŋ-
	-ŋw-
ɔ	-ɔ-
p	-p·-
	-v-
q (k)	-q·- (-k·-)
	-γ-
qw (kw)	-q·w- (-k·w-)
	-γw-
s (c)	-s·- (-c·-)
t	-t·-
	-r-
tc (ts)	-tc- (-ts-)
	-t·c- (-t·s-)
u (o)	-u- (-o-)
w	
y	-y-
	-ʼ (only as enclitic)

Of the nasalized stops, *-mp-* comes after *-mɔ-*; *-nt-* comes after *-nɔ-*; *-ŋq-* comes after *-ŋɔ-*; and *-ŋqw-* comes after *-ŋq-*. A reduplicating syllable does not count. Further, note that ʻ or *h* plus vowel is considered equivalent to that vowel. Long vowels or repeated vowels summing to two moras (e. g., *aa* = *a·*) come after short vowels; syllables affected by ʼ (whether of type *ʼa* or *aʼ*, which are considered equivalent) come after equivalent syllables not so affected. Thus, for words with initial *a* the order is:

a (ʻa, ha)
a· (aa)
’a (a’, a’a)
a·’ (’a·, a’a·, a·’a)

The main entries and sub-entries are given as stems and elements in a thoroughly normalized form, no vocalic variants (e. g., *ï* for *ï*) being recognized. All voiceless vowels are restored to their voiced form. This means that no voiceless spirants are entered, for these are merely secondary forms of voiced spirants before voiceless vowels. Non-initial stops following voiceless vowels are restored to their fundamental geminated form. E. g., the recorded *qᴀʻqa′ʀᴀ* appears as the entry qaq·ara-. On the other hand, the actually recorded forms, which follow these theoretically fixed entries, are given as notated, with all their regular phonetic changes and in their heard variants. Final -ʻ after consonant, however, is regularly restored to its proper voiceless vowel; e. g., *qanι′aŋʻ* would be given as *qanι′aŋᴀ*. There are also other slightly regularizing changes which will help the student. For compounded stems beginning with *-v-*, see *p-*; with *-r-*, see *t-*; with *-γ-*, see *q-* (*k-*); with *-γw-*, see *qw-* (*kw-*); with *-ŋw-*, see *w-* or *m-* (a few cases of *-ŋw-*, however, where the evidence for derivation from *w-* or *m-* is lacking, are separately entered under *-ŋw-*).

The main entries are in roman small capitals (the vowels are in these always to be interpreted as fundamental voiced vowels). Under these the sub-entries are given in indented italic form; they consist of derivatives of the main entries.

The following symbols are used:

( )	enclose inorganic element, i. e. element which is not theoretically present; e. g., *a*(·) indicates short *a* which is secondarily lengthened, *γ*(*a*)*i* indicates parasitic *a*
-	separates radical elements and affixes from each other; does not indicate syllabic division
∸	indicates long vowel resulting from contraction of vowels belonging to distinct morphological elements, e. g. *qanι′-a∸ŋᴀ* from *qanι′-a-aŋᴀ*
:	separates normalized, theoretical forms from forms as actually recorded

;	separates forms which differ only in their grammatical affixes, such as can be freely used for all words of their class (nouns, verbs)
<	"derived from"
+	indicates unusual length of vowel or consonant
. . .	precedes enclitic element, e. g. *ai-. . . -n·ia-* to think
A^{x}	unknown vowel (in main entry)
^{n}	indicates that entered stem has nasalizing power
^{s}	indicates that entered stem has spirantizing power
^{g}	indicates that entered stem has geminating power
Song	refers to series of Paiute songs, as yet unpublished, obtained from Tony Tillohash

ABBREVIATIONS.

abs. = absolute form of noun (see Paiute Gram., § 24, 1)
act. = active
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb, adverbial
ag. = agentive
an. = animate
caus. = causative
cf. = compare
comp. = compounded
comp. n. = compound noun
comp. vb. = compound verb
cont. = continuative
dem. = demonstrative
dim. = diminutive
distr. = distributive
du. = dual
dur. = durative
enc. = enclitic
Eng. = English
excl. = exclusive
fut. = future
ger. = gerund
Gram. = see Paiute Grammar: "Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language"
imp. = imperative
impers. = impersonal
inan. = inanimate
inc. = inceptive
incl. = inclusive
incor. = incorporated
indef. = indefinite
indep. = independent
indir. = indirective
instr. = instrumental
inter. = interrogative
interj. = interjection
intr. = intransitive
inv. = invisible (see Paiute Gram., § § 39–43)
iter. = iterative (see Paiute Gram., § 58, 2 and 3)
lit. = literally
loc. = locative
mod. = modal
mom. = momentaneous (see Paiute Gram., § § 30; 58, 5)
neg. = negative
num. = numeral
obj. = object
pas. = passive
perf. = perfect
pers. = personal
plur. = plural
poss. = possessive
post. = postposition
post-nom. = post-nominal
pref. = prefix
pron. = pronoun
ptc. = participle
q. v. = which see
quot. = quotative
recip. = reciprocal
red. = reduplicated
refl. = reflexive
res. = resultative
sing. = singular
Span. = Spanish
stat. = static
subj. = subject
temp. = temporal
tr. = transitive
usit. = usitative
vis. = visible (see Paiute Gram., § § 39–43)
voc. = vocative

A

A- that (indef.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)
  a-n·i- in that (indef.) way; to do (indefinitely) (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)
-A-, -'A- enc. (Gram., § 19, 3, a)
-A-γAIN·IA- mod. enc. (see *-γain·ia-*)
-A-^{g} present at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 1); not used without other suffix:
  -a-t·ï- (ptc.) being present at
  -a-n·u- present at; *-a-n·u-yu-* moving from being at
  -a-t·uγwa- along toward
'A̧ interj. of surprise, disgust (Gram., § 61, 1)
A·-^{s} quietly, gradually (adv. pref.): *a·'-tca'ᴀɪ* to catch quietly, res. *a·'-tca'ai-k̫·a'* to hold quietly, to keep quietly; *a·'-χarï-i'* sits quiet; *a·'-ŋwḭnι'* stands quiet; *a·'-ŋwï'ι-k·ᴜ* to fall quietly and gradually; *a·'-ŋwᴀ'tsι-ŋ'u-mï* to gradually catch up with them (inv.); *a·'^{a}-ya'ai'* gradually dies; *'a·'^{a}-tcuγwa'-pïγai-n·ι-a·m'* (it) appeared to be gradually approaching them (452, 25)
'A·-^{g} horn:
  'a·-p·ï- abs.: *'a·'-p·ï* horn
  'a·- in comp. n.: *a·'-ŋwι'* awl made of horn; *a·'-m·untsɔ'aγuts·* horn spoon; *a·'-p·an·a·^{a}-va·-nɪ* horn-between-at-my, between my horns (456, 31)
  'a·-p·ï- in comp. n.: *a·'p·ï-χanɪ* horn house; *a·'p·ï-muntcɔ'aγuts·* horn spoon (see also *'a·-* in comp. n.)
  'a·- in comp. vb.: *'a·'-t·ɔn'ɴᴀ* to hook with horns; *'a·'-t·ca'^{a}* to catch on the horns
A·', 'A·' sign of quotation; ho! (Gram., § 60, 3; § 61, 1)
AI- uncle; male's nephew, niece: *a'i-nɪ* my uncle (paternal, maternal); *a'i-(y)a-ŋum(ᴡ)ɪ* uncle (obj.) of you 2 (311, 11)
  ai-tsi- nephew, niece: *a'i-tsι-nɪ* my (male's) nephew, niece
AI- that (indef.) (dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 43, 5)
  aia- that (indef.) (obj.; ibid.)
  'aia- it (inan. vis.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 7)
AI-^{s} to say, to make a sound: *a'i-p·ïγa'* (he) said (308, 5); *a'i-γ̫a'*, *a'i-χ̫a'* saying, when (he) said (316, 5); *a'i-x̫ᴜ-cu-aŋᴀ* as he said, cried (460, 30); *imι a'i-'na-mɪ* your saying (349, 1); *qa·'-nᴀ-cu-v^{w} a'i-p·ïγa* just-his-own-singing (he) said, he kept on singing
  ai-q·a- say, said (Gram., § 32, 2): *'a(·)ni'α-n 'ai-k̫·ᴀ* what I say! (310, 10); *aγa'n·ι-ŋu-tsι-ŋw' a'i-k̫·ᴀ* I wonder what happened that she (inv.) says so, cries (450, 20); *a'i-k̫·a-nɪ* I

said (353, 6); *a′i-k̯·a-q̇·u-ŋᴡᴀ* as he (inv.) told; *a′i-k̯·a-ramɪ* we 2 (incl.) said

ai-q·a- plur.: *a′i-k̯·ᴀ-pïγa‘* (they) said (319, 13); *a′i-k̯·a-i‘* (they) say

ai-ŋu- mom.: *a′i-ŋᴜ-pïγa‘* spoke out; *a′i-ŋu-mpaᴀ-cu-nɪ* let me say again (410, 2); *‘a′i-ŋu-mïx·-qa’ᵃ-ŋᴡᴀ* after he (inv.) had said so; *a′i-k̯·a-ŋᴜ* several speak out

ai-m·ia-, ai-m·i- usit.: *a′i-mιᴀ, a′i-m·ιᴀ, ‘a′i-mι‘* always says, is in habit of saying, means (316, 7); *nï ïγïr ‘a′i-m·i̧‘* I truly am wont to say, dream (472, 31); *i’i′ŋai a′i-mɪˣ-k̯a‘* has been always referring to this one (466, 35); *a′i-k̯·a-mι‘* several are wont to say

ai-ŋqï- to say to: *a′i-ŋqï-qai-nᴀ* what (he) said to (them) (385, 7); *pu(w)a′-m· ai-ŋqï-yï-aŋa-nɪ* with-power I-say-to-him, I doctor him with supernatural power

a′i-ntcï- ptc.: *a′i-ntcï* saying; *a′i-n’ni-ntcï* one who keeps saying; *a′i-va·-ntï* will be saying (fut. ptc.) (464, 8)

ai-γw’ai- to go and say: *a′i-χw’ai-p·ïγa‘* said as (he) went (434, 30); *a′i-χwa’ᵃ* go and tell (him)! (446, 24)

ai- in comp. vb.: *a′i-p·aγᵉi‘* says while going along; *a′i-k̯·arï-p·ïγa‘* said while sitting (362, 11); *a′i-vuru-p·ïγa‘* said as (he) went here and there (436, 6; 458, 8)

ai- . . . -n·ia- to think: *a′i-k̯·ᴀ-campa-n·ιa-nɪ* I only think so

ampaya-n·ia- ai- there is a noise: *ampa′(i)ya-n·ι ai-k̯·ᴀ* there is a noise going on, *ampa′(i)ya-n·ι a′i-ʏᴜ-campᴀ* even if a noise is heard (357, 7)

‘an·ia-c·u- ai- to tease: *‘a(·)nι′ᴀ-cu̧-ŋwu-n a′i-k̯·a-mι‘* you (plur.) are wont to tease me (327, 5)

ta·mpi-n·ia- ai- to be tired of: *ta·′mpi-nia-raŋw a′i-k̯·ᴀ* is tired of what we (incl.) (say)

a·i- to say without effect: *a·′(a)i-p·ïγa‘* said without effect

ᴀɪ- then, now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

ᴀɪ- to be where? to do what? (Gram., § 44, 2, c)

-ᴀɪɴ·ɪ- to touch (only with instrumental prefix):

m(a)-ain·i- to touch with the hand: *m(a)a′inι-yï-ᴀˣqa-nɪ* I am touching it; mom. *m(a)a′in·ι-ŋᴜ* to touch with the hand, *nï’ m(a)a′inι-ŋo-’q·ᴡᴀ* touch it (inv.), plur. *m(a)a′inɪˣ-k̯a-ŋᴜ* several touch, iter. *mama′in’ni‘* touches several times, several objects; res. *m(a·)a′inɪ-k̯a‘* to have the hand touching, to keep one’s hand on, *m(a)a′inɪ-k̯ai-(y)aq·ᴀ* to keep holding it, have one’s hand on it, plur. *ma(·)m·a′in·ι-k̯ai-(y)aq·ᴀ* several have (their) hands on it *t(a)-ain·i-* to touch with the feet: *t(a)a′in·iʽ* touches with the feet

t(a)-ain·i- to touch with a thrown object: mom. *ma(·)m·a′′utcιtca·ŋᴀ t(a·)a′in·ι-ŋᴜ* woman has touched him by throwing (a stone)

AIP·A- boy: (cf. *aiva-*):

aip·a-tsi- boy: *a′ip·a-ts·* boy; *’a′ip·a-tsι-ŋᴡï, a’a′ip·a-tsι-ŋᴡï* boys; *wa·′-n-’aip·a-tsι-ŋwïʽ* two boys (obj.) (438, 24)

-’AIP·A·- to extend one’s hands palm out, feet soles out (occurs only with instrumental prefix):

m(a)-’aip·a·-: *m(a)’a′ip·aʽ* to stretch out one’s hands so as to show the palms

t(a)-’aip·a·-: *t(a)’a′ip·aʽ* to stretch out one’s feet so as to show the soles; res. *t(a)’a′ip·a·-q·aʽ* to have one’s feet stretched out so as to show the soles; *tama′-r-’aip·a·* summer-foot-stretch-out, there are summer footprints (428, 5; Song)

AIVA-^{g} young man (cf. *aip·a-*): *a′iva-mï* young men (472, 10), *a′iva-m·ï-raŋᴡᴀ* our (incl.) young men

aiva-p·ïtsi- young man: *a′iφᴀ-pïts·, a′iφᴀ-puts·* young man; *a′iφᴀ-pïtsι-ŋᴡï, a′iφᴀ-putsι-ŋᴡï* plur.; *wa·′-n-’aiφᴀ-pï-tsι-ŋᴡï* two young men (348, 2)

aiva- in comp. n.: *a′iφᴀʽ-pïγa-rïγïv^{w}ïnɪ* my former-youth-friend (350, 7)

AIVAYA- companion: *a′iva(i)yα-nɪ* my fellow-man, plur. *a′iva(i)ya-ŋwï-nɪ* my fellow-men (383, 8), *a′ivea-ŋwï-aŋᴀ* his companions (438, 19)

AAIK·A- oh! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

ʽAAIK·WI- oh! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

ʽA·’INI- to be silent:

ʽa·’ini-q·ai- res., to be silent: *ʽa·′′ιnι-k̯·aʽ* to be silent; *ʽa·′′ιnι-k̯·a-ntï* one who is silent

ʽa·’ini-ŋu- to become silent: *ʽa·′i’ni-ŋᴜ-campᴀ* though (their whooping) ceased (474, 34)

ʽa·’ini-q·w’ai-ŋu- to grow silent: *ʽa·′′inι-k·w^{ɔ}’ai-ŋᴜ-q(w)a∸q·ᴀ* as soon as it became silent (474, 7)

AÏ-^{s} new:

aï-vi- now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a); *a′ïv^{w}ι-t·ï* new

aï-vi-c·u- enough (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, c); enough! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

aï- in comp. n.: *aï′-χanɪ* new house; *aï′-raï′ʽ* new shirt; *aï′-v^{w}at·cᴀ* new moccasin; *aï′-v^{w}aʽ* new water; *a′ï-’ɔφɪ* new wood; *ʽa′ï-v^{w}ιŋwavïts·* newly married man; *a′^{ï}-n·aŋwa∸(a)ŋᴀ (a·′-)* his fresh tracks

AÏC·I-^{s} burden basket: *'a′ïc·ɪ* gathering basket, carrying basket of coiled weave made of "squaw-bush"

aïc·i-tcu- to make a burden basket: *'a′ïc·ɩ-tcu-v^{w}a·^{a}nɩ'* will make a basket; *'a·′c·ɩ-tcu-v^{w}a·n·ɩa-nɪ* I shall make a basket; *'a′^{i}c·i-tcu-v^{w}a·tn̥-nɪ* being about to make a basket I (369, 2)

AÏC·Ï-^{s} butterfly:

aïc·ï-vïtsi-: *a·′c·ɩ-v^{w}ïts·* butterfly; *pa·′-a^{ï}c·ɩv^{w}ïts·* dragonfly (lit., water-butterfly)

AM·Ï-, *am·u-c·u-* they, those (an. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

am·ïa-(c·u-) them, those (obj.; ibid.)

am·ï- they, them (an. vis. plur.; subj. obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., §42, 2)

-AM·Ï- (enc. pers. pron.) they (an. vis.); them (an. vis.); their (an. vis.) (Gram., § 40)

AMPA-^{s} sound, noise:

ampa-γa-^{s} to talk: *ampa′γa-i'* talks; *ampa′χa-χų-'ŋwᴀ* if he (inv.) talks

ampaγa-q·u- inc.: *ampa′χa-q·ᴜ* to begin to talk

ampaγa-q·a- plur.: *ampa′x·-qa-i'* several talk

'ampaq·a- iter.: *a'a′mpᴀ^{x}qa-i'* talks repeatedly, *a'a′mpᴀ^{x}qa-q·a-i* several talk repeatedly

ampaγa-p·i- pas. ptc.: *ampa′xa-p·ɪ* sound of talking

ampaγa-vi- ag.: *ampa′xa-ϕɪ* one who talks

ampaγa-rï- ptc.: *qan·ɩaγantï ampa′xa-rï-ŋ'wᴀ* main speaker of the village; *ampa′xa-rï-ŋ'wa∸m·ï* their talker from among them, *ampa′x·-qa-rïŋ'wa∸m·ï* their talkers

a·mpaγa- to talk in vain: *a·′mpaχa-i'* talks to no purpose

-ampaγa- in comp. forms: *tï''-'ampaγa-* to have a good talk; *saru′-ampaγa-* to talk hoarsely; *nia·′vɩ-ampaγa-* to chief-talk, to talk in council, *nɩa·′vɩ-ampaχa-ŋwïnɩ-x̯a'* while standing and talking like a chief (383, 7); *ït·ïŋwa-'ampaγa-* to talk in one's sleep, *ï'tɩ′ŋ'w-ampaγa-i'* talks in (his) sleep

ampaγa-q·wa'ai- to talk away: *ampa′x·-qwa'ai'* keeps talking

ampaγa- in comp. vb.: *ampaγa-t·ïvitcu-* to talk-request, *ampa′x·-tïv^{w}ɩtcu-i'* asks (one) to talk for oneself; *ampa′χa-ŋwïnï-i'* one stands and talks; *ampa′x·-qarï-i'* one sits and talks; *ampa′χa-yuχwi'* several sit and talk; *tɪ'qa∸′mpaγa-i'* eat-talks, prays before eating, says grace

ampa-rïŋwava-γa- to talk-resound: *ampa′-rɩŋwαvaxa-i'* there is a sound like talking *ampa-mai-* to noise-say: *ampa'-m·ai-k̯·ᴀ* there is a noise

ampa-rɔγwa·- to yell out orders: *ampa'-rɔxɔa-iʻ* stands up on a height and yells out orders (e. g. for hunting game, moving camp) or information; *ampa'rɔγwαʻ-pïγa(a)i-c·ᴜ* commanded out loud again (430, 13)

ampa-ya- . . . *-n·ia- ai-* to noise-like say: *ampa'(i)ya-n·ι aik̯·ᴀ* noise is going on; *a·'mpa(i)ya-n·ι a'ip·ïγaʻ* made a racket (432, 21)

ampa-ru- to make a noise: *ampa'ro·-no·χwi-tcai-γwai-ŋᴜ* people assemble together and make a noise (of weeping) (Song 17)

A·MPÏ-^{s} (cf. *ampa-*):

a·mpï-roa·'-q·ai- to be evident because of noise: *a·'mpï-roa·'-q·ai-vaʻ* will be easily told because of noise taking place (454, 35)

A·MU-:

a·mu-q·i- to resound with a deep, hollow sound: *(a)a·'mᴜ*^{x}*qwi-yï-n·ιʻ* makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a well (not a splash)

ANAMPA-γA- to say something (cf. *ampa-γa-*): *ana'mpax·ᴀ* to say something

AN·IA- what? (obj. of verbs of saying and mental activity; Gram., § 44, 1, d)

an·ia- to say what? (ibid.)

an·ia- . . . *-n·ia-* to care for what? (ibid.)

ʻan·ia- . . . *-c·u-* teasing (with following *ai-* to say; ibid.)

ʻANIP·A·NI-: *ʻa(·*^{a}*)nι'p·a·(*^{a}*)nι-p·ï* squaw-dance, round dance

ANIYA- relative (song form for *in·ia-*, q. v.): *'a'ni·yaŋ'a·* his relation (Song 173)

ʻAN·ɔq·ɔ- when? (Gram., § 44, 2, b)

ANTÏŊWÏA·VU- shoulder: *antι'ŋwïa·vu-ma(i)yu-aŋa-φï* he from his (own) shoulder

antïŋwïa·vu-vi- abs.: *antιŋwïa·'vu-φɪ* shoulder

ʻA·N·UC·I- harness (< Eng. *harness*):

ʻa·n·uc·i-'a-t̕·ui- to cause a harness to be on: *ʻa·'n·ᴜʻcι-ȧ-t·uιʻ* harness (a horse)

AŊA-(C·U-) he, that one (an. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

aŋaia-(c·u-) him, that one (obj.; ibid.)

aŋa- he, him (an. vis. sing.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 1)

aŋa- they, them (an. vis. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 2) = *am·ï-* (q. v.)

-AŊA- (enc. pers. pron.) he (vis.); him (vis.); his (vis.) (Gram., § 40)

AŊA-C·U- only, just (?) (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

AŊA- who? (pers. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, a)
aŋaia- whom? (obj.)
aŋam·ï- who? which ones? (plur., subj.)
aŋam·ïa- whom? which ones? (plur., obj.)

AŊA·-^{s}:
aŋa·-vi- ant: *aŋa·'(^{a})-ϕɪ* ant (small, black sp.); *aŋa·'(^{a})vɩ-ŋᴡï* plur.

A·ŊA-^{s} piñon jay: *a·'ŋᴀ* piñon jay; *a·'ŋa-ŋᴡï* plur.
na-'a·ŋa-ru- to make oneself a piñon jay: plur. mom. *na-'a·'(^{a})ŋa-ʀᴜ-qwą-u-mpa‘* shall all turn (our) selves into piñon jays (406, 12)

AŊAVU-^{s} (AŊAVÏ-^{s}) arm: *aŋa'ϕᴜ* arm; *aŋa'vu-maŋqu-nɪ* by my arm; *a'ŋavu-maŋqu-ŋumɪ* by your (plur.) arms
aŋavu-vi- abs.: *aŋa'vu-ϕɪ* arm (from wrist to neck)
aŋavu-ɔɔ-'a- arm-bone: *aŋa'vu-ɔɔ-a̓‘* shoulder blade
aŋavu-γai- to have an arm: distr. *a'a'ŋavï-χai-p·ïγa‘* (they) all had an arm (468, 15); neg. distr. *^{a}'a'ŋavï-'ai-p·ïa̓'* (they) had no arms (468, 15)

AŊI-^{s} mosquito:
aŋi-vi- abs.: *a(·)ŋi'-ϕɪ* mosquito; dim. *aŋi'vi-ts·* flea
comp.: *moo'-aŋiϕɪ* mosquito

AŊWAI'-, *aŋwaï'-n·ia-* signalling: *‘a'ŋwaï'(ɩ)-n·ɩ‘* like signalling, so as to be easily noticed (382, 8), *'a'ŋwai(ɩ)-n·ɩa∸ŋ ‘anɩ'-k̭·ᴀ* signalling-like he does, he gives a signal, makes noticeable

AŊWAT·A-^{n} rib:
aŋwat·a-mpï- abs.: *aŋwa't·a-mpï* rib; *nį̈'ni aŋwa't·a-mpï* my rib

A·ŊWAYA-, *a·ŋwaya-n·ia-* to be dizzy: *a·'ŋwa(i)yα-n·ɩ(y)α-nɪ* I am dizzy

AŊ'WÏC·I- to sneeze: *nï' q̨'wï'c·ɩ-ɩ‘* I sneeze; plur. *taŋw q̨'wï'c·-k̭a-i‘* we (incl.) sneeze

AŊQA-^{s} (AŊQA-^{g}) red:
aŋqa-γa- to be red: ptc. *aŋqa'-χa-ʀï* red; mom. *aŋqa'-χa-ŋᴜ* to become red, plur. *aŋqa'-x·-qa-ŋᴜ* several become red
aŋqa-ru'a- to turn red: mom. *aŋqa'-r'uα-ŋᴜ* to turn red
aŋqa-p·ï-: *aŋqa'-p·ï* "reddish" (name of a large spring)
aŋqa- in comp. n.: *aŋqa'-ɔϕɪ* red wood; *aŋqa'-ɔra·ϕï* red pole; *aŋqa'-ɔs·ᴀ* red water-jar (before gum is put on); *aŋqa'-nɩŋᴡï* red person; *aŋqa'-t·ɩv^{w}ip·ï* red earth; *aŋqa'-q·anɪ* red house; *aŋqa'-sari·ts·* red dog; *aŋqa'-p·aγï‘* red fish, trout; *aŋqa'-q·wa·^{a}'naŋwants·* robin, *aŋqa'q·wa·ną'wants·*; *aŋqa'-q·ᴡᴀ‘ci-va(i)ya·ts·* red-tail-bottomed, blue racer; *aŋqa'-s·arats·* red-baby, infant (term used by Escalante

band of Paiutes for infant), *aŋqa′-saratsι-tsι-gay* when (he) is a red littleba by (Song 179); *aŋqa-yïvʷi-* red pine, *aŋqa′-yïvʷι-mpa-γa-rux·ᴡᴀ* through a red pine (Song 139); *aŋqa′-q·anι′γa-tcι-ŋᴡï* red-cliff-base-people (band formerly living in Long Valley, now with Kaibab Paiutes)

aŋqa- in comp. adj., ptc.: *aŋqa′-c·ιaq·a-ʀï* pink; *aŋqa′-m·ʼunuq·wι-tcï* red and round; *aŋqa′-q·ᴡɪca-ʀï* red-flashing, lightning, obj. *aŋqa′-q·ᴡɪca-rïʽ* (317, 6); *αŋqa′-p·a·ɴᴜˣqwιtc-tcι-ŋᴡï* red-stream-people (tribal name)

aŋqa- in comp. vb.: *aŋqa′-χwιc·ᴀ* to flash red (446, 27); *aŋqa′-q·ɔrɔ-iʽ* paints the face (any color)

aŋqa-n′na- to paint: *aŋqa′-n′na-iʽ* paints (it red, blue, or other color); *a(·)ŋqa′-n′ɴᴀˣ-pïγa′ai-k·ᴡᴀ* painted it (inv.) (404, 32)

AŊWA- him (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 1) = *aŋa-* (q. v.)

AƆŊQƆ-ˢ dead tree, dead log:

aɔŋqɔ-vï- abs.: *a(·)′ᵓŋqɔ-φï* dried up woods, obj. *a′ɔŋqʷα-vïʽ* dead log (444, 2); *a(·)′ᵓŋqɔ-vï-α-nɪ* my dried up woods; in comp. ptc.: obj. *a′ᵓŋqɔvï-wïnï-rïʽ* dried up tree that was standing (422, 32)

A·P·A-: *a·p·a-nɔ′noq·wi·-qai-ŋo·-mpanɪ* tears running down (Song 63; *a·p·a-* explained by Tony as song-equivalent of *pa·-* water, metaphorically used for tears)

ʼAP·IQ·U- to lean back and forward (iter. inc. of *avi-* to lie?): *ᵃʼa′p·ɪʽqo-vaʽ* will lean back and forward (while playing) (382, 8); *aʼa′p·ɪˣqu-p·ïγaʽ* (he) moved his body back and forward (while seated) (384, 12)

AP·ÏI-ˢ to sleep (sing.): *nïʼ ᴀʽpï′ι-ιʽ* I sleep; *ᴀʽpï′ι-tca-ŋᴀ* he fell asleep; *ᴀʽpï′ɪ-k̯ai- (y)aŋᴀ* he slept, has been asleep

ʼap·ïi- iter.: *aʼa′p·ïι-ιʽ* sleeps repeatedly

ap·ïi-ŋu- mom.: *ᴀʽpï′ι-ŋu-yï-aŋᴀ* he is falling asleep; *ᴀʽpï′ι-ŋu-nts·-qα-nɪ* I am sleepy

ap·ïi-k·u- inc.: *ᴀʽpï′ι-k̯·ᴜ* to fall asleep

ap·ïi-t̛·ui- caus.: *ᴀʽpï′ɪ-t̛uι-p·ïγa′ai-ŋᴡᴀ* made him (inv.) go to sleep (310, 9); *ᴀˣpï′ɪ-t̛uι-p·ïγa′ai-mï* (he) made out as though they two were asleep

ap·ïi-t̛·ua- impers.: *ᴀʽpï′ɪ-t̛ua(i)-yï-n·oʽ* somebody is sleeping

ptc.: *ᴀʽpï′ι-tcï* one who sleeps; neg. *qatc ᴀʽpï′ι-ŋwa′ai-t·ï* one who does not sleep

ap·ïi-vi- ag.: *ᴀʽpï′ι-φɪ* sleeper, one who always sleeps

ap·ïi-γwa′ai- to go and sleep: *ᴀʽpï′ι-χ̯w′ai-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall go and sleep *ap·ïi-vayï-* to sleep-return, to have slept: *ᴀʻpï'ι-vaɪ-k̯aɪ-t́ua(i)-yï-r'ɔ-n·oa-xain·i iväʻ* somebody has been sleeping here, it seems

tï-'ap·ïi- to sleep soundly: *tï''-ᴀʻpïιʻ* sleeps well, has a good sleep

AP·ƆN'NAI- to gallop: *ᴀʻpɔ'n'naiʻ* gallops, lopes; *ᴀʻpɔ'n'nai-vä·n·ιʻ* fut.

ap·ɔn'nai-t·ïŋwava-γa- there is a sound of galloping: *ᴀʻpɔ'n·ai-t·ïŋwava-xa-ŋkι-x̯u-aŋᴀ* as a noise of hoofs was heard coming he . . . (476, 13)

A·P·ƆRUC·I-^{s} apples (< Eng. *apples*): *a·'p·ɔruc·ɪ* apples; *a·'p·ɔrïc·ι-xᴡᴀʻcï-p·ï* apple-ripened, ripe apples

A·P·Ɔ·-^{s}: *a·p·ɔ·-rïŋqani-* cave (see *tïŋqani-*), *a·'p·ɔ·-rüŋqanιʻ* obj. (319, 5)

AVA-^{s} shade:

ava-vi- abs.: *ava'-ϕɪ* shade

comp.: *ava'-xanɪ, ava'-χanɪ* shade summer house; *ava·'^{a}-ruq·waip·a·'-q·ᴡᴀ* under side of its (inv.) shade (476, 6); *ava'-n'ɴɔ^{x}q(w)ɔm'-ᴍɪ-tsι-γ̯a-ntï* bend of canyon or wash that is shaded and not easily seen; *ava'-n'ɴɔ^{x}q^{w}ɔm'ᴍɪ-tsι-γai-p·äntï-'a-q·ᴡᴀ* being (obj.) at its (inv.) shaded bend (474, 13)

AVA'- much, great, big:

ava'-na- verbal n.: *ava''^{a}-nᴀ* much; *ava''-n o·χwι'vïaχaʻ* much to-be-grassy, to have much grass; *tïv^{w}i'tsï-(tïv^{w}ι'tsι-)ava''a-nᴀ* very much, very many (316, 10)

ptc. *ava'-t·ï-* big: *a(·)'vat́·ï-ŋw'α-ŋw'u-ŋᴡᴀ* the big ones

ava'-t·ï- in comp. n.: *ava''t·ï-cïn·a'aϕɪ, ava't́·ï-cιna'aϕɪ,* big-dog, gray wolf; *ava''t·ï-ŋqwin·o·ra·ts·* wolf; *'ava(·)''t·ï-mᴀʻcïuϕɪ* big finger, thumb

AVI-^{s} to lie (sing.): *nï' a(·)vi'ʻ* I lie down

avi-q·a- plur.: *taŋw a(·)vi'-k̯·a-iʻ* we lie down

avi-ŋu- mom., to camp: *a(·)vι'-ŋu-yï-aŋᴀ* he stops over night to sleep

a'avi- inc.: *a'a'ϕɪ* to begin lying down

avi-k·u- inc.: *avι(·)'-q·υ(·)-v^{w}a* will lie down

avi-tcï- ptc.: *avi'tcï* lying down; *a(·)vi'tcï* lying, i. e. mountain range, ridge; *a(·)vι'tcι-tcïʻ qwaia'ŋqwɔp·ᴀ* little-ridge beyond, beyond a little ridge (372, 1)

tavi-avi- to lie in the sun: *tavι'-avi-x̯aʻ* while lying in the sun

pïŋqa-avi- to keep lying down: *pü̯ŋqa'-a(·)vι-p·ïγaʻ* kept lying down (319, 5)

comp. vb.: *avi'-m'mιa-ʀï* lying while moving (e. g. on the water); *ʻa(·)vι'-ŋU̯-pax·-pïγaʻ* camped while traveling, went to bed night after night (373, 12); *punι'-avι-x̯aʻ* looking while lying (308, 5)

-avi- in comp. vb.: *un·i-avi-* to lie while so doing, to lie as described

(474, 29; 398, 26); *m*^{w}*αn·i-avi-m·ia-* to be wont to lie while doing that, acting in that manner; *tïq·a-avi-* to eat while lying; *pïn·i-avi-* to look while lying (308, 5); *mantcu'ai-avi-* to lie in wait (309, 4); *muntun'ni-avi-* to lie covered up (398, 26); *'aγa-'mïc·i-avi-* to lie down and hide (335, 4); *nas·ɔγɔ'ma-avi-* to lie covered with earth (474, 28); *tap·aik̭·ai-avi-* to lie senseless; *aŋaric·u'ai-avi-ŋw'ai-* to lie and pay no attention to him

-AVIT·A- chief: *taŋ'wa'-avιt·a-i'* men's chief (obj.) (476, 18)

AVUA·-^{s} semicircular (valley):

avua·-γa-ntï- ptc.: *avo'a·γantï* semicircular valley; *a(·)vυ(·)'a·χant aʀï* the semicircular valley (410, 12); *avo(·)'a·χantï'* (obj.) valley bordered by a semicircular ridge (432, 3); *avo'a·γantï-p·aŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* into a semicircular valley (410, 12)

AQ·A- it, that (inan. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

aq·aia- it, that (obj.; ibid.)

aq·aia- it (inan. vis.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 7)

-AQ·A- imp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, o; § 52)

-AQ·A- (enc. pers. pron.) it (inan. vis.; subj., obj.); its (inan. vis.) (Gram., § 40)

-aq·a- it is . . . (Gram., § 56, 3)

AQ·Ï-^{n} sunflower seeds: *a'q·ï* sunflower seeds

aq·ï-mpï- sunflower plant: *ᴀ*^{x}*qï'-mpï*

comp.: *ᴀ*^{x}*qï'-c·'ap·ɪ* sunflower mush; *mo'q·wι-ȧq·ï* Hopi-sunflower-seeds (bigger variety than *a'q·ï*)

-AQ·Ï- to feel (only compounded):

ta-aq·ï-: *ta·q·ï-* to feel with the foot

ma-aq·ï-: *ma·'q·ï-ι'* feels with the hand

AQ·Ɔ'I-^{s} to sleep (plur.) (cf. *qɔ'i-* several go to sleep): *ᴀ*^{x}*qɔ(·)'*^{i}*'-yï-a(·)mï* they are sleeping; *ᴀ*^{x}*qɔ''i-x̯·ᴜ* while (they) are sleeping (412, 17)

AΓA- what? (inter. pron. used with post.; Gram., § 44, 2, a)

aγa-n·i- how? to act how? to do what? (ibid.; § 26, 2, b)

-'AΓA-^{s} right in, among (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 2); occurs only compounded:

-'aγa-ruγwa- moving through, in among

-'aγa-va- right in; *-'aγa-va-yu-* acting right in; *-'aγa-va-tcuγwa-* right into; *-'aγa-va-tcu-m·anaŋqwa-* out from among

'A·ΓA-^{g} in hiding (only compounded with vb. stems):

'a·γa-wantcï- to hide-put, to hide (tr.): *a·'χa-wantcι-yï-'q·ᴡᴀ* hides it (inv.); *a·'χa-wantcι-ŋqï-'yι-k̄·wa-mɪ* I am hiding it (inv.) for

you; usit. *a·′γa-wantcι-ŋqï-mʷι̹*‘ has been hiding from (321, 2); usit. perf. *a·′χa-ŋwantcι-ŋqï-mɪ-k̭a*‘ has hidden from (one) customarily; cont. *a·′χa-wantcι-nι-yι(·ⁱ)-’k·ᴡᴀ* is hiding it (inv.); inc. res. *a·′γa-ŋwaŋwantcï-qai-va*‘ shall have (it) hidden (388, 8); iter. *a·′χa-ŋwa’watcι-yι-nɪ* has been hiding me several times

’a·γa-m’mïc·i- to hide (intr.): cont. *a·′χa-’mïci(·)-nι·’ι*‘ keeps himself hidden; refl. *na-’a·′χa-’mʷï(ι)c·ι(ι)-’ⁱ* hide yourself; refl. cont. *na-’a·′χa-m’(ɔ)ιcι-nι’-ι*‘ is hiding himself; *a·′γa-m’ᴍï‘cιk·ᴡ-qai-na÷ŋ ‘wɔai*‘ what he had hid (386, 10); *a·′γa-’mʷïci′-a(·)vι-p·ïγa*‘ hide-lay, lay and hid himself (335, 4)

’a·γa-mantcaŋwi-na- to throw into a place of hiding: *a·′χa-mantsaŋwι-na-p·ïγa*‘ threw away into a hiding place (438, 26); distr. plur. *a·′χa-mamantcaŋwι-n’ɴᴀˣ-qa-p·ïγa atcï′ʀᴜˣqwap·ïaφï* threw away, so as to hide them, their bows which they had made (438, 28)

’a·γa-p·ïn·i- to watch from a place of hiding: *a·′γa-p·ï̹ni-k̭·ai-p·ïγa’-ai-mï* watched them (inv.) from (his) hiding place (325, 1); *‘a·′x·-pïnɪk̭ai-p·ïγai-(y)aŋᴀ* watched him while hiding (462, 38); *a·′γa-p·ï̹n·ι-yuγwι-p·ïγa*‘ hide-look-sat (plur.), (they) sat watching from a place of hiding (474, 2)

ᴀγɪ- to take into one’s mouth: *a(·)χ(ε)′ï*‘ takes (flour, ground seeds) and tastes (while engaged in grinding seeds); *a(·)χ(a)′i-’yï-q·ᴡᴀ* takes it (inv.) in at one mouthful (e. g. breath of air, mass of ground food)

aγi-q·a- subj. plur.: *a(·)χ(a)′i-k̭·a(i)-yï-’q·ᴡᴀ* several take it (inv.) in at one mouthful

aγi-ŋu- mom.: *a(·)χ(a)′i-ŋᴜ-tsi-’q·ᴡᴀ* having taken it (inv.) all in at one gulp (452, 27)

’aq·i- iter.: *ᵃ’a′q·(a)i-yï-’q·ᴡᴀ* takes it (inv.) in many times

ᴀγɔ-ⁿ fir, see *ɔγɔ-ⁿ*

ᴀγɔ-ⁿ tongue: *a′x·ɔ* tongue

aγɔ-mpi- abs.: *aχɔ′-mpɪ* tongue

aγɔ-ŋqwai- to have a tongue

aγɔ-ŋqwa- to get a tongue

aγɔ-ntu- to make a tongue

-aγɔ- in comp. n.: *pᴀ‘tca′-aᵓx·ɔ* (*-aᵓx·ᴜ*) tongue stitched to upper of moccasin

aγɔ-ˢ instr.: *axɔ′-rɔvʷï*‘ licks

ᴀꜱ·ɪ-ˢ roan-colored, dark gray:

as·i-γ̯a- to be roan-colored: ptc. *ᴀ‘sι′-γ̯a-ʀï* roan-colored, dark gray, *ᴀ‘cι′-γ̯a-ʀï* comp.: *ᴀʽsι′-s·aγwa-γa-ʀï* very light blue; *ᴀʽsι′-(y)uv*^{w}*ιaφɪ* roan-song (one of four types of mourning songs)

AS·IA·-^{s} outer covering, skin, bark: *ᴀʽcι′aʽ* outside, surface, covering, skin; *ᴀʽsι′′aʽ* skin, bark; *ᴀʽcι′a∸q·ᴀ* its surface, *ᴀʽsι′a∸q·ᴀ* its skin, bark; *ᴀʽsι′a·-nɪ* my skin; *ᴀʽsι′a(i)-ya∸q·*^{x}*ᴀ* its bark (obj.) (315, 7); *ᴀʽsι′′a(i)-ya-q̇·*^{x}*ᴡᴀ* their (inan. inv.) bark (315, 6)

as·ia·-vi- abs.: *ᴀʽcι′a·-φɪ* skin

in comp. n.: *ᴀʽsι′a·-ra(·*^{a}*)′*^{ɪ} bark shirt; *ᴀʽsι′a·-χanɪ* bark house

as·ia·-ruq·wa·γi-mi-k·u- to start to travel under the surface: *ᴀʽsι(·)′a·-ʀᴜ*^{x}*qwa·γι-ᴍɪʽ-ku-p·ïγaʽ* started to travel under the surface (454, 5)

’AC·ÏNTU’I- to like, to want: *’a′c·ιntuι-na’*^{a}*-mɪ* your liking (her), one whom you like (374, 2); *qa·′va·tsŋ̥ ’a′c·ŋ̥tu’iʽ* being-about-to-sing-I want, I want to sing

AT·A-^{s} sand:

at·a-vï- abs.: *ᴀʽta′-φï* sand

at·a-vï-aγai- to be sandy: *ᴀʽta′-vï-aχai-aq·ᴀ* it is sandy

comp.: *ᴀʽta′-ʀᴀ*^{x}*qa·-γa-ntï* sand flat; *ᴀʽta′-n·ᴜ*^{x}*qwι-ntï* sand-stream (place name), Cottonwood Spring; *ᴀʽta′-q·wïʽ* sand-left-hand (Song 184)

AT·A-^{g} rawhide:

at·a-p·ï- abs.: *ᴀʽta′-p·ï* rawhide, hide from which hair and fat have been scraped off but which has not yet been tanned and smoked into buckskin

AT·A-^{g} crow:

at·a-p·ï-tsi- abs.: *ᴀʽta′-p·ïts·* crow

at·a-q·w’ɔ-tsi-: *ᴀʽta′-q̇·wɔts·*, *ᴀʽta′q̇·ɔts·* crow (379, 2)

AT·AγÏVÏ-^{s} upper cheek:

at·aγïvï-vi- abs.: *ᴀʽta′χï(·*^{ï}*)vï-φɪ* upper cheek (between ear and eye)

’AT·Ï-^{n} good (ptc. of *’ayu-*, q. v.): *^{a}’a′t·ï* good

in comp. n.: *^{a}’a′t·ι-ŋkavaʽ* good horse; *’a′t·ι-cari·ts·* good dog; *’a′t·ι-nιŋwï* good person; *^{a}’a′t·ι-atcï* good bow; *^{a}’a′t·ü-mpaʽ* good water

in comp. verb.: Gram., § 18, 2, b

AT·ÏγI- to nurse, to suckle: *ᴀʽtï′x·ɪ* to nurse

at·ïγi-q·a- plur.: *ᴀʽtï′x·ɪ-k̯a-iʽ* several nurse

’at·ïγi- iter.: *a′t·ïχιʽ* nurses several times

comp. vb.: *ᴀʽtï′x·ɪ-qarï-p·ïγaʽ* was sitting and suckling (327, 13)

AT·URO·TSI-^{s} water is hot (cf. *qwat·ïro·tsi-*):

ptc.: *ᴀʽtu′rυ·tcι-tcï pa·ʽ* hot water

A·RAŊQA-^{g} grasshopper:

a·raŋqa-p·i-tsi- abs.: *a·′raŋqa-p·ι-ts·* grasshopper

ARÏ-(C·U-) it, that (inan. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

arïa-(c·u-) it, that (obj.; ibid.)

arï- it (inan. vis.; subj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 6)

ʿARÏK·Ï- almost, nearly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

ARO'A- to be (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

AROVIYÏRA- Orderville, place name (< Eng. *Orderville*): *a'rovιyïra-ïʿ* of Orderville (Song 140)

AT·CAQ·Ï- object falls: *Aʿtca'q·ï* to fall (said of an object)

at·caq·ï-t̓·ui- caus.: *Aʿtca'q·ï-t̓uι-va·n·ιa∸q·a-nι* I shall make it fall

A·TSIQ·A-^{s}: *a·'ts·qa-φ* place name (small town named Fredonia about 12 miles south of Kanab)

ATCÏ-^{s} bow: *a(·)'tcï* bow; *ʿa(·)tcï'-α-φï* his own (obj.) bow (313, 7)

atcï-γai-p·ï- past bow: *atcï'-γai-p·ï* formerly used bow, cast-away bow

atcï-γai- to have a bow: *ʿa(·)tcï'-χai-nι* I have a bow

atcï-ru- to make a bow: *atcï'-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nιʿ* will make a bow

comp.: *ɔvι'-atcï* wood bow; *WIʿcι'ya-'atcï* feather bow; *tɔ(·)vι''p·ι-atcï* short-bow, pistol (term used by Sibit band); *ta(·)ŋa'-'atcï* kick-bow, sinew-backed bow

ʿAUQ·WA-:

ʿauq·wa-γa- makes a rasping noise (intr.): *ʿa(·)'uq·wa-χa(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* (it) makes a noise like that produced by rubbing a stick over the notched rasp

A·WAWAʿ cry in myth (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

AYA-^{g} prairie dog: *a'(i)YA* prairie dog, *a(i)ya'-mï* plur.

'AYA-^{s} (AYA-^{s}?) turtle: *a'(i)YA*, ^{a}*'a'iA* turtle; plur. *a(i)ya'-mï*; *a(i)ya'-vuŋqu-nι* my turtle-pet, my turtle

'aya-'ini-γai- to have a turtle: *a(i)ya'-'ini-x̯aʿ* to have a turtle

'aya-ru- to make a turtle: *a(i)ya'-ru-yu-nι* I make a turtle

pik̯·a-'aya- hard-shell turtle: *pIʿk̯a(·)'-'aiA* hard-shell turtle; *pIʿk̯a(·)'-'ay aŋA* the land turtle (400, 28)

AYAŊWÏRA^{x}-: *aia'ŋwïR* sp. of bird (smaller than *tcïγï''uφ*, q. v.)

AYAT·A- Coconino Indian: *aiä't·A* Coconino Indian, *aiä't·q̯-ŋWï* plur.

'AYU-^{s} to be good: *nï' a'(i)yï-ιʿ* I am good; ·^{a}*'a'(i)yu-αq·A* it (is) good; ^{a}*'a'(i)yu-'*^{u} you (are) good; *nï' a'iu-va·n·ιʿ* I shall be good; *'a'(i)yu-χu-(w)aq·A* it would be good (378, 1); ^{a}*'a'(i)yu-ŋqυ·-n·ι-x̯a' ʿɔaiʿ* would that I might get well!

'ayu-q·a- plur.: ^{a}*'a'(i)YU-q(w)a(i)-'yu-m(W)ï* they (inv.) are good

co·-'ayu- to be completely good: *cυ·-'a'(i)yï-ιʿ* is completely good, feels very well

’ayu-t̓·ui- caus.: *na(·)m·ï′-’a(i)ʏᴜ-t̓uι-ŋu-p·ïγa‘* first (he) caused to become good, first (he) brought back to life

’a-t·ï- ptc. (q. v.)

I

I-, ’I- this (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)

i-n·i-, ⁱ’i-n·i- in this way; to do in this manner (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)

’I‘, E·I cry on guessing in hand-game (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

I·-ᵍ beforehand, in readiness (adv. pref.): *i·′ⁱ-t·ɪ‘qa-i‘* eats first, beforehand, willingly, is ready to eat; *i·′ⁱ-k̬·ʌ‘qaʀï* to run away beforehand (e. g. before battle); *i·′ⁱ-’ʌ‘pïi-ι‘* sleeps beforehand; res. *i·′-p·ɔ(·)tsιn’ɪˣ-k̬a‘* to be ready to start off, *i·′-p·ɔ(·)tsιn’ɪx̬-k̬ai-nɪ* I am ready to start off, plur. *i·′-p·ɔ(·)tsιn’ɪˣ-qa-q·ai-va‘* will all be ready to start off (382, 9); res. ptc. *‘i·′ⁱ-ŋwaru’ʌˣ-qa-ntι-n·ι‘* one who is always willing, ready; res. plur. *i·′-imι-k̬·ʌ-qaɪ-pïγa‘* (they) got ready, were ready (385, 7)

‘i·-c·u- long ago (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

I·-ᵍ old:

only in comp. n.: *i·′-p·uŋqu-nɪ* my old horse; *i·′-p̓·ïa-nɪ* my old relation; *i·′-p·ιŋwa-nɪ* my old wife, husband, *i·′-p̓·iŋwa-ia-rúa-mι-’* are you (doing so to) your old husband? (452,12)

i·-t·ï-mpï- old (abs.): *i·′-t·ü-mpï, ι·′t·ü-mpï* old; obj. *ι·′-t·ü-mpï‘* (329, 7); *i·′t·ü-mpï-aq·ʌ* it is old; in comp. n. *ι·′t·ümpï-ra·’ⁱ* old shirt

i·-t·ï-c·u-, i·-t·u-c·u- formerly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

I·HA+ interj. expressing great joy (Gram., § 61, 1)

I’AQ·I- to descend: *ι’a′q·ɪ* to come down from a height, to dismount from a horse; *ι’ʸa′q·ɪ-pïγa‘* climbed down (394, 29)

i’aq·i-k·u-: *ι’a′q·ι-k·ᴜ* to start to come down

IM·I- you (sing.) (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

im·ia- you (sing.) (obj.; ibid.)

IM·Ï-, ’IM·Ï- they here, these (an.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

im·ïa-, ⁱ’im·ïa- them here, these (obj.; ibid.)

IMPʷAI- let (him) . . . ! (hortatory adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

IMPÏ-ˢ what? (inan. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, c)

impïa- (obj.)

impï-γai- to have what?

impu-ru- to make what?

-INI- to be ready (with *i·*- beforehand, q. v.):

i·-ini- to be ready: plur. res. *i·'-inι-k̯·ᴀ-qaiʽ-pïγaʽ* (they) got ready, were ready (385, 7)

IN·I-ˢ who? what? of what sort? (anim. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, b)

in·ia- whom? (obj.)

in·iŋwï- who? which ones? (plur., subj.)

in·iŋwïa- whom? which ones? (plur., obj.)

IN·IA·-ˢ (*in·ia-a-*) relative: *ini'a-nɪ*, *in·ι'a·-nɪ* my relative

in·ia·-γai-p·ï- former relative: *ini'a-γai-p·ï-nɪ* my dead relative; plur. *ini'a-ŋwï-γaɪ-pï-ŋwï-nɪ* my dead relatives; *ini'a·-ŋwï-γaɪ-pï-a(·)-'m u'ŋwᴀ* of your dead relations (398, 15)

INI'A·- thing: *ini''aʽ* thing, something; *ini''a·-m·a-ntï(γ)-a꞉ŋᴀ* of, from her things (314, 4)

IŊA-, 'IŊA- he here, this one (an.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

iŋaia- him here, this one (obj.; ibid.)

iŋa- he here (an. sing.; subj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 3)

iŋaia- him here (an. sing.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 3)

IŊWA- relative: *iŋwa'-nɪ* my relative; *iŋwa-rami* our (incl. du.) relative (Song 112)

IVATCÏA- early, far away (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

IVI-ˢ to drink: *nï̯' iviʽ* I drink; *ιvι'-x̯u-aŋᴀ* (I see) him drinking

ivi-ŋu- mom.: *ivi'-ŋᴜ* to begin to drink; *nï'aq· ivi'-ŋᴜ* I have drunk it; *ivi'-ŋu-ntca꞉ŋᴀ* he has finished drinking; *ivi'-ŋu-yï-aŋᴀ* he is about to drink; *ivi'-ŋu-'ᵘ* take a drink!

ivi-k·u- inc.: *ivi'k̄·u(u)-q·wᴀ* to start to drink it (inv.)

ivi-γw'ai- to go to drink: mom. *ivi'-x̯wa'ai-ŋᴜ* to go to drink

ivi-q·w'ai- to drink off: *ivi'-q·wɔ'aiʽ* keeps on drinking (for a long while)

ivi-γi- to come to drink: *ivi'-χ̯ι-'ⁱ* come drink!

impers.: *ιvι'-t·u'ᴀ* some one drink(s)

ptc.: *ivi'-tcï* drinking; plur. *ivi'-tcï-ᴍï* two drinking

ivi-p·i- (what is) drunk: *ιvι'-p·ι-a-nɪ* I (see) drink, something to drink

'ip·i- iter.: *i'i'p·iʽ* sips, drinks repeatedly

with adv. pref.: *tï'-'iviʽ* has a good drink; *na(·)m·ï'-'ivι-väʽ* will drink first (402, 21), *nam·ï'-ivi-m·iʽ* (usit.) always drinks first

in comp. vb.: *nï̯' ivi'-va(i)yιʽ* I drink-return, I have been drinking, *ivi'-va(i)yι-k·ai-nɪ* I have drink-returned, I have been drinking;

ivi'-vïtcïʻ drink-arrives, comes to drink; *ivi'-p·aγ(a)iʻ* drink-travels, drinks while walking; *ivi'-ma·up·A* to stop drinking; *ivi'-c·ua-ŋU* (mom.) to finish drinking, to drink out, to drain, *ivi'-c·ua-ŋU*^{x}*-qwaʻ* (it) has been drunk up; *ivi'-m'MA*^{x}*qïŋ'WA* to try to drink; *ivi'-k̯·arï-mï* those drink-sitting, drinking along; *ivi'-ŋwï̜nï-ïʻ* stands and drinks; *ivi'-ŋwaŋwïʻ* several stand and drink

IVÏ- (IVA-?) way, far (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

IK̯·A- it here, this (inan.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

ik̯·aia- it here, this (obj.; ibid.)

IK·IT·A- to have tucked under one's arm: *Iʻki'tʻ·a-iʻ* holds, carries tucked under one's arm

in comp. vb.: *Iʻki'tʻ·a-'mïa-iʻ* carries tucked under one's arm, goes while having tucked under one's arm; *Iʻki'tʻ·a-ŋwï̜nïʻ* stands with something tucked one's arm

'IC·I- squaw-berry: *ï'i'c·I* squaw-berry

IT·AI-^{s} to slope (?):

it·ai-tcï̜-mï- (plur. ptc.?): *Iʻta'i-tcï-m(W)ï* sloping back

qɔt·ca·'-it·ɔitcïmï- sandhill crane: *qɔʻtca·''a-(qɔʻtca·''ɔ-)Iʻtɔitcïm(W)ï* sand-hill crane (gray-sloping-back? cf. *qut·ca-* gray); plur. *-Iʻtɔi-tcïm*^{w}*ï-ŋ(W)ï*

I·T·Ɔ·- meadow lark:

i·t·ɔ·-tsi- abs.: *ï·'t·ɔ·*^{ɔ}*-ts·* meadow lark

ITCÏ-, 'ITCÏ- it here, this (inan.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

itcïa-, *'itcïa-* it here, this (obj.; ibid.)

I·TCU-^{g} morning:

i·tcu-q·u- when it is morning, in the morning: *i·'tcu-q·U*, *ï·'tcu-q·U* in the morning (317, 2) (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

i·tcuq·u-t·ava-ya- morning-sun-obj.: *ï·'tcU*^{x}*qu-t·ava-iʻ* forenoon

IYA- to cut (meat) into thin slices for drying: *ïya'-p·ïγai(y)-aq·A* (he) cut it up into thin slices (430, 10)

iya-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *ïya'-p·ï*, *ia'-p·ï* (meat) sliced for drying

qut·cu-iyap·ï- buffalo-sliced: *qUʻtcv(·)'-'ïyap·ï* sliced beef that has been dried

iyap·ï- in comp.: *ïya'p·u-γoʻ-pi-A* (deer-meat) that has been dried and cached (obj.) (394, 34), *ïya'p·u-γv·'-q·(w)a(i)-ya-φï* their own (obj.) dried and cached (meat) (396, 6); *ia'p·ï-xɔra-n'nïmpï* sliced (meat)-spreader, frame for drying sliced meat

IYA-^{s}, YA·-^{s} to fear; YÏ'Ï- (iter.):

iya-vaγa- to be afraid: *ya·'-vaγa-iʻ* is afraid, *iya'vaxa-n'na-mI* whom you fear (410, 32); *qatcu'ʼm iya'vaxa-va·-ŋwaiʼ-mï* shall not be afraid of them (inv.) (448, 5)

iya-rʼui- to frighten: *iyä'-rʼuɩ-yï-aŋᴀ* frightens him, *ɩyä'-rʼuɩ-χ̭ai-aŋa-nɪ* inspiring me with dread for him (466, 36); mom. *iyä'-t̓·uɩ-nɪ* frighten me

iya-vi-ntu'a- to become something fearful: *i'a-vɩ-nt̓u'α-t·ï-m·ʷï-n·ɩʻ* something that was fearful in appearance (466, 34)

yïʼï-p·aq·a- iter.: *yïʼï'-p·aq·a-iʻ* is afraid several times

IYA·NTÏ- (cf. *iya-* to fear):

iya·ntï-t̓·ui- to cause to be apprehensive, to warn: *ɩya·'ntï-t̓·uɩʻ* warns against something dangerous; *ɩya·'ntï-t̓·ui-ŋqï-γai-(y)aq·a-nɪ* while warning me of it (482, 4, note 217)

IYAT·ÏA- in vain, to no purpose (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

IYƆN·A-^{s} to carry in one's arms: *iyɔ'nᴀ-pïγaʻ* took, carried in (his) arms (334, 9); *iyɔ'na-yɩ-ʼq·ᴡᴀ* carries it (inv.) in (his) arms; plur. *iyɔ'nᴀ-qa(i)-ʼyɩ-q·ᴡᴀ* several carry it (inv.) in (their) arms

iyɔn'na- iter.: *iyɔn'na(i)-yɩ-ʼq·ᴡᴀ* carries it (inv.) several times in (his) arms

quq·wa-iyɔn·a- to carry wood in one's arms: *ᴜ^{x}qwa'-iyïna-xwa'aiʻ* goes for wood; *ᴜ^{x}qwa'-iyana-χw'ai-p·ïγaʻ* went for wood (334, 2); mom. *qᴜʻqwa'-ianɔ-γwa'ɩ-ŋu-p·ïγa* (he) went for an armful of wood; *ᴜ^{x}qwa'-iyana-m·ɩq̨-iʻ* several go for wood

ma-iyɔn·a- to put one's arms around: *nį'* *ma(a)'-iyɔn·a(i)-yï-aŋᴀ*, *ma-iyu'n·a(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* I put (my) arms around her; res. *ma(a)'-iyɔn·a-q·ai-(y)aŋᴀ* to have (his) arms around her; cont. *ma(a)'-iyɔn'a-n·ɩ-χ̭ai-(y)aŋᴀ* having (his) arms around her while so doing

na-ŋwa-iyɔn·a- (recip.) to put arms around each other: *na(·)-ŋwa'-iyun·ʼa- m·ɩa-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they held their arms around each other's necks as they walked along; res. *na(·)-ŋwa'-iyunɴᴀ^{x}-qa'ai-mï* they 2 hold arms around each other's necks

IYƆVI-^{s} mourning dove: *iyɔ'φɪ* mourning dove; plur. *iyɔvɩ-ŋᴡï*

iyɔvi-tcua- dove-son: *iyɔ'vɩ-tcua-tc aŋᴀ* the little mourning dove (402, 1); *yö'vɩ-tcuᴀ-tsɩ-ŋw αmï* (dim. plur.) the little mourning doves (402, 14)

qan·i-iyɔvi- house-dove: *qa(·)nɩ'-iyɔφɪ* domestic pigeon

Ï

Ï'-^{g} in vain (adv. pref.): *ï'-p·ïn·i-n'niʻ* looks around in vain, without finding (object of his search); *ï'-ʼiviʻ* drinks without quenching (his) thirst

Ï·‘ yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

ÏA- to plant: *ïa′-i‘* plants

ïa-q·ai- res.: *ïa′-q·a‘* to be planted

ïa-p·i- what is planted: *ï(*$^{\gamma}$*)a′-p·ɪ* corn

ïa-c·a′ap·i- plant-boiled: *ïa′-c·a′ap·ɪ* boiled corn, corn mush

ÏAVÏ-^{s} wounded: *ïa′φï* (animal) that has been wounded (by a person); *ïa′vï-a-nɪ* (animal) wounded by me (obj.) (458, 15)

ïavu-ru- to make wounded, to wound: mom. *ïa′vu-ru-ŋᴜ-q(w)ai-n·α-nɪ* whom I wounded (404, 37); *ïa′vu-rυ(·)-ŋu-ntca∸ŋanɪ* I have wounded him; *ïa′vu-rυ(·)-ŋu-mpa·-nɪ* I shall wound him

ÏMÏ’I-^{s} to arrive (plur.): *į̈mï′’ɪ* several arrive (472, 5); *į̈m*^{w}*ï′’ɪ-pïγa‘* (they) arrived (404, 33), *ųm*^{w}*ï′ɪ-pïγa‘* (they) got to the end of the journey

imp.: *į̈mï′’ɪ-tu’*^{a} people arrive (472, 4)

ïmï’i-γw’ai- several go and arrive: *į̈mï′i-χ̯w’ai-p·ïγa‘*, *į̈m*^{w}*ï′i-χ̯w’ai-p·ïγa‘*, *į̈mï′ι-γw’ai-p·ïγa‘* (they) arrived, went and got (there) (430, 6; 383, 4; 460, 16); *į̈m*^{w}*ï′ι-χ̯w’ai-va‘* (they) will get (there) (381, 14)

ïïm’ïï- distr.: *ïï′m’mïι-p·ïγa‘* each arrived by herself (434, 33); *ïï′m’ɔi-va‘* (they) will enter (383, 9)

ÏMPI-N’NA- to paint (< Span. *pintar*?): *ïmpι′n’na-i‘* paints

ÏMPÏN’I-, ÏMPÏN’A·- to be in a raised position while resting on: *ïmpu′n’na‘* to be a raised covering; *ïmpï′n’ɪ‘-k̯a-ntï* (perf. ptc.) partly raised while resting on something

ïmpïn’i-ni·- cont.: *ïmpï′n’i-ni·*^{i}*-ntcï* (ptc.) something raised (406, 23)

ma-ïmpïn·a·-ŋqï- to lift up from: *ma-ï′mpun·a·-ŋqï-p·ïγa‘* raised (it) from (them) (452, 14)

tca-ïmpïn’na- to uncover: *nį̈’ tca∸′mpun’na-i‘* I uncover, raise so as to uncover; *tca∸′mpïna·-ŋqï-p·ïγai-(y)aq·ᴀ* lifted it up from (him) (398, 32)

ÏNA-^{g} cedar-like tree with fine bark:

ïna-p·ï- abs.: *ïna′-p·ï* cedar-like tree with fine, yellow bark from which twine was made for leggings and socks, growing on the plateau away from the water and having white blossoms in summer

ïna-n·aŋwi-: *ïna′-n·aŋwɪ* apron made of *ïna′p·ï-* twine

ïnap·ï- in comp. n.: *ïna′p·ï-v*^{w}*ιtcaχuc·ᴜ* leggings made of *ïna′p·ï-*twine

ÏNA-^{n} badger:

ïna-mpïtsi- abs.: *į̈na′-mpïts·* badger; plur. *ïna′-mpïntsι-ŋwï*; *ïna′-mpïntsι-ŋwï’a-mï* they (inv.) . . . badgers (obj.) (434, 4)

ïna-ntu- to make a badger: *ïna'-ntu-ιï* makes a badger
ïna-ntuγwa-γw'ai- badger-toward-go (sing.): *ïna'-ntuγwa-xw'aiʿ* goes after badgers
ïna-ntuγwa-m·ia- badger-toward-go (plur.): *ïna'-ntuγwa-m·ιa-vaʿ* (let us) go after badgers (434, 2)
comp. n.: *ïna'-ŋqwac·ɪ* badger tail; *ïna'-n·ι̜ŋwï-ŋwï* badger people; *ïn·α'n·ιa·φɪ* badger chief (438, 2); *ι̜na'-n·a(·)ṗ·u-ŋwï* badger old man
ÏNÏ-ᵍ evil spirit:
ïnï-p·i-tsi- abs.: *ïnï'-p·i-ts·*, *ïnï'-p·(ʷ)ι-ts·*, *ïnï'-p·uⁱ-tc·*, *ïnï'-p·(u)ιts·* evil spirit, "devil," ghost; *ïnï'-p·(ʷ)ι-ts· pι̜ni'n'nιʿ* evil spirit is looking around (used in reference to "will o' the wisp")
ïnï-p·i-ntu- to ghost-make: *ïn·ï'-p·ι-ntu-p·ɪ* ghost-making, ghost game played by children
sɔ·-'ɔnï-p·i- lung-spirit: *sɔ·'-'ɔnï-p·ɪ* lung-spirit (evil being believed in by Ute Indians)
Ï'ÏŊA- yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
ÏŊA·'-ᵍ baby: *ïŋa·''(a)-nɪ* my baby
ïŋa·'-p·i-tsi- abs.: *ïŋa·''-p·ιts·* baby (448, 3), *ïŋa·''-p·itc aŋʌ* the baby (374, 7); plur. *ïï·'ŋ'a-p·ιtsι-ŋwaʿ* (obj.) babies (328, 1)
pa·-ïŋa·'-p·i-tsi- water-baby: *pa·'ŋ'a-p·ιts·* water-baby (mythical water-being), angel
ÏŊQÏʿ indeed (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
ÏVÏ- go ahead!; *ïvi-ya-* (du. and plur.) (hortatory adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
ïvï-c·ampa-n·ia- somehow, any old way; *ïvi-n·ia-* hurry and . . . ! (ibid.)
ïvï-, *ïvi-* alas! (interj.; Gram., §61, 2)
ÏVÏ-ᵍ bad: *ïvʷï'ⁱ-p·a·* bad-water, whiskey (Song 150)
ÏγA- to enter:
ïγa-ŋu- mom.: *ïγa'-ŋᴜ-pïγaʿ* went in (under the stone) (430, 28), dived down (under the water) (402, 17)
ïγa-p·ï- that which enters: *tümpa'-ïγap·ï*, *tümpa·'γap·ï* mouth-entering, bit and bridle
ïγa-t̓·ui- caus.: *tümpa'-ïγa-t̓·uι-yï-aŋa-nɪ* I mouth-enter-cause him, I bridle him
ïγa-n'nïmpï- means of entering: *movʷi(·)'-ïχa-n'nïmpï* nose-entering instrument, halter
ÏγÏR indeed, truly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
ÏT·A- to stretch a hide: *ïʿta'-iʿ* stretches out (a skin)

ïtˑa-n'nïmpï- hide-stretching instrument: *ïˑta'-n'nïmpï* frame for stretching a hide

'ÏTˑAˑ-^{n} tired:

'ïtˑaˑ-mpaqˑa- . . . *-nˑia-* to be tired of: *'ï'tˑaˑ-mpᴀ^{x}qa-ɩ-nˑɩʿ* is tired of; *^{i}'ï'tˑaˑ-mpᴀ^{x}qa-pˑïγai-nˑɩʿ* was getting tired of (it) (336, 8); *ï'ï'tˑaˑ-mpᴀ^{x}qa-pˑïγai-nˑɩ a'ix̬u(w)αŋᴀ* was getting tired of his talking thus (398, 12)

ÏTˑÏ-CˑAMPA- always (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

ÏTˑÏAˑ-NˑIA- too bad, unfortunately (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

ÏTˑÏŊ'WA- in one's sleep (only in comp. vb.):

ïtˑïŋ'wa-ampaγa-: *ïˑtï'ŋ'wa-mpaγa-iʿ* talks in (his) sleep; *ïˑtï'ŋwa-yaγa-iʿ* cries in (his) sleep (not very good Paiute)

ÏRAˑ, ÏRAˑÏʿ interj. denoting fear (Gram., § 61, 1)

ÏRÏʿ don't! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

ÏRÏγI- to be spotted:

ïrïγi-tcai- plur.: *ïrï'γɩ-tca(a)iʿ* it is spotted; *ta(ˑ)vɩ'-ïrïγɩ-tca(a)iʿ* there are spots of sunlight (Song 183)

ÏRÏQˑI- ledge:

ptc.: *ïrï'qˑɩ-tcï* ledge

ÏYÏŊQA- to steal:

ïyïŋqa-ŋu- mom.: *imɩ'ŋwantuγwatcaˑqˑan ïyï'ŋqa-ŋᴜ* I stole it from you; *imɩ'ŋwantuγwaˑqˑan ïyï'ŋq̣a-u-mpaʿ* I shall steal it from you

M

MA-^{s} ,^{g} hand (cf. *mɔ'ɔ-^{s}* hand):

ma-^{s} instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 1

ma-^{g} as vb. pref.: Gram., § 21, 1

ma-^{g}, *ma-n-* as n. pref.: MAʿ-*cï'u-ϕɪ* finger; MAʿ-*pa'(i)yaˑ-vu-ϕɪ* palm; *ma-ntsi'vï-ϕɪ* bone from elbow to wrist; *ma-ntca'q̇ˑoi-ϕɪ* flesh from elbow to wrist

MA-, M^{W}A- that (vis.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)

ma-nˑi-, *m^{w}a-nˑi-* in that way, so (as described); to do (as indicated) (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)

m^{w}a-cˑampa'aˑ enough! be quiet! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

-MA-^{n} resting on, at, for (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 7)

-ma-ŋqu- (obj.; Gram., § 49, 1)

-ma-naŋqwa- from on, because of; *-ma-naŋqwa-pˑa-* on other side of

-ma-nˑia- near

-ma-ntï- (ptc.) being on, at, some of, belonging to; *-ma-ntï-mˑa-naŋqwa-* from on, from one of; *-ma-ntï-ŋwa'ai-* with some of

-ma-ntuγwa- up to, against, during

-ma-yu- from on, at

-ma·-γi- around, circling

-MA- with (instr. post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 9)

MA·- to make into, to change:

mam·a·- distr.: *na′up̓·anɪ ma(·)m·a·′-nɪ* self-like-me make-me, make me as you (plur.) are yourselves (370, 13); *na′up̓·aya·ŋᴀ ma(·)m·a′‘* change ye him into your own appearance

MA·-^{s} MAA-^{s} thing:

ma·-vï- abs.: *ma·′*^{a}*-vï‘* things (obj.) (311, 4); *ma·′*^{a}*-vï-nɪ* my things; *ma·′*^{a}*-vï-a’a-ŋᴡᴀ* her (inv.) things (obj.) (311, 5)

ma·vï-γai- to have a thing: *nï’ maa′vï-γa‘* I have something; *maa′vï-χai-va·n·ɩa÷ŋᴀ* he will have something

MA·-^{s}, MAA-^{s} clothing (identical with *ma·-* thing):

ma·-vï- abs.: *maa(·)′-φï* clothes

ma·vï-’a- to put on one’s clothes: *maa(·)′vu-’a-i‘* puts on (his) clothes; mom. *maa(·)′vu-’a-ŋᴜ* to dress up; inc. *maa(·)′vu-’a-q·ᴜ* to begin to dress

ma·-’a- to put on clothing: *nį’ ma·′*^{a}*-’a-i‘* I put on a suit; *ma·′*^{a}*-’a-va·*^{a}*nɩa-nɪ* I shall put (it) on

ma·-’a-q·ai- res., to have on clothing: *ma·*^{a}*-’a′-q·a‘* to have (a suit) on; *ma·*^{a}*-’a′-q·ai-p·ïγa‘* had (a suit) on (319, 12)

MAA-^{s}, MA·-^{s} plant, brush:

maa-vï- abs.: *maa(·)′-φï, ma·′*^{a}*-φï* brush, flower; *maa(·)′-vï-nɪ* my brush

maa- in comp. n.: *maa(·)′-χava‘* brush horse; *maa′-s·ari·ts·* brush dog; *maa′-raŋwampɪ* brush tooth; *maa(·)′-χanɪ* brush house; *maa′-vɔ·*^{ɔ}*‘* brush trail; *maa(·)′-xaiφᴀ* brush-mountain, timbered mountain; *maa(·)′-xarïʀɪ* brush-knoll, timbered knoll; *maa(·)′-yua·χantï* brush-plain, level country covered with timber; *maa(·)′-vaχarïʀï* brush-lake (place name; a spot on Kaibab Plateau considered particularly liable to be haunted by ghosts and evil spirits); *maa′-tcïx·ᴀ* brush-duck (sp. dwelling in swamp overgrown with bulrushes); *ma(·)a′-c·*$^{i’}$*ïp·ɪ* flower blossom (female name); *maa(·)′-c·ɩutcampɩφï* locust tree; *maa(·)′-’oɩp·ɩ-mpa·-ŋwɩt·ux·ᴡᴀ* into a canyon full of brush (Song 17)

maa- in comp. ptc.: *maa′-c·axwari‘* green (Song 139); *ma·′-xarïr’ï-ŋwa(i)-ya÷ŋᴀ* his (obj.) brush-sitting, his clump of trees (418, 29)

maavï-naŋqavï- brush-leaf: *maa′vï-naŋqavï-mᴀ* with leaves

maavï-rïq·aŋ’wi- to turn into brush: *maa(·)′vï-rɩq·q’wɩ-ntca-a(·)ŋᴀ* he turned into brush

MA·ʿ thus, in that way (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

MA’A- to decorate, to mark: *ma’a′-iʿ* decorates, makes designs, paints

MAI- that (quoted, referred to) (dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 43, 5)
  maia-, *m*^{w}*aia-* that (obj.; ibid.)

MAI-, M^{W}AI- to say that, used particularly after direct quotation (compounded of demonstrative *ma-*, *m*^{w}*a-* and *ai-* to say, q. v.): *ma′ip·ïγaʿ* said (311, 6); *ma′i-k̯·ai-n’a-ŋwᴀ* which he (inv.) had said (311, 11); *ma′i-χ̯ai-n ani′k̯·ᴀ* so saying I do; *cυ·′q·ᴜpι m·aik̯·ᴀ* one-thing-you say, you say anything (expresses contempt, as much as to say, “Though you may say what you will, still you count for nothing”) (462, 5)
  usit.: *qatc u̯mą′i̯-mι-ŋ’wai-t·ï* not being wont to say that (406, 9)
  mai-n’i-ŋu-: *ma′i-n’ι-ŋu-nïmpï-q̇·wa-nɪ* my always saying it (Song 147)
  usit. ptc.: *ïma′i-vä-tcï-campᴀ* though always saying that (400, 10)
  pïŋqa-mai- to keep on saying: *pï′ŋqa-mai-p·ïγaʿ* kept on saying (454, 10)
  mai-p·i- pas. ptc.: *ma′i-p·i-(y)a-’*^{a} what was said (obj.) you, it was merely said so (434, 30)
  ampa-mai- to noise-say: *ampȧ′-m·ai-k̯·ᴀ* there is a noise

MAI-^{g} to find, to discover:
  mai-q·w’ai- to go to find: *ma(a)′i-q·w’aiva∸ŋa-nɪ* I will go and find him
  mam·ai- distr.: *ta(·)ŋwa′(i)-’ya-q·-wᴀ mam·a′(a)i-k̯·ᴀ* if we (incl.) find it (inv.) out (378, 2)
  mai-t·ï·- to be found out: *ma(a)′i-t·ïι-va∸ŋᴀ* he will get caught; *ma(a)′i-t·ï*^{i}*-q·w’ai-va∸ŋᴀ* he might get caught; plur. *ma(a)′i-t·ï·-k·ᴀ-q̇wai-va∸mï* they might get caught
  mai-t̔·ui-ŋqï-t·ï·- to cause one to be discovered: *imi′ntcanɪ ma(a)′i-t̔·ι-ŋqï-tïʿ* you got me caught; *ma(a)′i-t̔·ι-ŋqï-tï·-tca∸ŋa-n ʿȥaiʿ* he got me caught; *ma(a)′i-t̔·ι-ŋkï-tï-v*^{w}*a∸ŋa-raŋwᴀ* he will get us (incl.) caught, we shall be discovered because of his action (371, 6); *ma(a)i′-t̔·ι-ŋkï-tïx·-qw’ai-vaʿ* might cause to be discovered (371, 9)
  incor.: *naŋwa′-m·a(a)i-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall track-find

MAI-T·’UI- (< *mai-* to find?) to play a game of shooting arrows at a root thrown spinning into the air: *ma′i-t̔·uιʿ* plays the game; *mai-t·u′’*^{i} called out by the player as he spins the root; *ma′i-t̔·uι-tcï* ptc., spinner of the root; *ma′i-t̔·uι-p·ɪ* game of shooting arrows at a root

MAIK·I-, MAIK· UŊWAC·U- hello! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

MAIK·ISKIAN·A- Mexican (< Eng. *Mexican*): plur. *ma'ik̯·'skɩan·a-ŋwï* Mexicans

MAIVATCAYA·- hawk (sp.):

maa(·)'vatca(i)ya·-tc· ferruginous rough-leg hawk (?); *ma(a)'ivätca-(i)ya·-tcïʿ* (obj.) chicken-hawk (with white spot under his tail) (378, 8)

-MA'AI- together with (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 10)

-ma'-q·u- (obj.)

MAM·A'Q·Ɔ·'- bear-dance (cf. *mam·a'u-* woman):

mam·a'q·ɔ·'-na- bear-dancing: *ma(u)ma'q̇·ɔ·n'a-uv^{w}i-t·ᴜʿ-pïγaʿ* bear-dancing-song-made, sang a bear-dance song (350, 10)

mam·a'q·ɔ·'mi- bear-dance: *ma(·^{a})ma'q̇·ɔ·^{ɔ}'mɩ-p·ï*, *ma(u)ma'q̇·ɔ·^{ɔ}'mi-p·ï* bear-dance (350, 12); *ma(u)ma'q̇·ɔ·'mi-uv^{w}ɩavïʿ* bear-dance song (obj.) (350, 13)

MAM·A'Q·WA'YA-^{s} magpie

mam·a'q·wa'ya-vi- abs.: *mą(·^{a})ma'q̇·wa(i)'ya-φɪ* magpie

MAM·A'U- woman, young woman:

mam·a'u-tsi- abs.: *ma(u)ma''u-ts·* (young) woman

-mam·a'utsi- in comp. n.: *qana'rï-m·a(·)m·a'ɔtsɩ-ŋwïχ 'umï* Kanab (Kaibab Paiute) women they (472, 17); *moγ^{w}α't·avɩŋwa-m·am·a'-tsɩ* Uncompahgre Ute woman (obj.) (Song 159)

mam·a'-c·aγwɔi-tsi- old woman: *ma(u)ma'^{a}'-caχɔits·*, *ma(·)m·a''-caγw^{ɔ}its·*, *mam·a''-haγwɔitc·* old woman (396, 13; 398, 35); *mam·a''^{a}-s·aγwɔitsɩ χ̯ïr uŋwᴀ* the old woman indeed (456, 1); *waa(·)'q·ᴜ ma(u)ma'^{a}'-cɔγɔɪtsɩ-ŋwaʿ* two old women (obj.) (321, 13)

MAM·Ï-, MAM·U-C·U- they, those (an. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

mam·ïa-(c·u-) them, those (obj.; ibid.)

MAMPU-TSI- (personal name, male): *mampu'(^{i})ts·*, *ma(·)mpu'tc uŋwᴀ* (472, 14)

MAN·A-^{s} thorn, spine:

in comp. n.: *ma(·)n·a'-φᴀ* thorn-spring (place name; now Coconino copper mine); *man·a'-'aγu-mpa·ts·* thorn-fir-spring (place name); *tᴀʿcɩ'-m·(^{w})ana-φɪ* barrel-cactus spines

MAN·AI- to move about:

man·ai-n·ï'i-k·u- inc. cont.: *ma(·)n·a'i-n·ɩ'^{i}-k·u-p·ïγaʿ* started to move, to fidget around (468, 27)

-MA'NI- to cover:

na-s·ɔγɔ-ma'ni- to cover oneself with moist earth (*sɔγɔ-*): *ɴᴀ‘-sɔ'xɔ-'ma'nɪ-p·ïγa‘* covered himself with moist earth (400, 38); *nï̜' ɴᴀ‘sɔ'γɔ-'ma'ni-ï‘* I cover myself with moist earth

MA·N·I·-C·AMPA- barely (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

MAN·IγI- five (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

man·iγimac·ïŋwi- 50 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

MAN·Ɔ-, MAN·U- all (quasi-num.; Gram., § 59, 3, a)

MAANTSIŊWA-^{s} effect:

maantsiŋwa-γai- to have an effect (< *maa-* thing + *tsiŋwa-γai-?*): *qa'tcᴜ maa'ntsɪŋwą(·)-'^{a}* has no effect (408, 22); *maa'ntsɪŋwa-xa‘* to have an effect; *maa'ntsɪŋwa-xai-yï-aq·ᴀ* it has an effect

MANTCU'AI- to wait:

mantcu'ai-q·ai- res., to wait: *mantcu''ai-k̯·ai-'^{i}* wait!

mam·antcu'ai-q·ai- distr. res.: *mam·a'ntcuai'-k̯·a(a)i-'ŋwᴀ* all wait for him (inv.) (434, 22)

mantcu'ai-(ŋqï-)q·ai- to wait for: *nï' mantcu''ai-ŋqï-qai-yï-aŋᴀ* I wait for him

mantcu'ai-(ŋqï-)q·a-q·ai- several wait (for): *mantcu''ai-k·ᴀ-qai-p·ïγai-aŋᴀ* (they) waited for him (379, 14); *mantcu''ai-ŋqï-qa-q·ai-p·ïγai-aŋᴀ* (they) waited for him

mantcu'ai-avi- to wait-lie: *ma(·)ntcu''ai-a(·)vɪ-p·ïγa‘* lay while waiting (309, 4)

MAŊA-(C·U-), M^{w}AŊA- he, that one (an. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

maŋaia-(c·u-) him, that one (obj.; ibid.)

MAŊAIA-C·U- on the other hand (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

MA'AŊI- to be lost: *ma'a'ŋɪ* to be lost

mam·a'aŋi-t·ui- distr. caus.: *ma(·)m·a(·)''aŋɪ-t·ɪ-p·ïγai-(y)aŋᴀ* (they) lost him (379, 14; 387, 7)

MAŊWAVA-^{s} to crawl, to creep (probably compounded with *ma-* hand): *maŋwa'va-ï‘* crawls; *maŋwa'va(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* he is creeping; *maŋwα'φᴀ^{x}-pïγa‘* crawled on his hands and knees (476, 5); *maŋwa'va-xa‘* while creeping on his hands and knees (404, 4); ptc. *maŋwa'va-ʀï* creeping

maŋwava-q·a- plur.: *maŋwa'φᴀ-qa(i)-yï-amï* they are creeping

mam'maŋwava- iter.: *mam'ma'ŋwava-i‘* creeps in starts, creeps now and then

taŋa-r'ɔai-maŋwava- to crawl kneeling: *taŋ'a'-rɔai-maŋwaφα-pïγa‘* crawled on (his) knees (to climb over) (458, 24)

MAŊ’WÏ- to cause to be: *ma'ŋ'wï* to cause to be

  nïŋwï-m·aŋ'wï- to cause to be a person: *nιŋwï'-m·a'ŋwï-ntca·ŋa-nɪ* I made him a person again; *nιŋwï'-m·aŋ'u-p·ïγai-(y)am'ï-mï* they two caused them to be people again (444, 15)

MAŊWÏ’A-, MAŊWÏ’I- niece, cousin of opposite sex: *nï'nι maŋwï''*$^{\alpha}$, *maŋwï''α-nɪ* my niece; *ma(·)ŋwï''ι-nɪ* my (male's) father's brother's daughter (older than I)

  maŋwï'i-tsi- dim.: *ma(·)ŋwï''ι-tsι-nɪ* my (woman's) father's brother's son (younger than I)

MAŊ’WÏC·I-^{g} sun rises: *tava'i*^{x} *maŋ'wï'c·ι-k̫·ᴜ* sun (obj.) when-rising, when the sun was up (474, 31); *ta(·)va'-i*ᶜ *mą(·)wï'c·ι-nᴀ* sun's rising, sunrise (462, 30)

  tava-'maŋwïc·i- to sun-rise: *tava-'maŋwï'c·i*ᶜ (it) sun-rises, the sun rises; *ta(·)va'-m·q(·)wïc·ι-nᴀ* sun-rising, sunrise; *tava-'maŋwï'c·ï-n·aru'q·ᴡᴀtux·ᴡᴀ* sun-rising it-under-to, to under the sun-rise, to the east

MAVA- to jerk back the hand: *ma(·)va'-i*ᶜ jerks back the hand, finger

MAVATCA- masturbator (probably contains *ma-* hand): *mava'tcᴀ* bone masturbator used by woman (309, 7, 9)

MA·VI- to be responsible: *maa(·)'φɪ-k̫a-ŋᴀ qɔγɔ''*^{i}*p·ïγai*ᶜ (they) have been killed because of him, he being responsible (398, 16); *nï'ni maa(·)'φɪ-k̫α-nɪ ya'a'i*ᶜ on my account he dies

MAVIŊWAN·ƆI- to scatter (intr.):

  maviŋwan·ɔi-ŋqï-q·a- plur.: *ma(·)vι'ŋwan·ɔι-ŋqï-q·ᴀ-pïγa*ᶜ (they) all scattered along (468, 31)

MAVƆ·YA- to trot (cf. *pɔ·ya-*): *ma(·)vɔ·'(*^{i}*)ya-i*ᶜ trots

  caus.: *ma(·)vɔ·(*^{i}*)ya-t̫·ïι*ᶜ causes to trot

MAQ·A- it, that (inan. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

  maq·aia- it, that (obj.; ibid.)

MA·Q·AS·I- Moccasin Springs (< Eng. *moccasin*): *ma·'q·ᴀsι-manaŋqᴡᴀ* from Moccasin Springs (472, 6)

MAQ·ÏŊ’WA- to try: *ᴍᴀ*ᶜ*qï'ŋ'ᴡᴀ* to try

  -maq·ïŋ'wa- in comp. vb.: *ivi-m'maq·ïŋ'wa-* to try to drink; *nɔntsi-m'maq·ïŋ'wa-* to try to fly (379, 9)

MAγA- to give: *ma(·)γa'-i*ᶜ gives; *ma(·)γa'(i)-'yï-ŋᴡᴀ* gives to him (inv.)

  usit.: *ma(·)γa'-mɪ-pïγai-(y)amï* used to give them (448, 29)

  mamaγa- distr.: *mama'x·-pi-α-φï* what has been given (obj.) to (your)selves (382, 1); *ᴡï*ᶜ*cι'a-mamax·-pïγai-(y)aŋᴀ* each gave him feathers (371, 12) *na-ŋwaγa-ŋqï-* refl. indir.: *na-ŋwa'xa-ŋqï-ɪ'* self-gives-to, gives in exchange, pays

-MAγA·- to test for depth:

ta-m·aγa·- to test for depth with the feet: *ta(·)-ma'χa·-i'* sees how deep it is by testing with the feet; *pa·-t·a(·)-ma'γa·-p·ïγa'* water-foot-tested, went out to see how deep the water was

-MA'CAγWƆI- old woman (cf. *mam·a'-caγwɔi-*):

-ma'caγwɔi-tsi- abs.: *wa·'-m·a(·^{a})'-cɔγ^{w}ɔitsɪ-ŋWï* two old women (322, 2)

-MA-C·ÏŊWI- ten (compounded of *ma-*, q. v., and *-cïŋwi-*, q. v.) (num. element in 9, 10, and multiples of 10; Gram., § 59, 1)

MARA- metate: *ma'RA* metate for grinding seeds

mara-tsi- metate: *mara'-ts·*, *ma(·)ra'-ts·* hard, flat-topped rock for grinding seeds

MARÏ-(C·U-), M^{W}ARÏ- it, that (inan. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

marïa-(c·u-), *m^{w}arï-a-* it, that (obj.; ibid.)

MARÏN·A-^{s} to pursue: *marɪ'n·a-i'* chases; *ma(·)rï''nA^{x}-pïγa'ai-ŋWA* pursued her (inv.) (354, 12)

marïn·a-q·u- inc.: *marɪ'n·a-q·U* to start in pursuit

mam·arïna- several pursue: *mama'rɪn·a(i)-yï-nI* (they) pursue me; imper. *mam·a'rïna-p·ïγaI-ťua(i)-yï-amï* they (indef.) were pursued (386, 13); inc. *ma(A)ma'rɪna-q·U-pïγai-c·'u-ŋWA* again they started in pursuit of him; ptc. plur. *ma(·)m·a'rïna-rï-m^{w}ï-am aŋA* they who were chasing them (387, 6)

mamarï'na- iter.: inc. *mama'rï'na-q·u-yï-aŋA* chases him several times

nïŋwï-marïn·a-vi- person-chaser: *nɪŋwɪ̨'-marɪnα-φI* mountain boomer(?)

MARÏK·A·- American, white man (< Span. *Americano*):

marïk·a·-tsi- abs.: *marï'k·a·-ts·* white man; plur. *marɪ'k·a·-tsɪ-ŋWï* white people (also used in Utah for "Gentiles" as contrasted with Mormons)

to·-marïk·a·-tsi- black-American: *tʋ·'-marɪk·a·-ts·* negro; plur. *tʋ·'-marɪk·a·-tsɪ-ŋWï* negroes

MAU'P·A- to stop: *ma'.uṕ·a-'^{a}* stop!; *ma'uṕ·a-ŋA* let her go! (363, 8)

-mau'p·a- in comp. vb.: *tïq·a-m·au'p·a-* to finish eating, to stop eating (373, 7); *ivi-mau'p·a-* to stop drinking; *tsip·i-mau'p·a-* to stop riding

-MAU'Q·U- to finish (cf. *mau'p·a-*):

only in comp. vb.: *un·i-m·au'q·u-* to finish making, doing so (353, 13); *tïγan·i-mau'q·u-* to finish butchering, cutting up (458, 32); *cua-m'mauq·u-* to finish eating, to eat up

MAYAŋA- (*maya-ŋu-?*) several appear: *wa't·uγwatca·mï ma(·)ya'ŋᴀ* through there they have appeared, come to view (418, 35)

-MI-^{g} (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 13); occurs only compounded:

-mi-t·uγwa- in . . . direction

-' . . . M·I- (enc. pers. pron.) you (sing. obj.); your (sing.) (Gram., § 40); I . . . you (sing. obj.) (Gram., § 41)

MIA-^{s} to travel, to journey (plur.): *mιq'-i'* several travel, move; *mιa'-va·*^{a}*nιa-raŋwᴀ* we (incl.) shall travel; *ïv*^{w}*ï'raŋwᴀ* . . . *miya'-va'* let us (incl.) proceed (towards it) (460, 13, 14)

mia-q·a-ni·- cont.: *mi(y)a'-q·a-ni·*^{i}*-χa'* several traveling around (384, 5)

mimia-ŋu- distr. mom.: *mimi'a-ŋo-q·(w)ai-nᴧ* (persons) having traveled in different directions (358, 2); *mi''mi(y)a-ŋu-qwε·* (several) start off (Song 174)

in comp. n.: *mi(y)a'-vɔ·*^{ɔ} traveled trail (324, 9); *mi(y)α'-naŋwavι'* traveled track (obj.) (322, 13)

-m·ia- in comp. vb. (while traveling; to go in order to): *qa·-m·ia-* several sing while on their way, several go in order to sing; *nanaŋqa-m·ia-* several hear while traveling (434, 19); *kiya-m·ia-* several go to have a round-dance (430, 14); *nɔntsi-k·a-mia-* several fly along; *ya·-m·ia-* several go to fetch (380, 6); *tua-m·ia-* each gives birth to a child while women are on their way (438, 13); *wïni-m·ia-* several stand while traveling, are in a fixed relative position as all move on (370, 8); *wï'im'mia-m·ia-* several dance along; *ma'i-ŋqï-vuru-ŋu-m·ιa-c·ᴜ* to say so for (him) while going around again from place to place

MIA'-^{g} small:

mia'-p·ï-tsi- abs.: *mi(·)a''-p·uts·* small; *mi(y)a''-p·uts· qanɪ* little house; *mιa(·)''-p·utsι' wana'ʀᴜ'pïγa'* little (obj.) net-made, made a little net (464, 21)

mia'-p·ï-vï-tsi- little: *mι'a(·)'-p·ï-v*^{w}*u-tsι-'a-ŋᴡᴀ* the little-sized one (obj.) (458, 29)

mia'p·ï- in comp. n. (generally with dim. *-tsi*, *-ntsi-*): *mi(·)a''p·u-χanɪ*, *mιa''p·ï-χani-nts·* little house (also *mιa''p·ï-ts· qa'nɪ*); *mιa''p·ï-m·'ɔ-nts·* little finger; *mιa''p·ï-m·'ɔ-ntsι-ma-φï* with his little finger (410, 23)

mia'-ntsi- small, a little: *miα''α-nts·* small, tiny (416, 27); *mia''a-nts ava''t·ï'* a little larger (obj.) (464, 25); *mi(y)a''a-ntsi-c·ampᴀ* only a little bit (454, 20)

-MINAŊWA- with (instr. post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 12)

MI'NAQ·A^{x}- one object breaks off (cf. *mimi'ɔi-*): *mι'na'q·*ʽ one breaks off

MINTƆN'I-^{s} to run away (plur.): *mintɔ'n'ni-ntcι-m*^{w} *αmï* they running away (350, 9)

MIŊQWA·- to come out forcibly: *miŋqwa'*ʽ*-pïγa*ʽ came out forcibly (412, 18); fut. *mιŋqwa·*$^{'a}$*-va·n·ι*ʽ

MIƆ- far off, at a distance (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

MIMI'ƆI- several objects break off (cf. *mi'naq·a*^{x}*-*): *mi'mi'ɔɪ* several break off; *mimi*$^{'ɔ}$*'(ɔ)i-p·ïγa*ʽ, *mimi'ɔ̈i-p·ïγa*ʽ (they) came out, broke off (356, 11)

-MIU- at a distance from (cf. *miɔ-*) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 15)

-mi'ɔi-tsi-va- (dim.) at a little distance from

-miu-ma·-γi-, ptc. *-miu-ma·-γi-t·ï-* being further away from

MIU'NA·-, MÏU'NA·- to open up (intr.): *mιu'n'na*ʽ to open up (used of something clasped or bound together, e.g. two hands clasped, a flower)

mimiu'na·- iter.: *mιmι'u'na·-i*ʽ opens up several times

tsi-miu'na·-ŋqï- to poke out, clear out with a stick: *tsι-mι'u'na·(u)-ŋqï-p·ïγai(y)-aq·ᴀ* with a stick (he) poked out, cleared out (the smoking fire) (446, 1)

ma-ŋwï'una·-ŋqï- to clear out with the hands: *ma(·)-ŋwï''u̦na·-ŋqï-p·ïγa*ʽ tore out of the ground with (his) hands (394, 33)

ta-m·ï'una·-ŋqï- to clear out with the foot: *ta(·)-m·ï''u̦na·-ŋqï* to dig out by scraping or poking with the foot

-' . . . M·Ï- (enc. pers. pron.) they (an. inv.); them (an. inv.); their (an. inv.) (Gram., § 40)

-' . . . M·Ï- (encl. pers. pron.) du. an. subj. (Gram., § 40)

MÏA-$^{\eta}$ moon, month:

mïa-t·ɔγɔ- moon, month: abs. *mïa'-t·ɔγu-ts·*, *m*^{w}*ïa'-t·ɔγɔ-ts·*, month; *cυ·'ι-m*^{w}*ï(*$^{\gamma}$*)at·ɔγɔtsι-mα-c·ᴜ* for one month; *m*^{w}*'a't·ɔγɔ-ï'ai*ʽ moon-dies, the moon is waning

-mïa- month (in comp. n.): *pa'a't·ɔγɔ-m·*^{w}*ï̦*ʽ long-moon (one of the winter months, corresponding apparently to December); *qa(·)ŋa'-m·*^{w}*ï̦*ʽ "*qaŋᴀ*"-star-moon (see *qaŋᴀ*; a winter month, apparently January)

MÏA·-^{s} divide, depression in a mountain ridge:

mïa·-γa-ntï- being a divide: *mïa·'-γa-ntï* divide, *mï(γ)a·'-χa-ntï*

mïa·-ntsi-γa-ntï- dim.: *mï(γ)a·*$^{'a}$*-ntsι-γα-ntï*ʽ (*mï*$^{\gamma}$*a·*$^{'a}$*-*) little divide (obj.) (323, 2); distr. *mï̦m*^{w}*ι'a·-ntsι-γα-ntï*ʽ little divides (obj.) (370, 10) *qaiva-mïa·γantï-*, *qaiva-mïa·-* (poetic) mountain-divide: *qa'iva-mïa·χantï* mountain divide; distr. *qa'iva-mʷïmʷι'a·-vaʽ* at mountain divides (Song 75)

MÏM·I- you (plur.) (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

mïm·ia- you (plur.) (obj.; ibid.)

MÏNIC·I-ᵍ, MÏN'IC·I-ᵍ to turn over (intr.), several turn back; MÏNIC·A- to turn over (tr.):

mïnic·i- intr.: *mįnï'c·ɪ-pïγaʽ* turned around (379, 5); *mįnι'c·-pïγaʽ* rolled over (310, 10); *mįni'c·ι-k·ᴀ* while turning around (408, 26); *mįnι'c·-qa'a-ŋᴡᴀ* when he (inv.) rolled over (310, 11); *mįn·ï's·'i-ts·* (they) having gone back home (382, 12); plur. *mįnι's·'i-k̫·ᴀ* several return home

mïnic·i-k·i- to turn hither: *mįni'c·-ki-p·ïγaʽ* turned around this way (350, 9)

mïnic·i-q·w'ai- to go off returning, to turn upside down: *mįnï'c·-qwᵓ'ai-p·ïγaʽ* went back home (438, 12); distr. *mįm·ï'n'ɪʽcι-k·wᵓ-'ɔi-p·ïγaʽ* (they) went back home one by one (474, 15), *mïmï'n'ɪ̈ʽcι-k·wa'ᵃ* all turn back (468, 32); *pa·-mį'nɪcι-k·w'ai-vaʽ* (people) will turn over (capsize) in the water (Song 182)

-mïn'ic·i-ŋqï- to roll over (tr.): *nį' ma-ŋwï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-a(·)ŋᴀ* I roll him over (with the hand): *nį' ta(·)-mʷï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-a(·)ŋᴀ* I roll him over with the feet; *nį' pι-mʷï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* I roll him over with the buttocks, by sitting (on him); *mų-ŋwï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* he rolls (it) over with the nose; *qï-mʷï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* he rolls (it) over with the teeth; *tcɔ(·)-mʷï'n'ɪcι-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* he rolls (it) over with (his) head

-mïn·ic·a- to turn over (tr.): *tsι-mï'n·ɪca-iʽ* turns (meat) over (on red-hot ashes) with a stick

MÏNTÏC·I- to turn over to a side (cf. *mïnic·i-*): *mįntï'c·-pïγaʽ* turned over to a side, dodged (460, 27); fut. *mïntï'c·ι-va·n·ιʽ*

-M'ÏC·I- only with *'a·γa-* in hiding; q. v.

MÏT·ÏŊWA- hill spur: *ᴍïʽtï'ŋᴡᴀ*, *ᴍɪ̈ʽtι'ŋᴡᴀ* point of a hill, point of a mountain running out into a plain, place name (Pipe Spring)

MÏYÏ-ⁿ gopher:

mïyï-mpïtsi- abs.: *mįyï'-mpïts·*, *mįyį'mputs·*, *mųyų'-mpïts·* gopher (*Thomomys*)

mïyï-ŋqani-vï- gopher-house: *mįyï'-ŋqa(·)nιφï* gopher pile; *mïyï'-ŋqa(·)nιvï-nιʽ* like a gopher pile (329, 11)

MƆ'Ɔ-ˢ hand (see also *ma-*): *mɔ''ɔ* hand

mɔ'ɔ-vi- abs.: *mɔ'ɔ'-φɪ* hand

mɔ'ɔ-ru- to make a hand: *mɔ'ɔ'-ru-vʷa·ᵃnιʽ* will make a hand

comp.: *ᴡɪʽcι'ya-mɔ'ɔ* feather hand; *pɪʽk̫a'-mɔ'ᵓ* sore-handed

MƆ·MUNI- Mormon (< Eng. *Mormon*): *mǫ·'munɪ* Mormon; *mǫ·'munι-ŋWï* Mormons

-MƆNTÏ-γI- to shake (one's head):

tcɔ-mɔntï-γi- to shake one's head: *tcɔ-mɔ'ntïγι'* shakes (his) head; iter. *tcɔtcɔ'-mɔntïx·ɪ-k̯a-'mɪ* while you keep shaking your head (456, 31)

MƆNTSƆ-^{s} beard: *mɔ(·)'ntsɔ* whiskers

mɔntsɔ-vi- abs.: *mɔ(·)ntsɔ'-φɪ* whiskers

MƆC·ƆA- pubic hair: *MƆ'cɔ'A* pubic hair

wï'a-m·ɔc·ɔa- penis-hair: *wï'a'-m·ɔ'cɔA* man's pubic hair

wïγï-m·ɔc·ɔa- vulva-hair: *wïγï'-mɔcɔa-mantï-a-φï* some (obj.) of her pubic hair (454, 11)

MƆC·OI-^{s} mustache (for *mɔ-* cf. *mɔntsɔ-*): *MƆ'co'ɪ* mustache

mɔc·oi-vi- abs.: *MƆ'co'i-φɪ* mustache

MU-^{s},^{g}, nose (cf. *muvi-*^{g} nose):

mu-^{s} instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 2

mu-^{g} as n. pref.: *MU'-p^{w}i'k·ι-φɪ* nasal mucus

MOO-^{g} hooting owl:

moo-p·ïtsi- abs.: *moo'-p·ïts·* owl; *moo'p·utc aŋA* the hooting owl (448, 23)

comp.: *mǫǫ'-n·ap·ï-ŋw aŋA* the old-man-Owl (448, 28)

MOO-^{n} humming-bird (cf. *mo·a-* to hum):

comp.: *moo'-ntɔ'tsι-va·ts·* humming-bird-head-spring (place name); *moo'-aŋiφɪ* mosquito

mo·-'t·utca-tsi- abs.: *mo·'-t·utcats·*, *mo'-t̓·utcats·* humming-bird (381, 1)

MOA-^{s} father: *moa'-nɪ* my father; *moα'-nɪ-puts·* my father (affectionate); *moα'-ru'a-'m aro''*^{a} is it your father?

moa-vi- abs.: *moa'-φɪ* somebody's father

moa-ntsi- dim.: plur. *m·oa'-ntsι-ŋwï-nɪ* (*m·^{w}a'-*) my dear fathers

mom·oa- distr.: *momo'a-raŋWA* our (incl.) fathers; *mom·o'a(i)-ya(u)-φï* their own fathers (obj.) (438, 23)

na-ŋ'wa-tsi- du. recip. (*-ŋ'wa-* < *-ŋ'woa-* < *mo'a-*): *na'-ŋ'WA-tsι-ŋWï* father and son; plur. *nana'-ŋ'wa-tsι-ŋWï* father and sons

MO·A- to hum, to buzz:

mǫ·'(w)a-.i' hums, *mǫ·'a-i'*; *m·ų·'a(i)-yï-n·ι'* makes a buzzing sound (e. g. whirring of humming-bird's wings, buzzing of flies, bull-roarer)

MO'A- mealer:

mo'a-tsi- abs.: *mu'a'-ts·*, *m^{w}ɔ'a'-ts·* mealer, stone grinder of oblong-like section and rounded corners used with metate (see *mara-*)

MOAP·A- Moapa, Muddy Creek Paiute (in S. Nevada): *moa'p·ᴀ* Muddy Creek Paiute; plur. *moa'p·a-tsι-ŋwï*

MOWARA-γI- (=*muvʷara-* or *muara-*?) to crush in one's mouth:

mowat·a-q·i-ŋqï- mom.: *muwa't·ᴀˣ-qi-ŋqï* to crush in one's mouth

-mowara-γi-vi- crusher: *w'a(·)'mpι-m·uwaraχι-φɪ* cedar-berry crusher, Spermophila (?)

MOI-ˢ milk: *moι'-nɪ* my milk

moi-vi- abs.: *moι'-φɪ* milk

MOI-ⁿ to lead: *mǫ(w)i'ʿ* leads; *mǫį'-mpa·-ŋumɪ* (I) will lead you (plur.) (370, 13)

moi-n'ni- cont.: *moi'-n'ni-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* he led around (462, 35)

moi-n'ni-γw'ai- to go to lead around: *moι'-n'ni-χ̯wa'ᵃ* go lead (him) around (462, 34)

moi-ŋki- to come leading: *mǫi'-ŋki-tcι-m·ʷį̈ʿ* who (obj.) were coming leading (438, 24)

moi-m'mia- to lead-travel: *moι'-m'mιa-p·ïγaʿ* led along (380, 12)

MOMPA-ᵍ to roll (intr.): *mumpa'-iʿ*, *mυ(·)mpa'-iʿ* rolls

mompa-q·u- inc.: *mompa'-qᴜ·* to roll off (462, 25)

mompa-m·ia- usit.: *mumpa'-mιʿ* keeps rolling (Song 140)

mompa-t·ïŋwava-γa- to roll-sound: *mυ(·)mpa'-t·ιŋwava-xa-iʿ* sounds like rolling

mompa-tciva-tsi- ball: *mumpa'-tcιvats·* shinny ball

-MOMO-TSI-: *tᴜʿqu'-mumu-ts·* panther (cf. *tuq·u-* wildcat)

MON·A- son-in-law: dim. *mǫn·a'-tsι-nɪ* my son-in-law

mon·a-tsi-γantï- having a son-in-law: *mona'-tsι-γ̯antï* father-in-law

MONↄ·P·AŊQWI- night hawk:

monↄ·p·aŋwi-tsi- abs.: *mǫnↄ'x·ↄpaŋqwι-ts·*, *mon·ↄ'ↄpaŋqwι-ts·* night hawk (*Chordeiles*)

-MUNTÏARU- to heat rocks:

qu-muntïaru- to heat rocks on the fire: *nï' qumu'ntuarï-y a'ïφɪ* I heat stones now; *qumu'ntuaʀï-pïγaʿ* heated stones by putting them on the fire (374 12); *qumu'ntïaʀᴜ-q(w)ai-na-φï* what stones had been heated by himself, his own bed of hot stones (375, 4)

qu-muntïaru-q·a- plur.: *qumu'ntïαʀᴜˣ-q(w)ↄ-p·ïγaʿ* all heated stones on the fire (418, 14)

MUNTUNA·- to cover oneself, MUNTUN'I- to be covered up:

muntuna·- act.: *muntu'na·-p·ïγaʿ* (went to bed and) covered (him)self up (398, 20)

muntun'i- stat.: usit. comp. vb. *muntu'n'nι-avι-mι-p·ïγaʿ* always lay covered up (398, 26); res. *muntu'n'ɪʿ-k̯aaiʿ* keeping covered up (398, 23)

MONTSI- flat-topped mountain: *monts·* flat-topped mountain with three steep sides and a gradual approach on the fourth (Songs 76, 185)

in comp. n.: *qwι′a-munts·*, *qwι′(y)a-munts·* oak-mountain, Paunsaugunt Plateau (Sɔng 185); *pɪ‘k̯a′-m·unts·* hard-mountain, rock-mountain, point below Indian Pasture (Song 185); *yïv^{w}ι′-m·unts·* pine-mountain, Shinarump Cliffs, between Cottonwood and Indian Pasture (Song 185); *qïma′-va·-m·unts·* strange-water-mountain (Song 185); *paγιna-tυ·′-p·aya-montsï′(montsï″montsï′n)* cloud-black-breast-mountain (Song 76)

MUNTSƆ’AγU- spoon:

muntsɔ’aγu-tsi- abs.: *muntsɔ″aγu-ts·* spoon; comp. *a·′-m·untsɔ-’aγuts·*, *a·′p·ï-muntcɔ’aγuts·* horn spoon

MONTCO-^{g} whiskers (cf. *mɔntsɔ-^{s}*):

montco-p·i- abs.: *montco′-p·ɪ* whiskers

comp.: *muntcu′-navaia-va·ts·* mustache (see *navaia-va·-tsi-*) (Song 63)

M’UNUQ·WI- to be round, M’UNUQ·WA·- to become round:

m’unuq·wi- to be round: ptc. *aŋqa′-m·’unuq·wι-tcï* red and round; *tυ·′-m’unuq·wι-tcï* black and round

m’unuq·wa·- to become round: *tυ·′-m’unuq·wa·-p·ïγai-n·ι‘* (it) became like something black and round (402, 38)

MO·P·ITCA- fly: *mo·′p̓·ιts·* fly (Song 170)

mo·p·itca-tsi- abs.: *mo′p·itcα-ts·* fly; comp. *qava·′-mop·ιtcα-ts·* horse-fly

MOVI-^{g} nose:

movi-p·i- abs.: *mov^{w}i′-p·ɪ* nose

momovi-p·i- distr.: *momo′v^{w}i-p·ɪ* noses

movi-q·ai- to have a nose: *mov^{w}i′-k̯·ai(y)-aŋʌ* he has a nose

movi-t·u- to make a nose: *mov^{w}i′-t·u-v^{w}a·^{a}nι‘* will make a nose

in comp. n.: *mov^{w}ι′-t·ɔmpɪ* nose-hole, nostril; *mov^{w}i(·)-ïχan’nïmpï* nose-enterer, halter

incor.: *mov^{w}ι′-t·ɔnʌ* to strike with one’s nose; *muv^{w}i′-m·urun’nu-ι‘* rubs (his) nose against; *mυ(·)v^{w}ι′-tsι-’nιk·ɪ* to stick one’s nose (in the water)

MUQ·UNTA-^{s} to be straight: *mu′q·untʌ* straight ahead (396, 11); *MU‘qu′nta-i‘* is straight; comp. *tɔγɔ′i-MU‘quntʌ* straight ahead; ptc. *MU‘qu′nta-rï‘* straight (obj.), *cua′-rɔγɔ-MU‘qunta-Rï* nearly straight

muq·unta-q·a- plur.: *MU^{x}qu′ntʌ^{x}-qa-i‘* several are straight *mumuq·unta-* distr.: *mumu'q·unta-i*ʿ several are straight

muq·unta-ŋqw'ai- to go ahead: *tɔγɔ'-mUqunta-ŋqw'ai-p·ïγa*ʿ went straight (394, 16)

muq·unta-m'ia- to travel ahead: *cv·'-MU^{x}qunta-'mιa-p·ïγa*ʿ went right ahead (394, 23)

MUQ·WAN'I- headland (cf. *muq·unta-?*): ptc. *MU^{x}qwa'n'i-ntcï* headland, cape

MO·Q·WI- Hopi Indian: abs. *mo'q·wι'-tc·* Hopi; comp. *mo'q·wι-dq·ï* Hopi-sunflower (larger variety of sunflower than *a'q·ï*)

MUQ·WIγA-^{s} to call for help: *MU^{x}qwi'x̣a(i)-yï-nɪ* calls on me for help

muq·wiγa-q·a- plur.: *MU^{x}kwi'x̣·-qa-p·ïγai(y)-aŋʌ* (they) called on him for help (360, 13)

muq·wiγa-γw'ai- to go for help: *nį'* *MU^{x}qwι'χ̣a-χwa'ai-va·^{a}nι*ʿ I shall go for help

MOγOA-^{s} soul, spirit: *muχu'a·ŋʌ* his soul (363, 1); *mo(·)'go(·w)a(·)* heart, soul (Song 112)

moγoa-vi- abs.: *mɔγɔ'a-φɪ* soul

MOγWA-^{g} cedar-bark:

moγwa-p·ï- abs.: *moχwa'-p·ï, mɔγwa'-p·ï* cedar-bark; *mɔγwα'-p·ï*ʿ (obj.) (394, 33)

moγwa-q·ani- cedar-bark house: *moχwa'-q·anɪ* cedar-bark wickiup; *mɔγwa(·)'-q·an·i-ntcU-pïγa*ʿ built a cedar-bark house (462, 7)

MOγWAT·AVIŊ'WA- Uncompahgre Ute, Indian of Ouray (cf. *moγwa-* cedar-bark, *tavi-* sun?): *mɔγwα't·avιŋ'wa-ntsι-ŋWï* Ouray Utes; *moγwα't·avιŋwa(·)-m·am·a'tsι* Ouray Indian woman (obj.) (Song 159)

MOγWIA- lizard (sp.): *moχwι'ʌ* lizard with light-blue head and light-brown body, *Cnemidophorus* (?)

MOγWIN·I- to run tossing one's head (only used in myths; compounded with *mu-?*):

pïŋqa-moγwin·i-n·ii- cont., to run quickly while tossing one's head: *pïŋqa'-muγwin·in·ii-ŋqï-p·ïγa*ʿ rushed ·tossing (his) head from side to side (385, 11)

MUT·AQ·A-^{s} forehead: *MU*ʿ*ta'q·ʌ* forehead

mut·aq·a-vi- abs.: *MU*ʿ*ta'q·a-φɪ*, *MU^{x}ta'q·a-φɪ* forehead

MU·RA·- mule (< Span. *mula*):

mu·ra·-tsi- abs.: *mu·'ra·-ts·* mule; plur. *mu·'ra·-tsι-ŋWï, mo·'ra·-tsι-ŋWï* mules

MO·RI·- bean: *mo'rι*ʿ beans; *mori·'*ʿ (obj.) (412, 10)

mo·ri·-tsi- bean-person, Muddy Creek Paiute (Moapa): *mo'ri·^{i}-ts·*

Paiute of Muddy Valley (S. Nevada), plur. *mo·'ri·^{i}-tsι-ŋWï*; *mo'ri·^{i}-nU'qwιntï* Muddy-stream, Muddy Creek ("Muddy" is Paiute *mo·ri·-* transformed)

MURU'I-^{s} blanket, robe: *muru''^{i}* blanket; *muru''ι-va·^{a}ntu'γwa-mI* on to your blanket (334, 10)

muru'i-γaip·ï- past blanket: *muru''ι-χ̰aip·ï* cast-away (rabbit-skin) blanket

muru'i- in comp. n.: *muru''ι-γut·cU* blanket-cow, cow of which buffalo-robe was made, buffalo

-muru'i- in comp. n.: *qa(·)m·u'-m·uru'^{i}* jackrabbit-skin blanket; *ta(·)vu'-m·uru'^{i}* blanket of cottontail-rabbit skins; *tU'qu'-m·uru'ι-χ̰ai-ŋu-mpa·-n·α-nI* my going to be had (mom.) as panther-skin blanket, what is to be my panther-skin blanket

MORONA-^{s} greasewood:

morona-vï- abs.: *moru'na-vï'* greasewood (obj.) (404, 3)

MURUN'NU-^{s} to rub one's chin against: *murv(·)'n'nu-ι'* rubs (his) chin against one; *murv(·)'n·'u-χ(w)a'* while rubbing (his) chin against (452, 12)

muvi-m·urun'nu- to rub one's nose against: *muv^{w}i'-m·urun'nu-ι'* rubs (his) nose against

MUC·UI- to try to: *MU'cu'ι-YÏ* tries to do something (hardly used except as second element of compound vb.)

-muc·ui- in comp. vb.: *tΛ'qwa'ia-muc·uι'* tries to stiffen (his) penis, *tΛ'qwa'ia-muc·u'ι-q·WΛ* to try to stiffen it (inv.)

N

NA-^{s}, NAN- refl. and recip. pref. (Gram., § 22, 1)

NAA'-P·Ï- old man (cf. *nana-p·ï-?*): *naa'p̓·u-ŋWï* old man

in comp. n.: *mǫǫ'-n·ap̓·ï-ŋw aŋΛ* the old man Owl (448, 28); *įna'-n·a·p̓·uŋWï* badger old man; *tïγι'a-naap̓·uŋWï* deer old man

NA'A·-C·U- differently, separately (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

NAI-^{n} recip. pref. (Gram., § 22, 2):

nai-mpiŋwa- wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife (see *piŋwa-*); *nai-ŋquma-* husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband (see *qum·a-*)

NA'AI-^{n} to burn (intr.): *na'ε'ï'* (fire) burns; *na'a'i-yï-aq·Λ* it burns; *na'a'i-ḵ·a'* (it) has burned; *na'a'i-p·ïγa'* (fire) was burning

ptc.: *na'a'i-ntcï*, *na'a'i-ntï* (something) burning

nana'ai- distr.: *na(·)na''ai-p·ïγa'* there were fires burning (358, 5); *na(·^{a})na''ai-p·ïγa(a)i-c·U* was burning yet in several places

(322, 11); ptc. *na(·)'na'ai-ntcï-ni'* like (something) burning here and there (380, 3)

na'ai-t̓·ui- caus.: *na'a'i-t̓·ïi-p·ïγa'* built a fire (331, 1); *na'a'i-t̓·ɩ-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* made a fire out of it (375, 3); plur. *na'a'i-t̓·ɩ-k̯·a-na-raŋWA* what we (incl.) burn (380, 8)

na'ai-t̓·ui-t·ïa- causing-to-burn-place: *na'a'i-t̓·ɩ-t·ï'* fire place

na'ai-t·up·i- to burn up: *na'a'i-t·U'pʷi-k·U-q(w)a'* (it) has burnt up

NA'AI-^{n} girl:

na'ai-ntsi-tsi- dim. abs.: *na'a'i-ntsɩ-ts·* little girl; plur. *na(·)'a'i-nts·-tsɩ-ŋWï* little girls; *wa'a-n·'ai-nts·-tsɩ-ŋWï* two little girls (434, 36)

NAÏ-^{s} to have sexual connection, to mate:

naï-γa- dur.: *na'ï-χa-i'* has sexual connection (not as coarse as *yɔγɔ-*, q. v.); *tï'-n·aⁱγa-i'* has a good copulation; ptc. *kWI'tu'-n·aïγï-RÏ* anus-copulator, pederast

naï- in comp. n.: *na'ï-γanI, na·'-χanI* house of prostitution; *na·'-vuŋqu-nI* my mating-pet, stallion

NAMI- younger sister: *nam·i'-(y)aŋ aŋA* her younger sister (404, 35)

nami-ntsi- dim.: *na(·)mi̧(·'ⁱ)-tsɩ-nI, na(·)mi(·)'-ntŋ̣-nI* my younger sister; plur. *na(·)m·ɩ(·)'-ntsɩ-ŋwï-aŋA* her younger sisters (434, 12)

NAM·Ï-^{s} first:

adv. pref.: *nam·ï'-ivi-m·i'* always drinks first; *na(·)m·ï'-ⁱ'ai-p·ïγa'* died first (452, 26); *na(·)m·o-'ᵘvʷit·U'-pïγa'* was the first to sing (426, 25); *nam·u'-vʷax(a)i'* goes first; *na(·)mï'-χaχa·-n·a-v u'mA* his own first-singing therewith, with his first song (346, 10)

in comp. n.: *na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-tsɩ-nI, na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-t·ŋ̣-nI* my first-born son

NAMPA-^{s} foot: *na'mpA* foot

nampa-vi- abs.: *nampa'-ɸI* foot; distr. *nana'mpa-ɸI* feet

nampa-γai- to have a foot; *nampa'-χai-nI* I have a foot; ptc. *WA'tcü'-ŋwɩk̯·U nampa'-γa-ntï* four (obj.) foot-having, having four feet

-nampa- in comp. n.: *na(·ᵃ)χa'-nampA* mountain-sheep-footed (personal name of male); *pI'k̯a'-nampa-ts uŋWA* the sore-footed one (Song 149)

nampa- incor.: *nampa'-tcqu'na-i'* scratches a foot (cf. *ni̧' nampa'-ia-ŋA tcq̧(·)u'nai'* I scratch his foot); *nampa'-rïŋwαvaxa-i'* (it) sounds like footsteps; *nampa'-n·a(·)ntsɩγ̧ax·A-qa-va'* several will have a foot-race (418, 12); *nampa'-n·antsɩγa·-ŋqï-q·a-ŋA* several have a foot-race with him (446, 12)

NAN·A- to grow: *na(·)n·a'-'ᵃ* grow!; *nana'-p·ïγa'* grew up (396, 26)

nana-q·u- inc.: *nana'-q·u-mï·-ntca-ŋA* he has finished growing *nana-m'mia-* to grow along: *nana'-m'mia-i*ʻ (it) keeps growing

nana-n'ni- cont.: *nana'-n'ni-ι*ʻ grows while walking around; *na(·)-n·a(·)'-n·ι'*ⁱ grow up (myth word; 460, 9)

NANA-P·Ï- old man (probably < *nana-* to grow):

nana-p·ï-tsi- abs.: *nana'-p·uts·*, *na(·*ᵃ*)na'-p·ïts·* old man; plur. *na(·*ᵃ*)na'p·ïtsι-ŋwï*

NAN·A·ƔA- different, various (red.): *nan·a·'*ᵃ*γa-r'ua-t·ï-m·*ʷ*α-nɪ* different-becoming-with-me, (no matter) with how many different (games you will test) me (422, 15); *nan·a·'*ᵃ*xa-ni-n·i*ʻ in different directions (422, 33)

nana·q·a-ntï- ptc., different kinds of: *nana'ᴀ*ˣ*qa-ntï-mpa'avι-ŋwï*ʻ different kinds of animals (400, 4); *nana'ᴀ*ˣ*qa-ntï-ŋqanɪ* different kinds of houses

NANAC·'O·Q·U-P·I- (red.) different, various: *nan·a'c·'oq·u-p·ɪ* different things, ways; *nan·a'c·'o·q·ᴜ-pι-n·ι*ʻ in different ways; *nan·a'c·'o·q·ᴜ-pi-m*ʷ*α-nɪ* (I don't care how you will all treat) me with different kinds (of games) (418, 15)

NAN·I- separately, different (adv. form of recip. *na-*: each-other-wise ?):

nan·i-c·u- adv.: *nan·ι'-c·ᴜ* separately

nan·i-n'na- in opposed directions: *nanι'-n'na-ŋᴡɪ-tux·ᴡᴀ*, *na(·)n·i'--na-ŋᴡɪ-tux·ᴡᴀ* in two different directions (387, 9; 358, 1), *na(·)nι'-n'na-ŋᴡɪ-tuγwa·q·ᴀ* to different directions . . . it (386, 8); *na(·)ni'-n'na-q·ɔ-va·ŋa-'mï* on both sides of him . . . they 2 (430, 22); in comp. n. *nanι'-'na-q·wɔ-yaγa·-ma-ᴀ*ˣ*qa-'mï* at either end of the (line) . . . they 2 (370, 7) (Gram., § 59, 3, b)

nan·i- adv. pref. in vb.: plur. *nan·ι'-t·ɪ*ʻ*qa-q·a-i*ʻ (they) eat separately; *pιya'-nanü-mpᴀ*ˣ*qa-i*ʻ big-separately-beats (?), there is a big fight

nan·i- distr. pref. in num. adv.: *nan·ι'-c·ʋ-t·a-c·ᴜ* one each, one to each; *nan·ι'-ŋwaŋwa·-t·cᴀ* two each, *nan·ι'-ŋwaŋwaᴀ-tca-tca-ᴀ*ˣ*qa-'mï* they (did) it two each, each one twice; *nan·ι'-p·a(a)i-t·cᴀ* three each

NA·N·IA- to say something:

*na·'n·ιa-i*ʻ says something; *qatcu' n·a·'n·ιa-'ap·ᴀ* do not say anything (408, 33); *qatc·ᴜ naá'n·ιap·ïá'*ᵃ did not speak, said nothing (400, 6); *na·'nιa-ŋ'wai-ʏᴜ-campa·ŋᴀ* without saying anything (give) her (to me) (363, 5)

NANTA-ˢ "yant": *na'ntᴀ* species of cactus (short-leaved, round, spined plant about one foot high, similar to a century plant, locally known as "yant"), agave?

in comp. n., ptc.: *nanta'-'uv*^{w}*ιp·ɪ* "yant"-stalk; *nanta'-q·ᴡᴀʽcïp·ï* "yant"-done, "yant" done in cooking

nanta-γa- to get "yant": comp. vb. *nanta-x·ᴀ-t̓ïv*^{w}*ιtcu-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* asked him to get "yant"

-NA·NTSIγ̯A·- to race (probably contains recipr. *na-*):

nampa-n·a·ntsiγ̯a·- to have a foot-race: plur. *nampa'-n·a·ntsιγ̯ax·-qa-vaʽ* several will have a foot-race (418, 12); indir. plur. *nampa'-n·a·ntsιγ̯a·-ŋqï-q·a÷ŋᴀ* several have a foot-race with him (446, 12)

NANTCUI- to be fierce: *na(·)'ntcuι-n·ιʽ* fiercely, horribly (404, 32); *na(·)ntcu'ι-yu-n·ιʽ* (he) is fierce; *na(·)ntcu'ι-yu-n·ια-nɪ* I am fierce

NAŊA-^{n} anger (occurs only compounded):

naŋa-y'ai- to anger-die, to be angry (sing.): *naŋa'-i'aiʽ* gets angry, is angry; *naŋa'-i'ai-yï-aŋᴀ* he is angry; *na(·)ŋa'-i'ai-p·ïγaʽ* got angry (373, 11); *naŋa'-i'ai-ntca÷ŋᴀ* he has got angry

naŋa-y'ai-q·a- plur.: *naŋa'-i'ai-k̯·a-iʽ* (they) are angry, get angry; *naŋa'-i'ai-k̯·ᴀ-qa÷mï* when they are angry

naŋa-y'ai-ŋqï- to get angry at: *naŋa'-i'ai-ŋqï-yï-aŋᴀ* gets angry at him

naŋa-y'ai-t̓·ui- caus.: indir. *naŋa'-i'ai-t̓·ïι-ŋqï-aŋa-nɪ* cause him to get angry for me (456, 20); plur. *naŋa'-i'ai-t̓·uι-k̯·ᴀ-pïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* (they) made him angry (446, 20)

nanaŋ'a-y'ai- iter.: *nana'ŋ'a-ya'ιʽ* gets angry several times

naŋa-ntup·i- to be angry (plur.), *naŋa-ntup·a·-* to get angry (plur.): *naŋa'-ntᴜʽp*^{w}*i-yï-amï* they are angry; *naŋa'-ntᴜʽp*^{w}*i-p·ïγaʽ* (they) were angry; *naŋa'-ntᴜʽpa-p·ïγaʽ* (they) got angry; *t̓ïv*^{w}*ι'tsι-naŋa'-ntᴜʽpaᴀ-pïγaʽ* (they) got very angry (438, 4)

naŋa-mpïn·i- to anger-look: *naŋa'-mpïn'ni-nιm-pïγaʽ* kept looking angrily (456, 6)

in comp. n.: *naŋa'-mpu'*^{i} anger-eye, fierce-eyed (horse's name)

NAŊQA- ear-ornament (cf. *naŋqava-* ear): *na'ŋqᴀ* wooden ear-plug, ear ornament (in general), bead (so used in Uncompagre Ute)

NAŊQA- branch (cf. *naŋqava-* ear?): *naŋqa÷'q·ᴀ* its branches

naŋqa-aγai- to have branches: *naŋqa÷'*^{a}*xaʽ* to have branches

naŋqa-a-t̓·ui- to cause (a tree) to have branches: *naŋqa'-ʽ-t̓ui-p·ïγaʽ* caused (it) to have branches (460, 32)

maavï-naŋqa-vï- bush-branch, leaf: *maa'vï-naŋqa-vï-mᴀ* with leaves

NAŊQA- to hear: *na(·*^{a}*)ŋqa'-p·ïγaʽ* heard (313, 12); *'a't·ι-naŋq*^{x}*ᴀ-pïγai-'k·ᴡᴀ* heard it (inv.) well, clearly (370, 4)

naŋqa-q·ai- res., to hear: distr. *nana'ŋq*^{x}*ᴀ-qai-tcu'a÷q·a-ŋᴡï* did you (plur.) hear? (390, 8) *nanaŋqa-m·ia-* several hear while journeying: *nana′ŋq̇a-m·ιa(u)-x·ᴜ* (they) hearing while traveling (434, 19)

naŋqa-t·ca’-q·ai- res., to listen: *naŋqa′-t̓·sa-q·a*ʿ to listen; *naŋqa′-t̓sa-q·ai-’*^{i} listen!; *naŋqa′-t̓·sa-q·ai-p·ïγa*ʿ listened (410, 1)

nanaŋqa-t·ca’-q·ai- distr.: *nana′ŋqᴀ-tsa’-q·a*ʿ several listen; *nana′ŋqᴀ-tca’-q·ai-va*ʿ (they) will listen

naŋqa-t·ca’-ŋqï-q·ai- to listen for: *nį’ naŋqa′-t̓·sa-ŋqï-qai-yï-aŋᴀ* I listen for, instead of him

naŋqat·ca’-ŋwïni- to stand listening: *naŋqa′t̓sa-ŋwį̈nι-p·ïγa*ʿ stood and listened (370, 1); *naŋqa′t̓sa-ŋųnι-p·ïγai-c·u-’q·ᴡᴀ* stood and listened to it again (370, 3)

NAŊQAVA-^{s} ear (cf. *naŋqa-* ear-ornament; to hear): *naŋqa′φᴀ* ear; *naŋqa′va-na·*^{a}*χι-nɪ* in my ear (456, 32)

naŋqava-vi- abs.: *naŋqa′va-φɪ* ear

naŋqava-γai- to have ears: distr. ptc. *ava′’*^{a}*t·ï*ʿ *nana′ŋqava-χa-ntï* having big (obj.) ears (464, 31); neg. ptc. *naŋqa′va-’ai-t·ï* having no ears

qani-naŋqava-vï- house-ear: *qanι′-naŋqava-φï* tent-flaps

in comp. n.: *naŋqa′φᴀ-canap·ɪ* ear-wax

incor.: *naŋqa′va-ŋᴡɪpantuχwι-χ̯’u-mɪ* while you shake your ears (456, 33)

-NAŊQWA-^{g} direction (Gram., § 50, 4, 18)

-naŋqwa-t·ï- (*-naŋqwa-ntï-*) (ptc.); *-naŋqwa-t·ï-ma-naŋqwa-* from . . . direction

-naŋqwa-p·a- in . . . direction, near; *-naŋqwa-p·a-tcï-* being in . . . direction

NAŊWA-^{s} track: *na(·)ŋwa′-nɪ* my tracks; *na(·)ŋwa′-a(·)ŋᴀ* his tracks; *naŋwą′(i)-’ya-mï* their (2) tracks (obj.) (450, 32); *na(·)ŋwa′-v(a)a∸ŋᴀ* in his tracks; *na(·)ŋwa′-v(a)a∸mï* in their tracks; *na(·)ŋwa′-*^{x}*ᴜp(a)’a-ŋᴀ* following in his tracks; *naŋwa′-x·pa’a-mï* on their (2) tracks; *naŋwa′-x·p̓a·-mpa’a-mï* about to follow up their (2) tracks (373, 11)

naŋwa-vi- abs.: *naŋwa′-φɪ, na(·)ŋwa′-φɪ* tracks; obj. *naŋwa′-vι mą·*ʿ to find a track

naŋwa-t̓·ui- to cause tracks: *naŋwa′-t̓·u-k̯·ai-mï* they (2) have made tracks, left behind tracks

in comp. n.: *a′*^{ï}*-n·aŋwa∸(a)ŋᴀ* (*a·′-*) his fresh tracks; *mi(y)α′-naŋwa-vι*ʿ traveled track (obj.) (322, 13)

incor.: *naŋwa′-m·a(a)i-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall find a track

NAŊWA’AI- with each other, both (animate) (quasi-num.; Gram., § 59, 3, c)

NA·ŋW'AITCA- (probably with recipr. *na-*): to play an arrow-game: *na·'ŋ'waitca-i*ʿ plays the game of shooting arrows at a root thrown up into a tree; *na·'ŋw'aitca-p·ɪ* arrow-game

NAŋWI- apron: *na'ŋwɪ* apron

in comp. n.: *ïna'-n·aŋwɪ* bark apron (see *ïna-*)

-NAŋWÏ·N·A'MI- in sight of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 19)

-NAP·'AŋWI- moving down (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 20)

NAVA-C·U- merely, in vain (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

-NAVAS·U- following, imitating (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 23)

NAVAI- six (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

navai-mac·ïŋwi- 90 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

navai-q·a-vai- seven (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)

NA·VAI- to gather several objects: *na·'vaai*ʿ gathers up (several things); *na·'(a)vai-p·ïγa*ʿ gathered (312, 11); *nï'aq·ᴀ na·'*^{a}*vai-k̯·a*ʿ I have gathered them; impers. *na·'*^{a}*vai-k̯·ai-t́·u(w)a(i)-yu-ᴀ*^{x}*qa-noᴀ* someone has gathered them, they have been gathered

plur. *na·'(a)vai-k̯·ε(i)-ya-q·ᴀ* you (plur.) gather them!

NA·VAI- to pack up (cf. *na·vai-* to gather several objects?): *na·'va(·)i-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall pack up in order to move; *na·'va(·)i-m·ï-ι*ʿ is already packing up (438, 9); *na·'va(·)i-m·ï·(*^{i}*)-yï-nɪ* I am already packing up

plur.: *na·'va(·)i-k̯·ε-i*ʿ many pack up

NAVAIA-^{s} to divide (contains recipr. *na-?*): *nava'i*ʿ to divide (Song 63); *na(·)va'iᴀ-pïγai-ᴀqa'a-mï* they 2 divided it (365, 4)

in comp. n.: *nava'ia-va·ts·* whiskers (*-va·-ts·* = *-vïa-ts·*; *navaia-vïa-ts·* dividing-hair)

NAVI'A-^{g} one's own tabooed kill (probably contains refl. *na-*; only comp.):

navi'a-t·ïq·a- to eat one's own tabooed kill: *navι''*^{a}*-t·ïq·a-i*ʿ (boy) infringes taboo of not eating what he has killed himself; *qam·ï'-n·avι'*^{a}*-t·ïq·a-i*ʿ (boy) eats jack-rabbits that he has killed himself, *qam·ï-n·avι''*^{a}*-t·ïq·a-γw'ai-vä*ʿ (I) shall go and eat jack-rabbits killed by (my)self (478, 3)

-NAVITCI- (*na-* probably recipr., *-vitci-* = *pitcï-* to arrive?; used as second element of comp. intr. vb. to indicate plurality):

qatcu-n·avitci- several are tired out (cf. sing. *qatcu-t·ïq·aŋ'wi-*)

patcaq·wi-navitci- several get wet (cf. sing. *patcaq·wi-*) (388, 12)

tuγwi-navitci- fires go out (cf. sing. *tuγwi-*) (383, 2)

NAVO·'VI-^{s} spotted:

navo·'vi-γa- to be spotted: *navo·'v*^{w}*i-χ̯a-i*ʿ (it) is spotted; *pa'γι-na(·)vo·''v*^{w}*i-χ̯a-mi-mpï* wont to be cloud-spotted (Song 110)

-N·A·γI-^{g} in, into (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 17)

-n·a·γi-t·ï-(ptc.) being in

-n·a·γi-t·uγwa- moving into

-n·a·γi-t·u-ma-naŋqwa- from inside of

-n·a·γi-yu- acting in

NAQ·WITCU- worm: comp. *tιv^{w}ι′-nA^{x}qwιtcu-ts·* earthworm

NAQ·WOA- to look for a track (*na-^{g}* probably identical with *na-^{n}*, q. v.):

naq·woa-ŋu- mom.: *NA^{x}qwɔ′a-ŋu-p·ïγa‘* looked for a track (450, 33)

iter: *nana′q·oa-ŋU-pïγa‘* tracked around (450, 32)

NAγA-^{s} mountain-sheep: *na(·)x·A* mountain-sheep; plur. *na(·)γa′-mï*; also *na(·)γa′-ŋWï*, obj. *na(·)γa(·)′-ŋwį‘* (426, 19)

naγa-ŋwï, plur., mountain-sheep (lit.): *na(·)χa′-ŋWï* Orion's belt

naγa-tsi- mountain-sheep: *na(·)γa′-ts·* mountain-sheep; plur. *na(·)-γa′-tsι-ŋWï*

naγa- in comp. n.: *na(·)γa′-ru(w)a-ts·*, *na(·)xa′-ru(w)a-ts·* mountain-sheep-son, young mountain-sheep (426, 25); *na(·)γa′-x·um·a(i)-ya-ŋA* mountain-sheep-buck (obj.) he (356, 7); *na(·)γa′-c·am′αp·ï* mountain-sheep-robe; *na(·)χa′-uv^{w}ιaφI* mountain-sheep song (one of the four types of mourning song); *na(·^{a})χa′-nampA* mountain-sheep-foot (personal name of male)

NAγA·-, NAγA- to put on, wear (clothing) (*na-* probably reflexive):

naγa·- to put on: *naγa·′(i)-yï-aq·A* puts it on

naγa-q·ai- res., to wear: *naγa′-q·ai-(y)aq·A* to wear it

in comp. vb.: *naxa·′^{a}-ŋ′wįnι-ŋqï* stand wearing (my skunk-blanket) for (me) (452, 6); *na(·)χa·′(^{u})-ŋwįnï-χai-(y)aq̇·a-mï* while they two stood wearing it (452, 10)

NAγAM·I- to be sick: *na(·)χa′m·ι-yï-nI* I am sick

naγam·i-q·a- plur.: *na(·)χa′mI‘-k̫a-i‘* many are sick

naγam·i-ŋu- mom.: *na(·)χa′m·ι-ŋu-p·ïγa‘* got sick (462, 13)

nan·aγa’mi- iter.: *nan·a′xa’mi‘* is sick several times

NAγARÏ-ŋQÏ- to dodge (probably < refl. *na-* + *qarï-* to sit): *nį’ na(·^{a})-γa′rι-ŋqï* I dodge

nanaγarï-ŋqï- distr., recipr.: *nį′m(W)I nana′χarι-ŋq̇ï-mï* we two (excl.) dodge each other; plur. *ta′ŋWA nana′χarι-ŋqï-q·A* we dodge each other

naγat·ï-ŋqï- mom.: *na(·)γa′t·ι-ŋqï* to dodge once (as when startled); *na(·^{a})γa′t·ιŋqï-p·ïγa‘* dodged suddenly (312, 10)

nanaq·at·ï-ŋqï- iter.: *nana′q·Atι-ŋqï-ι‘* dodges several times; *nana′q·A-tι-ŋqï-pïγa‘* (*na′q·Atι-*) dodged several times (371, 12)

naγarï-ŋqï-vi- ag.: *na(·^{a})γa′rι-ŋqï-φI* dodger

-’NA·γI- to seize:

only with instr. prefix: *ma-’na·’γι-p·ïγa‘* grabbed hold of, picked up and took away (396, 39)

NARÏγWI·N·A- great power: *narïγwι·’n·α-nI* my great power

narïγwi·n·a-p·ï- possessed of great power: *narïγwi·’nA-pu ’uŋwaru’’*^{a} he is powerful; *narï’γwi·nA‘-pï-ŋw a’ru’a(i)-YÏ* are possessed of great power (418, 33)

comp.: *nιŋwï’-narïγwι·n·αp·ï* person-powered, person provided with unusual strength

NARÏYA-^{s} cleft, between, middle (used generally with postp.; *na-* probably recipr.): *tana’c·ιχa(i)ya·ŋA narï’ya-va·ntux·WA* to between his hoofs (404, 11); *qa(·)ni’‘ maa(·)’vï na(·*^{a}*)rï’(i)ya-va‘* house (obj.) tree (obj.) between-at, between house and tree; *na(·*^{a}*)rï’(i)ya-va·-nïmI* between us (excl.)

comp. (Gram., § 50, 4, 21): *qanι’-n·arïa-va‘* house-between-at, between two houses; *pu’ι’-n·arïya-va·-nI* between my eyes; *tïv*^{w}*ιp·ï-narï’ya-va‘* land-middle-at, in the middle of the land (Song 113); *pu’ι’-narïya-p·a-ŋA* between his eyes; *taŋwa’-n·arïya-χï-aŋA* between his (two) teeth; *am·ï’-n·arï(i)yαx·I* between them (he lay) (462, 32); *yï’u’-narïya-χï-aŋA* between his legs; *pi-na’rï(i)yα-nI* buttocks-between-my, my crotch; *pi-na’rïya-γï(y)-aŋA* between his legs (396, 16); *taŋwa’-n·arïya-na-ŋA* on between his teeth

distr., comp.: *qanι’-n·anarïa-va‘* (outside) among the houses

-NAS·IγA-^{s} split, crack (only as second member of compound): *pi-na’s·i-χα-nI* my buttocks-cleft, my crotch, where my legs meet; *qU‘tcu’-nta-n·as·ιγa-ŋwïx·ï* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulvaed, having a vulva cleft like a buffalo-hoof

-nas·iγa-vi- abs.: *ta-n·a’s·ιγa-φI* split in a hoof, clefts between the toes

with post.: *pi-nä’s·ιχa-va·-nI* between my legs; *pi-nä’s·ιχa-va·(i)-yu-nI* moving between my legs; *pi-nä’s·ιχa-vaa(i)-yu-a(·)ŋ’a-m·u-φï* between their own legs they 2 . . . them (436, 3); *pi-na’c·ιγa-x·Upa·-φï* through the upper part of his legs (396, 32)

NAC·ÏMÏA- to forget: *NA‘cï’m*^{w}*ï‘* to forget (314, 4); *NA‘cï’m*^{w}*a·*^{a}*-ntca-A*^{x}*qa-nI* I forgot it

plur.: *NA‘cï’m*^{w}*ïa-q·A* several forget

usit.: *NA‘cï’m*^{w}*ïa-mι(y)a-q·A* to keep forgetting it

NARÏVIA- always, customarily (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

NARɔ’ɔ-^{n} clothes (cf. *naro·’a-* to have on): *na(·)rɔ’’ɔ-nI* my clothes

narɔ’ɔ-ŋqai- to have clothes: *nï’ na(·)rɔ’’ɔ-ŋq(w)a‘* I have clothes;

tümp^{w}*ι'-n·arɔ'-ŋq(w)a-nt aŋᴀ* stone-clothes-having he, the stone-clothes-haver, Iron-Clothes (mythical person) (396, 10)

narɔ'ɔ-ntu- to make clothes: *na(·)rɔ''ɔ-ntu-ιʻ* makes clothes; ptc. *na(·)rɔ''ɔ-ntɔ-ʀï* clothes-maker, tailor

tca·-narɔ'ɔ-ntu-q·a- several cause skin to be clothing: *tca·'-narɔ'ɔ-nt̓ɔ-q·(w)a-iʻ* (they) have skin put on themselves (327, 4)

narɔ'ɔ-mpi(?)- what is worn: *na(·)rɔ''ɔ-mpɪ(-mpï?)* what is worn underneath, underwear

NARO·'A- to have on (*na-* probably recipr.; *-ro·'a-* perhaps contains suffixed *-'a-*):

naro·'a-ŋu- mom.: *na(·)ro·''a-ŋᴜ-pïγaʻ* had (skin) on (328, 10)

NARO·'ŊWA- to barter (contains recipr. *na-*): *naro·''ŋwa(i)-ʏï* buys

naro·'ŋwa-ŋu- mom.: *naro·''ŋwa-ŋᴜ* to sell

-NAUA- to play shinny:

nanaua-p·ï- distr. pas. ptc.: *nana'ua-p·ï* shinny game

-NAUQ·WA- distributed among, throughout (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 22)

NAYAVA-, NAYA'P·A·- to seem, to look like (probably contains refl. *na-*):

nayava- to seem: *qυ(·)'nan̨·ι naya'va-iʻ* looks like fire (377, 6)

nayava-q·ai- res.: *na(·)ya'φᴀ*^{x}*-qaʻ* to look like; *a(·)'υιtcïm·ïn·ια'*^{a}*mï naya'φᴀ*^{x}*-qaʻ* they 2 look as though lying down (454, 1); *naya'φᴀ*^{x}*-qai-p·ïγaʻ* looked, seemed (396, 17), *na(·)ya'φᴀ*^{x}*-qai-p·ïγaʻ* looked like

naya'p·a·-ŋu- mom.: *na(i)ya'p̓·a·*^{a}*-ŋ*^{x}*ᴜ-pïγaʻ* became like, turned into (315, 10), *na(·)ya'p̓·a·-ŋ*^{x}*ᴜ-pïγaʻ* (it) looked, seemed like (310, 13); *o·'p̓·a'acųnι na(·)ya'p̓·a·*^{a}*-ŋᴜ-pïγaʻ* (she) appeared just like before (327, 1)

naya'p·a·-ŋu-t̓·ui- caus. mom.: *ų'nιcunια·ŋᴀ naya'p̓·a·-ŋ*^{x}*ᴜ-t̓ui-p·ïγaʻ* made her become just as before (365, 7); *naya'p̓·a·-ŋqï-t̓u'ι-p·ïγaʻ* caused (them) to appear (*-ŋqï-* misheard for *-ŋᴜ-?*) (468, 29)

-N·I- (enc. pers. pron.): I; me; my (Gram., § 40)

-NI-^{g} away from (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 24); occurs only compounded:

-ni-t·uγwa- moving away from

-N·IA- (mod. enc.) like, as though, perhaps (Gram., § 19, 2, d)

NIA- to call by name (cf. *nia·-* name): *nι(y)α'-nɪ* call me; *nι(y)a∸'*^{a}*ŋᴀ* call him; *nι(y)a'-nïm(ᴡ)ɪ* call us; *nι(y)a'-q·ai-(y)aŋᴀ* (I) called him

ninia- iter.: *nį' nιnι'a(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* I call him several times

-N'NIA- mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, d, end)

NIA·-^{s} name (cf. *nia-* to call by name): *nι(y)a·'-nɪ, nια·'-nɪ* my name; *nι(y)a∸'(a)ŋᴀ* his name; *nι(y)a·'-nïm(ᴡ)ɪ* our name; *cįna'ŋwaυι ni(y)a·'*^{a}*-vaʻ* Coyote's name-at, with Coyote's name (327, 9) *nia·-vi-* abs.: *nι(y)a·'-ϕɪ* name

nia·-γai- to have a name: *ni(y)a·'*^{a}*-χai-va*ʿ about to be called, have as name (337, 10); *n·ι'a-γai-vä-tcï* called, always having as name (400, 37); *qava·(a) n·i'a-xa*ʿ (= *qava a· n·i'a-*) to be called a horse; *wïγïmp a· n·ia·'-χai-va·-ntï* vulva thus will-(be-) name-having, will be called vulva (357, 3)

NIA·- relation (identical with *nia·-* name?; cf. also *in·ia-*): plur. *nį(·)'ą·-ŋwï-a÷ŋᴀ* his (obj.) relations (460, 28)

NIA·VI-^{n} chief (cf. probably *nia-* to call upon): *nιa·'ϕɪ* "captain," *nι(y)a·'ϕɪ* chief, war-leader; *nιa·'vι-ŋ'wa÷m· aŋᴀ* their chief (371, 4); *qan·ι'aγantï nιa·'*^{a}*vι-ŋ'ᴡᴀ* chief of the village; *nιa·'*^{a}*vι-ŋ'wa-raŋᴡᴀ* our (excl.) chief; *waa'-n·ι(y)a·vι-ŋw amï* the two chiefs (370, 7)

-nia·vi- in comp. n.: distr. *na(·)γuq·wι-n·ιn·i'a·vι-ŋᴡï* fight-chiefs, battle chiefs (440, 26)

nia·vi- in comp. vb.: *nιa·'*^{a}*vι-ntï*ʿ*qaŋ'ᴡɪ* to become a chief; *nιa·'vι-ampaγa-i*ʿ chief-talks, talks in council; *nιa·'vι-ŋwaiχ̯a-p·ï* chief-deliberating, council

-NI'I-^{s} to touch (cf. *ma-'niγi-?*):

with instr. pref.: *ma-ni''i-vuru-tsι* going around touching, touching from place to place (Song 113)

NIŊWÏARÏ'I-^{s} to round up: *nιŋwï'arï'*^{i} to round up game; *nιŋwï'arï'i-γu-ᴀ*ʿ*qa-'mï* as they (inv.) were rounding it up (432, 20)

-NIVU-γI- to nibble at: *qï-ni'vu-χ(w)ι-y'ï-q·ᴡᴀ* gnaws it (inv.), nibbles at it; plur. *qï-ni'vu-χ(w)ι-t·ï-yï-'q·ᴡᴀ* nibbles at many things

-nip·u-γi- to gnaw: *qï-nι'p·u-χ(w)ι*ʿ (mouse) gnaws

NIγI- negro (< Eng. *nigger*): *to·'-niχ̯ι* black nigger (Song 161)

-'NIγI-, -'NIK·I- to stick, be stuck in:

-'niγi-q·ai- res.: *tsι-'nι'x·ɪ-ḵa*ʿ to be stuck in, stick (intr.)

tsi-'nik·i- to stick with a point: *tcι-'nι'k·*^{x}*-pïγa*ʿ (he) stuck (385, 9), *na(·)ru'q·ᴡᴀ tsï-'nι'k·ɪ-pïγa*ʿ under herself (she) stuck (356, 10), *tsι-'nι'k·ι-n·ι*ʿ seems to be stuck in; with incor. obj., *mυ(·)v*^{w}*ι'-tsι-'nιk·ɪ* stick nose in the water

ma-'nik·i- to stick one's hand in: *ma-'nι'k·ɪ* to stick one's hand in (water); with incor. obj., *cιtcu'-'manιk·ɪ-pïγa*ʿ stuck in (her) claws (309, 14)

ta-'nik·i- to stick one's foot in: *nι' ta-'nι'k·ɪ pa·'*^{a}*'γaϕᴀ* I stick (my) foot in water; with incor. loc., *pa-ra'-n'nιγι-tcɪ* person of Corn Creek band of Paiutes (in Paranigut valley), "person who sticks his feet in the water," plur. *pa(·)-rα'-n'ιγι-tsι-ŋᴡï* Paiutes of Paranigut Valley

NI'YU-γA- to move (dur. intr.): *nį' nι'yu'-χ(w)a-i'* I am moving, *ιmp̓ ųnι'ķ·A nu'yu'-xa-xa'* what does moving? what moves?

NÏ-ⁿ person (cf. *nïŋwï-*):

comp. n.: *nį-ŋqa'n·ι-φI* somebody else's house

nï- incor.: *nï-cï'tcaŋwa'ι-χ̧a'* teasing a person; *nï-ntua-ŋqï-* to give birth to (see *tua-*); *NÏ'-cι'm·ʷį'* to let a person go

NÏ', NÏ- I (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

NÏA-ˢ wind blows: *nïa'(i)-'yι-q·WA* it (inv.) is blowing, *nïa'-va·n·ι'a-q·WA* it (inv.) will blow; *pïŋqa'-nïa-i'* keeps blowing

nïa-rï- ptc.: *nïa'-RÏ* blowing, wind; incor. *nïa'rï-ntI'qaŋ'WI-pïγa'* turned into wind (330, 5); *turu'(n)'-nïαRÏ* whirlwind

nïa-ᵍ comp.: *nïa'-t·aip·ï* (*nïa'-t·avιp·ï*) Wind-spotted, man's name (Song 184)

NÏM·I- we (excl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

nïm·ia- us (excl.) (obj.; ibid.)

-NÏM·I- (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *nïm·i-*) we (excl.); us (excl.); our (excl.) (Gram., § 40)

NÏN·IA- me, my (indep. pers. pron., obj.; Gram., § 39)

NÏNTCÏ-ˢ to shake:

nïntcï-γa- dur. intr.: *nįntcï'-χa-i'* (it) shakes, *nïntcι'-γa-i'*; fut. *nïntcï'-xa-va·n·ι'*; neg. *qa'tcU nïntcι'-x·A-pï'a'ᵃ* (he) did not shake

nïntcï-γa-q·u- dur. inc.: *nïntcï'-γa-q·U* begin to shake, *nïntcï'-x·A-qυ(·)-ntsιk·A* (it) is just about to shake

nïn·ïntcï-γa- inc. intr.: *nïn·ï'ntcïx·A* to start in shaking

nïn'ïntcï-q·i- iter. intr.: *nïn'ï'ntcï-q(ε)ι'* (it) shakes several times

nïntcï-t̓·cu- to shake (intr.): *nïntcι'-t̓·cu-ι'* shakes, *qatc·U nïntcι'-t̓·cï-p·ïá'ᵃ* did not shake at all (410, 25); inc. *nïntcï'-tcu-q·U-pïγa'* started to shake (468, 27)

-nïntcï-γi- dur., with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-nï'ntcι-xι-y'ï-q·WA* (he) shakes it (inv.); *ta(·)-n·ï'ntcï-χi'* keeps on shaking with the feet, fut. *ta(·)-n·ï'ntcï-χι-va·n·ι'*

-nïntcï-q·i-ŋqï- mom., with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-n·ï'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the hand; *ta(·)-nį'ntcI-qi-ŋqï-pïγai(y)-aq·A* shook it by trampling once (462, 3); *ta(·)-n·ï'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with an object thrown; *tsι-nï'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the end of a stick; *qï-n·ï'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the teeth; *mo-n·u'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the nose, muzzle (of a horse, dog); *tɔ-n·ɔ'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the fist; *pi-n·ï'ntcï-ki-ŋqï* to shake with the buttocks

NÏŊWÏ-ˢ person, Indian: *nįŋWï* person

nïŋwï-ntsi- person, Indian: *nιŋwï'-nts·* person; plur. *nιŋwï'-ntsι-ŋWï,* *nįŋwï'-ntsι-ŋWï* persons, Indians (472, 23); incor. *nιŋwï'ntsi-vįnι-ŋwa'*^{a} not see a person (352, 8)

-nïŋwï- in comp. n.: plur. *yu·'t·ą·-nįŋwï-ŋwį'* (obj.) Ute people (474, 12); *tu'ya-nιŋwï* mountain person (Song 154)

nïŋwï- in comp. n.: *nιŋwï'-ru(w)a-ts·* person-child, little human being

nïŋwï- people, others (with postp.): *nιŋwυ˗'ït·uγwa'a-mï* before the others (440, 30); *nιŋwï'-rïraxwɔ̀p·a'* right among the people (374, 1); *nιŋwï'-RUqwat·uγwa-ŋu-ntca-nI* I-persons-under-went, I lost, *nιŋwï'-RUqwat·uγwa-q·a-va·n·ιa-raŋWA* we (incl.) -shall-all-persons-under-go, we shall be beaten (408, 21); *nιŋwï'-xa·*^{a}*va-t·ï-m·*^{w}*ï-nI* I (am) the greatest one, *nιŋwï'-xa·*^{a}*va-t·ïm·*^{w} *αŋA* he (is) the greatest one

nïŋwï- incor.: *nιŋwï'-Rïqaŋ'WI* to become a man; *nįŋwų'-m·arιn·α-φI* person-chaser, sp. of lizard ("mountain boomer"?; resembles *Gerrhonatus nobilis*); *nιŋwï'-nɔ·*^{ɔ}*-φI* person-carrier, mythical bird that carries people away in his talons; *qa(·)tcU nιŋwu'-mai-p·ïa'*^{a} did not find a person (352, 4); *nιŋwï'-m·a'ŋwï-ntca˗ŋa-nI* I have made him a person again; *nιŋwu'-φUcaγai'ι-χ̯wa'*^{a} go look for a person (351, 3)

nïŋwï-γai- to be a person: *nιŋwï'-χa·i-vä-tcï* wont to be a person, *nιŋwï'-χai-YU* being a person, like a person (313, 7)

nïŋwu-ru- to make a person: *nιŋwu'-ru-v*^{w}*a·*^{a}*nι'* will make a man

nïŋwï-'a- people of: *nιŋwï'-'a(i)-ya˗q·A* people (obj.) of it (396, 12); *nįŋwï'-a-χa-ntï'* being (obj.)-people-of, inhabitants (468, 29)

NÏŊWÏ-^{n} liver:

nïŋwï-mpi- abs.: *nιŋwu'-mpI* liver, *nιŋwu-mp a'Rï* the liver (311, 11), *nιŋwu'-mpι'* (obj.) liver (311, 3)

NÏŊWÏA·-^{s} body (cf. *nïŋwï-* person): *nïŋwï'a·-nI* my body, *nįŋwï'a˗ŋ aRï* his body-parts (456, 34)

nïŋwï'a-ya- obj.: *nιŋwï'ȧ(i)-ya˗ŋA* all parts of his body (404, 10), *nιŋwï''a(i)-ya(·)-φï* his own body (316, 2)

nïŋwïa·-vi- abs.: *nïŋwï'a·-φI* body

nïŋwïa·-γai- to have a body: *nιŋwï'aa-xai-ḵ·ai-na˗ŋA* her having had as body, what had been her body (365, 7)

NÏVA-^{s} snow

nïva-vi- abs.: *nïv*^{w}*a'-φI* snow

nïva-γa-ntï- having snow: *nιva'-γa-ntI* snowy-mountain, name of mt. in Nevada; *nιva'-γantι-tsι-ŋWï* people of Snowy-mountain

nïva-γarï-rï- snow-sitting, mountain-peak covered with snow: *nïv*^{w}*a'-xarï-Rï, nïv*^{w}*α'-xarï-Rï* Pine Valley mt. (north of St.

George, in Washington Co., Utah); big mountain northeast of Flagstaff always covered with snow

nïva- in comp. n.: *nïva′-rαmpoq̓·(w)ι-ts·* chickadee (?)

nïva- incor.: *nïv*^{w}*a(·)′-’uŋwa(i)-’yι-q·WA* it (inv.) is snowing, *nïv*^{w}*a(·)′-’uŋwa-va·n·ι’a-q·WA* it (inv.) will snow, *nïv*^{w}*a·′ŋwa-p·ïγa‘* (it) snowed (330, 9), *nïv*^{w}*a(·)′-’*^{u}*ŋwa-t́·u’ι-k̯·a(·*^{a}*)-va·*^{a}*-raŋWA* let us (incl.) cause snow to fall (330, 7); *nïv*^{w}*a′-RA‘tɔn’NI‘-tï’a-ŋWA* his (inv.) place of shaking the snow off the feet; *nïv*^{w}*a(·)′-χorona* carry snow on (its) head (Song 139); *nïva′-vauɪ‘-k̯a-mι-mpa‘* snow-rivulets shall be always flowing (from it) (Song 185); *nïv*^{w}*a′-t·a(·)-maγa·-p·ïγa‘* went out to test depth of snow with the feet (330, 10)

-NÏRU- to make a rasping noise:

wï-nïru-γi- dur. with instr. pref.: *wį-nι′ru-x(w)ι‘* makes the noise of rasping by playing the notched rasp

NƆ·-^{s}, ^{g} to carry on one's back, to "pack": *nɔ·′-i‘* carries on (his) back, *nɔ·′-va‘* shall carry off (311, 5), *nɔ·′-p·ïγa‘* carried on (his) back (312, 14; 316, 11), *nɔ·′-q·a(i)-ya-nɪ* do ye carry me., ***nɔ·′-na-nɪ*** my pack

nɔ·-γi- to come to pack: *nɔ·′-χ(w)ι-aŋA* come to pack him, *nɔ·′-γ(w)ι-nɪ* come to pack me (456, 26)

nɔ·-q·i- to come packing: *nɔ·′-q·(w)ι-aŋA* come packing him

nɔ·-n’ni- cont.: ptc. *nɔ·′-n’ni-ntcι-aŋA* carrying him around (402, 21)

nɔ·-m’mia- to carry along: *nɔ·′-m’mιa-p·ïγai-aŋA* he carried along (404, 25)

nɔ·-ŋqï- to carry for: *nɔ·′-ŋqï-ya·*^{a}*q·a-nɪ* he packs it for me

nɔn·ɔ·- iter.: *nɔ(·*^{ɔ}*)nɔ·′(i)-yï-aq·a-nɪ* I pack them (inan.) repeatedly

nɔ’ɔ-q·u- inc.: *nɔ’ɔ′-q·*^{x}*U-pïγa’ai-k·WA* (he) started to pack them (inan. inv.) (313, 1)

nɔ·-vi- ag.: *nɔ·′*^{ɔ}*-φɪ* packer; *nιŋwï′-nɔ·*^{ɔ}*φɪ*, *nį̈ŋwï′-n·ɔ·*^{ɔ}*φɪ* man-carrier, mythical bird that carries away people in his talons (468, 1)

nɔ·-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *nɔ·′*^{ɔ}*-p·ï* something packed

nɔ·-^{g} in comp. n.: *nɔ·′-q·ava‘* pack-horse; *nɔ·′-s·ari·*^{i}*ts·* pack-dog; *nɔ·′-uru’a‘* tump-line

nɔ·-^{g} in comp. vb.: *nɔ·′*^{ɔ}*-p·aγ(a)i‘* carries from place to place; *nɔ·′*^{u}*-p·a(i)yι-k·w’ai-p·ïγa‘* went back carrying on (his) back (432, 27), *nɔ·′-p·a(i)yι-k·ɪ-pïγa‘* came home carrying (446, 8)

-nɔ·-γw’ai- to go to carry, with incor. obj.: *pa·*^{a}*-nɔ·′*^{ɔ}*-γw’ai-t́·ui-p·ïγa’ai-ŋWA* caused him (inv.) to go to pack water (in a water-

jar) (336, 12); *qᴜ*^{x}*qwa'-n·ɔ·*^{ɔ}*-xw'ai-yï-nɪ* I go to carry wood, *qᴜ*^{x}*qwa'-n·ɔ·*^{ɔ}*-χw'ai-t̓·ui-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* caused her to go for wood (456, 11)

-NƆARU- to jump at in order to hold down:

ma-n·ɔaru- with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-n·ɔ'aru-p·ïγaʽ* jumped to hold (him) down (366, 9), *ma(·)-n·ɔ'aru-aŋᴀ* to reach down, jump to hold him down, *ma(·)-n·ɔ'aru-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* jumped at him to hold him down (366, 9)

ma-n·ɔaru-q·ai- res.: *ma(·)-n·ɔ'aru-q·(w)ai-aŋᴀ* to hold him down, *ma(·)-n·ɔ'aru-q·(w)ai-'mï* to hold them two down

NƆN·ƆC·I-^{s} to dream: *nɔ̨(·)nɔ'c·ι-va·n·ιʽ* will dream, *nɔ̨(·)nɔ'c·ι-yα-nɪ* ye 2 dream of me!, *nɔ̨(·)nɔ'c·ι-va·-n·a-nɪ* what I shall dream, *nɔ̨(·)nɔ'c·ɪ-k̭ai-na-nɪ* what I dreamt

nɔn·ɔc·i-q·a- plur.: *nɔ̨(·)nɔ'c·ι-k̭·a-iʽ* several dream

ptc.: *nɔnɔ'c·ι-tcï* dreaming; neg. *qa nɔnɔ'c·ι-ŋwai'-t·ï* not dreaming

nɔn·ɔc·i-p·i- what is dreamt: *nɔ(·)n·ɔ'c·ι-p·ɪ* dreams

'at·ï-nɔn·ɔc·i- to dream well: neg. ag. *qatc (a)'a't·ï-nɔnɔc·ι-vι-'ap·ᴀ* not a good dreamer; neg. ger. *qatc (a)'a't·ï-nɔnɔc·*^{i}*-tsι-'-ap·ᴀ* not dreaming well

usit.: *nɔ(·)n·ɔ's·ι-ni·-n·ïmpï-'q·wa(·)-n·* I have always been dreaming it (inv.) (Song 147)

NƆNTSI-^{s} to fly: *nɔntsι'ʽ* flies, *nɔntsï'-va·-ts·* being about to fly (379, 8)

nɔntsi-q·a- plur.: *nɔntsι'-k·a-mιa-iʽ* several fly along, *nɔntsι'-k·a-mιa-γaʽ* as (they) flew along (370, 6)

nɔntsi-q·u- inc.: *nɔntsι'-k·ᴜ-pïγaʽ* flew up (379, 3), *nɔntsι'-k·ᴜ* to fly off (after lighting)

nɔ'nɔntsi-q·u- iter. inc.: *nɔ'nɔ'nts·-qw-iʽ* flies several flights

nɔntsi-n'ni- cont.: *nɔ(·)ntsι'-n'nιʽ* flies around, *qatcᴜ nɔ̨(·)ntsï'-n'ι-va·-ŋwa'* shall not be flying around (372, 7), *nɔntsι'-n'i-vä-tcï* always flying around (378, 9)

nɔntsi-γw'ai- to go flying: *nɔntsι'-χw'aiʽ* flies away, *nɔntsï'-γw'ai-p·ïγaʽ* went and flew (379, 4)

nɔntsi-γi- to come flying: *nɔ(·)ntsι'-χ̭iʽ* comes flying

in comp. vb.: *nɔntsï'-vuru-p·ïγaʽ* flew about from place to place (372, 12); *nɔtsι'-m'ᴍᴀʽqïŋ'ᴡᴀ* to try to fly (379, 9), *nɔntsι'-m'ᴍᴀʽ-qïŋwa-ntca÷ŋᴀ* he tried to fly

NƆVI- to put bark over:

nɔvi-q·a- plur.: *nɔ(·)vι'-k̭·a÷q·ᴀ* all put the bark on (462, 8), *nɔ(·)vι'-k̭·a(u)-x·ᴜ* while (they) covered with bark (462, 10)

nɔvi-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *nɔv*^{w}*i'-p·ï* bark covering; *ᴡɪʽtɔ'q·ɔ-nɔvip·ï* wind-protecting bark-cover, windbreak used when traveling

NƆQ·ƆM·I-, NƆQ·ƆM'MI- to bend (intr.), to be bent: dur. *NƆ^{x}qɔ'm·ιʿ* bends slowly; *NƆ^{x}qɔ'm'MIʿ-k̯α-ntï* bent

nɔq·ɔm'ma·- mom. intr.: *NƆ^{x}qɔ'm'maʿ* to bend quickly, give a bend

nɔq·ɔm'mi-q·u- inc. intr.: *NƆ^{x}q(^{w})ɔ'm'mι-k·U* to begin to bend

nɔq·ɔm'mi-q·ai- res.: *NƆ^{x}q(^{w})ɔ'm'MIʿ-k̯aʿ* to bend (intr.), to have a bend of its own accord

nɔq·ɔm·a·-t̕·ui- caus.: *nï' NƆ^{x}qɔ'm·a·-t̕·ïi-'q·WA* I bend it (inv.)

nɔq·ɔm'mi-tsi-γai- to be bent, dim.: *NƆ^{x}q(w)ɔ'm'mι-tsι-γ̯aʿ* to be bent, to have a bend, *NƆ^{x}q(w)ɔ'm'mι-tsι-γ̯ai-yï-aq·A* it is bent; *ava'-n'NƆ^{x}q(w)ɔm'MI-tsι-γ̯a-ntï* shade-bent, bend of canyon (or wash) that is shaded and not easily seen, *ava'-n'NƆ^{x}q(w)ɔm'MI-tsι-γ̯ai-p·ä-ntï-'a-q·WA* being (obj.) at its (inv.) shaded bend (474, 13)

-NƆR'Ɔ- to poke into a hole:

tsi-nɔr'ɔ- to poke with a stick: *tsι-n·ɔ'r'ɔ-iʿ* pokes into a hole with a stick; with incor. obj. *qa·'-tsι-n'nɔrɔ-p·ïγaʿ* poked into a hole with a stick for rats (462, 35)

NƆ·'RUA- to be pregnant: dur. *nɔ·''ɔrua-iʿ* is pregnant, gets pregnant

nɔ·'t·u'a- mom.: *nɔ·''ɔt·u'^{a}* to be pregnant right off, to appear pregnant right off

-NTUA-(RU'A-N·IA-) mod. enc. (see *-rua-ru'a-n·ia-*)

-NTCA- temp. enc. (see *-tca-*)

-NTCUA-(RU'A-N·IA-) mod. enc. (see *-rua-ru'a-n·ia-*)

-NTCU'A- inter. enc. (see *-ru'a-*)

-N·U- (cf. *-a-n·u-*) post. (Gram., § 50, 4, 25) with *tuγwa-*:

tuγwa-n·u- night; *-tuγwa-n·u-m·a-* for . . . night(s); *-tuγwa-n·u-m·a-ntuγwa-* up to . . . night(s)

-N·OA- mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, e)

NO'A- to throw down several: *nu'a'(i)-yï-amï* throws them down one after another, *nu'α'-p·ïγai(y)-amï* threw them down one after another (446, 17)

-'NOA·- (-'NOŊWA·-?): *qwą·'^{a}-'nų(w)aʿ* goal in shinny-game (cf. *qwa·-* to win)

-NOI-^{g} canyon, wash (cf. *oi-^{g}*):

-noi-p·i- canyon, wash: *pa·-no'ip·I* canyon with water running through; *to-n·o'ip·I* wash, gutter

NO'I-Q·AI- several stand (res.; cf. *nu'a-?*): *nu'ι'-k̯·ai-p·ïγaʿ* were standing (456, 25); comp. vb. *pį̈n·ι'-n'uι-k̯·ai-p·ïγaʿ* (they) stood and looked (452, 32)

-NOŊQWA·- to pull out:

tca-noŋqwa·-ŋqï- to pull out several from: *tca-n·o'ŋqwa·-ŋqï-va·n·ιʿ* will pull out many (feathers, hairs) by force

NOQ·I-^{n} to run; to stream, to flow: *NU^{x}q(w)ι′ʻ* runs on, streams (like water)

non·oq·i- iter., distr.: *nọn·u′q·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγaʻ* kept running (464, 12); *nonu′q·wιʻ* streams flow (Song 63)

noq·i-q·u- inc.: *NU^{x}q(w)ι′-k·ᴜ-pïγaʻ* started to flow (402, 29)

noq·i-ŋqw′ai- to run off, along: *NU^{x}q(w)i′-ŋqw′aiʻ* runs off, *NU^{x}q(w)i′-ŋqw′ai-p·ïγaʻ* ran along (353, 12; 464, 9)

noq·i-q·a-γw′ai- plur.: *NU^{x}q(w)i′-k̯·a-χwa′ai-p·ïγaʻ* several ran along

noq·i-ŋki- to come running: *NU^{x}q(w)i′-ŋkiʻ* comes running

noq·i-m′mia- to run along: *NU^{x}q(w)i′-m′mιa-iʻ* runs along, *NU^{x}q(w)ι′-m$^{i'}$(y)a-p·ïγaʻ* ran along (317, 11), *NU^{x}q(w)ι′-m′mιa-n ′u′raʻ* come running towards me; plur. *NU^{x}q(w)i′-k̯·a-m′mιa-iʻ* several run along

noq·i-ntï- ptc.: *paγï′u-va-NUʻq(w)ιntɪ* fish-water-flowing, Fish-stream, Panguitch creek; *pia′ɪʻtcap·ι-nuq·(w)ιntï* oak (sp.)-spring (place name); *cɔ·′vι-nuq·(w)ιntï* cottonwood-stream (place name); *pι(y)a′-NUʻq(w)ιntɪ* mother-stream, big-stream, Sevier river; *parï′ya-NUʻq(w)ιntɪ* elk-stream, Paria river; *qana′-NU^{x}q(w)ι-ts·* willow run, brook bordered by willows (Song 116); *αŋqa′-p·a·-NU^{x}q(w)ιtcι-tcι-ŋᴡï* red-water-flowing-people, Red-stream people

noq·i-mpaγi- to run and walk, comp. vb.: *NU^{x}q(w)ι′-mpaγ(ε)ιʻ* runs and walks by turns; plur. *NU^{x}q(w)i′-p·aγ(ε)ι-k̯·a-iʻ* several run and walk by turns

-noq·i- with incor. n.: distr. *a·p·a-no′noq(w)i·-qai-ŋo·-mpanɪ* tears running down (Song 63)

-noq·i- in comp. n.: *tuŋqu·′-n·uq·(ᴡ)ɪ* man's name

-noq·i- in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)′i-n·uq·(ᴡ)ɪ* to start to go, *pa(·)γ(a)′i-n′NU^{x}q(w)ι-p·ïγaʻ* started off (460, 1), *pa(·)γa′-n$^{y\underline{x}}$q(w)ι-p·ïγaʻ*, *pa(·^{a})γ(ä)′^{i}-n^{y}′NU^{x}q(w)ι-p·ïγaʻ* started to go, walk (308, 8; 311, 7); *pïnι′-ŋwïn·ọ·-n·uq·(w)ι-χ̯w′ai-va′a-ŋᴡᴀ* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9)

-NOγI-TCAI- several assemble (cf. *noq·i-* to stream?): *ampa′ro·-no·χ(w)ι-tcai-γw′ai-ŋᴜ* people assemble together and make a noise (Song 17)

NO·RU-γA- to make the sound of a heavy object dragged on a level surface: *no·′ru-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʻ* (it) sounds like a heavy object being dragged (or pushed) on a smooth, level surface

NOYɔ-γA- to boil (intr.): *noyɔ′-χ(w)a-iʻ* (it) is boiling

qo-noyɔ-γa- to boil (intr.): *qu-nu′yɔ-χ(w)a-iʻ*, *qọ-nɔ′yɔ-χ(w)a-iʻ* (water) is boiling on the fire *pa-γo-noyɔ-γa-t·ui-* caus. with incor. object: *pa(·)-γu′-nuyɔ-x·(*W*)*A*-tui*ʿ heats water

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ʿŋ interj. of disappointment (Gram., § 61, 1)
-ŋUM·I- (enc. pers. pron.) you (plur. obj.); your (plur.) (Gram., § 40); I . . . you (plur. obj.) (Gram., § 41)
-ŋQWA-^{g} direction (Gram., § 50, 4, 16); occurs only compounded:
-ŋqwa-p·a- beyond; *-ŋqw-p·a-tcï-* being beyond; *-ŋqwa-p·a-tcuγwa-* to beyond

ŋw[1]

-ŋWA-^{n} (cf. *-ma-*^{n}) resting on, at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 8)
-ŋwa-ŋqu- (obj.)
-ŋwa-naŋqwa- from, by
-ŋwa-ntï- (ptc.) being at, one of; *-ŋwa-ntï-ŋwa′ai-* with some of
-ŋwa-ntuγwa- on to, from
-’ . . . ŋWA- (enc. pers. pron.) he (inv.); him (inv.); his (inv.) (Gram., § 40)
-ŋWAI-^{n} to hunt:
yïvana-ŋwai- to hunt in the fall: *yïv*^{w}*a′na-ŋwai-mpayι-xa*ʿ while returning from the hunt in the fall; *yïv*^{w}*a′na-ŋwai-mpaŋ·aχa-χa*ʿ as (they) were returning from the hunt in the fall (472, 4)
-ŋWA’AI- together with (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 11)
-ŋwa’-q·u- (obj.)
-ŋWAQ·I- to feel around in a dark place:
ma-ŋwaq·i- to feel around with the hand: *ma-ŋwa′q·ι*ʿ feels around (in the earth or a dark place) with the hand
tsi-ŋwaq·i- to feel around (in the earth) with a point: *tsι-ŋwa′q·ι*ʿ feels around in the ground by stirring with a stick, fut. *tsι-ŋwa′q·ι-va·n·ιa-nι* I shall feel around in the ground by stirring with a stick
-ŋWI-^{g} in, on (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 14)
-ŋwi-t·uγwa- in direction of; *-ŋwi-t·uγwa-ntï-* (ptc.)
-ŋWIC·A-, -ŋWÏC·A- to push, to throw:
tsi-ŋwic·a- to push with a point, to throw with a stick: *tsι-ŋwι′c·’a-*

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[1] Paiute *-ŋw-* goes back to either *w-* or *m-*. Most stems beginning with *-ŋw-* can be found under one or the other of these. A certain number of cases are here listed apart because of my inability to infer from the available material whether they originally began with *w-* or *m-*.

ŋᴡᴀ to throw him (inv.) with a stick, *tsɩ-ŋwɩ′c·ᴀ-pïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* pushed him with a point (410, 22); distr. *tsɩtsɩ′-ŋwɩc·ᴀ* several throw with a stick, *tsɩtsɩ′-ŋᴡɪca-p·ïγa‘* (they) threw (him) with the end of a stick (406, 37)

ma-ŋwic·a-, *ma-ŋwïc·a-* to push with the hand: *ma(·)-ŋwï′c·a-i‘* pushes along; *na(·)m·u′-m·a-ŋwɩc·a-va’a-mɪ* let me push you first; recip. *na-m·a′-ŋᴡɪca-va’a-mï* 2 shall push each other (410, 18)

-ŋwï- (enc. pers. pron.) you (plur. subj.; Gram., § 40)

ɔ

ɔ-^{g} round object

as vb. pref.: Gram., § 21, 16; see *ɔ-p·aq·i-*, *u-p·uq·wi-*

ɔ-ᴘ·ᴀǫ·ɪ-, ɔ-ᴠᴀγɪ- there is a hole (cf. *paq·i-*, *paγi-* to tear):

ɔ-p·aq·i-n·a- being a hole: *ɔ‘pa′q·ɩ-nᴀ* hole, *ɔ‘pa′q·ɩ-na-q·ᴀ* its hole (408, 3)

ɔ-p·aq·i-n·a- in comp. n.: *wïγɔ′-ɔ‘paq·ï-nᴀ* vulva-hole, vagina

ɔ-p·aq·i-tcï- being holed: *ɔ‘pa′q·ɩ-tcï*, *ɔ‘pa′q·(α)i-tcï* hole, *ɔɔ′vï ɔ‘pa′q·(ᵋ)ɩ-tcɩ‘* bone (obj.) with a hole (432, 12), dim. *ɔ‘pa′q·(a)i-tcɩ-tcɩ‘* little opening (obj.) (416, 28)

ɔ-p·aq·i-t́·ui- caus.: *ɔ‘pa′q·ɪ-tu’ɩ-ʏï* makes a hole

ɔ-p·aq·i-p·i- holed: comp. *kᴡɪ‘tɔ′-ɔ‘paq·ï-p·ɪ* buttocks-holed, anus

-ɔ-p·aq·a·-ŋqï- to make a hole (with instr. pref.): *ma(·)′-ɔp·ᴀ^{x}qa·-ŋqï* to make a hole by sticking one’s hand into; *tsï′-ïp·ᴀ^{x}qa·-ŋqï* to puch a hole into

ɔ-vaγi-tcai- several holes are: ptc. *ɔv^{w}a′xɩ-tcai-tcï‘* openings (obj.) (462, 9)

ɔɔ-^{s} bone:

ɔɔ-vï- abs.: *ɔɔ′-φï* bone; comp. *tɔ‘tsi′-ɔɔφï* head-bone, skull

ɔɔ-’a-, *ɔɔ-a-* bone belonging to: *ɔɔ′-ȧ‘* bone, *ɔɔ′-a-nɪ* my bone, *qu(·)ra′(i)ya·ŋ ɔɔ(·)′-a-i‘* his neck’s bone (obj.) (356, 9)

ɔɔ-ru- to make a bone: *ɔɔ′-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nɩ‘* will make a bone

ɔɔ-ʏ’ᴀɪ- to be lean, starved (probably *ɔɔ-y’ai-* to bone-die): *ɔɔ′ï’ai-yï-a(·)ŋᴀ* he is poor, *ɔɔ′ï’ai-p·ïγa‘* was poor, starved (322, 6), *ɔɔ′ï’ai-yï-ro’^{a}* are you poor?

ɔɔ-y’ai-q·a- plur.: *ɔɔ′ï’ai-k̮·a(i)-yï-amï* they are poor

ɔɔ-y’ai-ŋu- mom.: *nï’ ɔɔ′ï’(y)ai-ŋᴜ* I get poor

ɔɔ-ᴍᴘᴀ- fist-fight: *ɔɔ′mpᴀ*, *ǫɔ′mpᴀ* fight, fist-fight, *ɔɔ′mpa-ia-c·a′ik̮·ᴀpïγa‘* (they) said, counseled a fist-fight (438, 33)

ɔ’ɔ-^{n}: *ɔɔ̓′-mp-s·ɩɔ(·^{ɔ})-χ(w)a-i‘* slides down hill sitting on a deer-skin (= *-mpi-s·i’u-γa-* to slide on the buttocks; see *si’u-*)

-ɔA- around (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 26); occurs only compounded: *-ɔa-γi-t·uγwa-* (circling) around; ptc. *-ɔa-γi-t·uγwa-ntï-*

ɔA-^{s} salt:

ɔa-vi- abs.: *ɔa′-φI* salt

ɔa-ru- to make salt: *ɔa′-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nι*' will make salt

ɔa- in comp. n.: *ɔa′-i-t·ümpa(i)YA* (misheard for *ɔa′-ιι-?*) salt canyon-mouth (place name near Kanab)

ɔA-^{s} to spy: '*ɔ(·)a′-i*' spies

ɔa-n'ni- cont.: ptc. '*ɔ(·)a′-n'ni-ntcï* one who spies

ɔa-rï- ptc.: '*ɔ(·)a′-RÏ* spy, obj. '*ɔ(·)′α-rï-a-nI* spying on me (406, 7)

ɔa- in comp. vb.: *ɔα′-vanax·A-p·ïγa*' (they) returned from spying (472, 37)

ɔA-^{g} yellow:

ɔa-q·a- to be yellow: *ɔa′-q·a-RÏ* being yellow, yellow; Yellow (name of Paiute chief)

ɔa- in comp. n.: *ɔa′-'ɔvan'naŋqA* yellow goose; *ɔa′-ŋwιntsι'ts·* yellow bird (yellow warbler?)

-ɔA-^{g},^{n} young of animal:

qam·ï-ɔa-p·ïtsi-, *qam·ï-ɔa-ntsi-* young jack-rabbit: *qam·ï′-ɔap·uts aŋA* the little jack-rabbit (406, 2); plur. *qam·o′-aantsι-ŋwï*' (obj.) young jack-rabbits (448, 28)

ɔA·-^{s} back:

ɔa·-vi- abs.: *ɔa·′-φI* back

ɔa·-ru- to make a back: *ɔa·′-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nι*' will make a back

-ɔa·- in comp. n.: *pI'k̠a′-ɔa·^{a}-χα-ntï* sore-back-having, sore-backed (horse)

-ɔa·-vï- in comp. n.: *qɔ′^{i}'nι-ɔa-φï* corn-back, cob (without corn)

'ɔAI' emphasizing adv. (Gram., § 60, 3)

'ɔAIA-, 'WAIA- it (inan. inv.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 9)

ɔAQ·U- to spill: *ɔa′q·U* to spill (intr.), *ɔa′q·u-yï-aq·A* it is spilling

ɔaq·u-t'ui- caus.: *ɔa′q·^{x}U-t'ui-va-A^{x}qa·ŋA* he will spill it (402, 26)

ɔAγA·- to watch, to wait for (cf. *ɔa-* to spy):

ɔaγa·-q·a- plur.: *ɔa′xa·-q·a-RÏ* several waiting, *ɔa′xa·-q·a-rι-α-nI* several waiting (obj.) for me (408, 2)

ɔaγa·-q·ai- res.: *ɔa′xa·-q·ai'ι-ŋWA* to wait for him (inv.), *ɔa′xa·-q·ai-p·ïγai(y)-aŋA* waited for him (406, 38)

ɔaγa·- in comp. vb.: *ɔa′xa·-q·arï-χai(y)-aŋa-'mï* while they two were sitting watching them (406, 21)

ɔA·RÏP·AIA·- Walapai: *ɔa·′rιp·aia·-tsι-ŋwï* Walapai Indians (said to mean "Yellow-breast people," but this is evidently only folk-etymology; "yellow-breast" would be *ɔa′p·aia·-* or *ɔa′q·arïmpa-ia·-*)

Ɔ'I-TSI- spermophile (?):

ɔ'i-tsi-tsi- abs.: *ɔ'ɔ′itsι-ts·* very small, yellowish, white-striped "chipmunk" (*Tamias dorsalis ? Spermophilus?*)

'ƆI'MI- on one's belly: *^{ɔ}'ɔ′i'mι-n· avι′ʻ* I lie on my belly

Ɔ·NI-C·AMPA- enough! be quiet! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

ƆN·Ɔ-^{g} early, just (adv. pref.):

in vb.: *ɔ(·^{ɔ})nɔ′-t·ᴀʻcιa-ŋqᴜ, ɔ̨(·)nu′-t·ᴀʻcïa-ŋqᴜ* when (it) early-dawns, early in the morning (334, 1; 308, 7); *ɔ(·)nɔ′-t·uγwa-r'ι-ntï* early-night-becoming, early in the night; *ɔ(·)nɔ′-t·a(·)m·a-r'ui-ŋqᴜ* when (it) early-spring-becomes, early in the spring (348, 9); *ɔn·ɔ′-p·ï̹n·i-n'niʻ* has just been looking; *ɔ̨(·)nɔ′-t·ɔvïn'ni-χ̯aʻ* when just waking up (438, 10); *ɔn·ɔ′-p·itcɪ* to have just arrived; *ɔn·ɔ′-c·u(w)a-p·itcɪ* to just wake up, to have just wakened, *ɔn·ɔ′-c·ɔa-p·itcι-χ̯aʻ* while just waking up (432, 9)

in comp. n.: obj. *ɔ(·)nɔ′-t·a(·)va-iʻ* early in the day

Ɔ'NƆQ·I- there is a small path:

ɔ'nɔq·i-tsi-tcï- dim. ptc.: *ɔ(·)'nɔ′q·(wɛ)ι-tcι-tcɪ* small path (not a regular trail); comp. *pa(·)^{γ}-q′'nɔq·(wɛ)i-tcι-tcι-mpaʻ* (= *paï-ɔ'nɔq·i-*) at a smooth path (464, 29)

ƆNTƆ-^{g} reddish brown:

ɔntɔ-q·a- to be reddish-brown: ptc. *ɔntɔ′-q·a-ʀï* reddish brown (as of dead cedar); ptc. dim. *ɔntɔ(·)-qa-rι-tsι* brownish (knoll) (Song 144)

ƆNTCƆΓI-^{s} one-eyed:

ɔntcɔγi-γai- to be one-eyed: ptc. *ʻɔntcɔ′χι-γα-ntï* with one eye lacking

ƆVA- to pull out hair, ƆVI-, ƆVA·- hair comes out:

ɔva- tr.: *ɔva′-iʻ* pulls out (hair), plucks (feathers); plur. *ɔva′-q·a-iʻ* several pull out, pluck, mom. *ɔva′-q·a-ŋu-mpa·-c·ᴜ* (let us) pull (the feathers) out again (372, 14)

ɔva·- intr.: *ɔva′ʻ* hair is coming out, pulls out

ɔvi- intr.: *ɔvi′-va·n·ιʻ* hair will come out; *ɔvι′-ntuα-q·wɔi-ṗ·ι-ŋwï̹ʻ* (jack-rabbit obj.) with its hair come off from dragging along (456, 5)

ƆVAN'NAŊQA- goose: *ɔva′n'nαŋqᴀ* goose; plur. *ɔva′n'naŋqa-ŋwï*

comp. n.: *tɔʻca(·)′-ɔvan'naŋqᴀ* white goose; *tɔ·′-'ɔvan'naŋqᴀ* black goose; *ɔa′-'ɔvan'naŋqᴀ* yellow goose

ƆVI-^{n} wood: *ɔ′ϕɪ* wood

ɔvi-γai-p·ï- former wood: *ɔvι′-χ̯ai-p·ι* dead wood (Song 170) *ɔvi-'ini-γai-* to have a stick: *ɔvi'-'ini-χ̯ai-nɪ* I have a stick

ɔvi-ntu- to make wood: *ɔvɩ'-ntu-v^{w}a·^{a}nɩ*ʿ will make wood

ɔvi- in comp. n.: *ɔvɩ'-ŋk̯anɪ* wooden house; *ɔvɩ'-ŋk̯ava*ʿ wooden horse; *ɔvɩ'-c·ari·ts·* wooden dog; *ɔvɩ'-n·iŋwï* wooden person; *ɔvɩ'-m·ɔ'^{ɔ}* wooden hand; *ɔvɩ'-ntɔts·* wooden head; *ɔvɩ'-ntaŋwɑmpɪ* wooden teeth; *ɔvɩ'-atcï* wooden bow; *ɔvɩ'-mpaγï*ʿ wooden fish; *ɔvi'-ŋqwɩ'(y)-ɑp·ï* wood-fence (personal name); *qon·a'-ɔvɩ-mpuŋqᴜ* fire-log-horse, fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 179)

ɔvi- in derivatives in *-γai-*: *ɔvɩ'-m·'ɔ-χa*ʿ to be wooden-handed; *ɔv^{w}ɩ'-ntɔʿtsɩ-χ̯a*ʿ to be wooden-headed

ɔᴠɪ-^{n} the very . . . : *ɔvɩ'-mpimpin·ara*ʿ*-putsɩ-ŋw ɑŋᴀ* the very last little (boy) of the family (myth word) (452, 32)

ɔǫ·ᴡ'ɪ- to cough: *ɔ^{x}qw'e'-i*ʿ coughs; *ɔ^{x}qw'e'-yï-n·ɩ*ʿ there is a sound like coughing

ɔγɔ-^{n}, ᴀγɔ-^{n} fir:

ɔγɔ-mpï- abs.: *ɔ(·)χɔ'-mpï, öχɔ'-mpï, aγɔ'-mpï* fir

ɔγɔ- in comp. n., ptc.: *aγɔ'-ŋqɔampïts·* fir grouse; *man·a'-'aγu-mpa·ts·* thorn-fir-spring (place name); *ɔγɔ'-c·ɩap·ï* fir-sapling; *ɔγɔ'-ntava'ats·* fir chipmunk; *ɔγɔ'-ŋq(w)arï-rï*ʿ fir-island (obj.) (468, 14), dim. *ɔγɔ'-ŋqarï-tsɩ-tcï*ʿ little fir-knoll (obj.) (474, 22); *ɔγɔ'-ntavac·up·ï* fir-dried, dead dried-up fir tree (334, 7), *ɔγɔ'-ntavac·up· uʀᴜ* the one (inan.) with dried-up firs (422, 12)

ɔγɔ- incor.: *ɔγɔ'-ntun·uq·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγa*ʿ there was a small fir-knoll (474, 5), ptc. *ɔγɔ'-ntɔn·ɔq·(w)ɩ-tcï*ʿ (obj.) little island with firs (468, 2)

ɔγɔ-^{n} bull-snake:

ɔγɔ-mpïtsi- abs.: *ɔγɔ'-mpïts·* bull-snake (general term, apparently, for non-venomous snakes that resemble rattlesnakes but are without rattles)

ɔγɔᴛ·ᴄᴀ'ʏᴀǫ·ɪ-^{s} crested mountain-bluejay: *ɔγɔ't·ca(i)yaq·ï* mountain-bluejay; plur. *ɔγɔ't·ca(i)yaq·ï-ŋwï* bluejays, *ɔχɔ't·ca(i)'yaq·ɩ-ŋw ɑmï* the bluejays (442, 37)

comp. n.: *ɔγɔ't·sa(i)'yaq·ɩ-nɩŋwï-ntsɩ-ŋw ɑmï* the bluejay people (438, 34)

ɔγɔt·ca'yaq·i-γai- to be a bluejay: *ɔγɔ't·sa(i)'yaq·ɩ-χ̯a*ʿ to be a mountain-bluejay

ɔᴄ·ᴀ- water-jar, carrying basket: *ɔ's·ᴀ* water-jar

-ɔc·a- in comp. n.: *aŋqa'-ɔs·ᴀ* red water-jar before gum is put on; *yantɔ'-'ɔc·ᴀ* carrying basket of twined open-work weave, *yantɔ'-'ɔc·ɑ-nɪ* my carrying basket

ƆS·ƆRƆŊWI- to snore: *ɔ'sɔ'rɔŋwį-YÏ* snores; plur. *ɔ'sɔ'rɔŋwι-k̯·a-i'* several snore

ƆRA- to dig: *ɔra'-i'* digs, *ɔra'-p·ïγa'* dug (394, 32); usit. *ɔra'-n·ï-mpïγa'* used to dig (396, 22)

-ɔra- with instr. pref.: *ta(·)-'ɔ'ra-i'* digs a hole with the foot; *tsι-ɔ'ra-i'* digs with the end of a stick

ƆRA·-^{s} pole:

ɔra·-vï- abs.: *ɔra·'^{a}-φï* pole, post

-ɔra·-vï- in comp. n.: *aŋqa'-ɔra·φï* red pole; *tυ·'-'ɔra·φï* black pole; *pa(·)mpï'n·ι-ɔra·φï* bucket-sticks (3 sticks serving as tripod for the support of a bucket suspended by a rope or chain)

ƆRƆŊWI-^{s} to roar, to growl: *ɔrɔ'ŋwį'* roars, growls, fut. *ɔrɔ'ŋwι-va·n·ι'*, *ɔrɔ'ŋwι-mpa·n·ι'*, *'ɔ(·)rɔ(·)'ŋwι-χ̯u'u-ŋWA* as he (inv.) was roaring (332, 7)

ɔrɔŋwi-q·a- plur.: *ɔrɔ'ŋWI-k̯a-i'* many roar

ɔrɔŋwi-ŋu- mom.: *ɔrɔ'ŋwι-ŋU* to give a roar

ɔrɔŋwi-q·u- inc.: *ɔrɔ'ŋwι-k·U* to start roaring, *ɔrɔ'ŋWI-q̇u-v^{w}a·n·ι'* will roar

'ɔrɔ'ŋwi- iter.: *ɔ'ɔ'rɔ'ŋwι'* roars several times

ɔrɔŋwi-mpi- ag.: *ɔrɔ'ŋwι-mpI* grunter (name of horse)

ƆT·CA-^{s} water jar: *ɔ't·cA* water jar (after gum is put on)

ɔt·ca-γai-p·ï-, *ɔt·ca-vï-γai-p·ï-* discarded water jar: *ɔ'tca'-χai-p·ï*, *ɔ'tca'-vï-γai-p·ï* formerly used water jar

ɔt·ca-ru- to make a water jar: *ɔ'tca'-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nι'* will make a water jar

ɔt·ca- in comp. n.: *ɔ'tca'-uRU* strap by which a water jar is carried; *tam·a'-'ɔts·A* spring water-jar (name of month when bear-dance takes place, probably March)

P

-PA-^{s} at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 37)

-va-c·u- in (so and so many) places

-pa-tcï- (ptc.) being at, to, about

-pa-tcuγwa- moving to

-va-tcuq·u- during (of time)

-va-yu- acting at, from; during, through (of time)

-PA·-^{n} at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 38)

-mpa·-ŋqu- (obj.)

-pa·-ntï- (ptc.) being at; *-p·a·-ntï-* (with verbs) about, concerning; *-pa·-ntï-m·a-naŋqwa-* starting from

-pa·-ntuγwa- to, on to; *-p·a·-ntuγwa-* (with verbs) to, during

-pa·-yu- acting at, from

PA·-^{s} water: *pa·ʻ* water, spring

pa·p·a-γai- to have springs (distr.): *pa·′p·a-γa-ntï* (places) having water, springs, obj. *pa·′p·a-γa-ntïʻ* (370, 10)

pa·-vï-tsi- little spring: *pa·′-vï-ts·* little spring (name of spring near Enoch; also personal name)

pa·-vï-a- spring owned: *pa·′*^{a}*-vï-a-nɪ* spring that I own

pa·- in comp. n.: *pa·′-c·arɔγ(ɔ)ι-ts·* water-splasher, swallow; *pa·′-oip·ɪ* canyon with water, creek

pa-^{s} in comp. n.: *pa-rïia-* water-deer, elk (q. v.); *pa(·)-tcu′q·ᴜ* beaver; *pa-γïu-* fish (see *-qïu-*); *pa(·)-rɔ′χɔaφɪ* water-snake; *pᴀʻ-cï′γu′-mιnts·*, *pᴀʻ-cι′χι′mints·* water-lizard (*Phyllodactylus tuberculosus*); *pa∸′(a)*^{i}*c·ιvïts·* water-butterfly, dragonfly; *pa∸′ŋ′ap·ιts·* water-baby, angel (see *ïŋa·′-*); *pa(·)-no′ip·ɪ* canyon with water running through; *pa(·)-χa′n·aφï* drooping willow; *pa(·)-χι′ŋwαφɪ* water-edge, shore; *pa′(a)-u′op·(ᴡ)ɪ* water-berry (see *o′op·i-*), buffalo berry; *pa(i)-yï′v*^{w}*ιmpï* water long-leaved-pine (460, 9), *pa′(i)-yï-v*^{w}*ιmpïʻ* (obj.) (460, 8); *pa-γwι(·)′aφï* water-oak (red oak growing along rivers); *pa-ŋwι(·)′avu-m*^{w}*α-ntïʻ* some (obj.) of the mud at the bottom of the water (420, 27); *pa(·)-n·a′γιγιp·ɪ* water-tightened, spring in a tight place, Iron Springs; *pa-rï′iara-vaʻ* water-desert-at, out in the rain (389, 2); *pa-ru′c·ᴀ* water-white (referring to foaming water in the canyon), Virgin river

pa·- incor.: *pa·′-ts·pι-k̬·ai-nᴀ* water-risen, emerging, Moccasin Spring; *pa·-sa′χwa-vu̜nιk̬·ai-p·ïγai-n·ιʻ* looked as though water-gray (in her eyes) (470, 2); *pa·′-q·arï-rïʻ* water-sitting, lake (obj.) (420, 26)

pa- incor.: *pa-γa′rï-ʀï* water-sitting, lake, *maa(·)′-vaχarïʀï* brush lake (place name), *tυ·′-p·aχarïʀï* black lake (place name); *pa(i)-yυ(·′*^{u}*)χwι-tcï* waters-sitting, lakes, Three Lakes; *pa-ro·′*^{o}*γ(w)a-ntɪ*, *pa(·)-ro·′*^{u}*χ(w)α-ntï* water-fighting, fighting water, Parowan Lake (so named because its water rises on the approach of a person to fight him, drag him in, and drown him); *pa(·)-mï̜′nɪcι-k·w′ai-väʻ* will turn upside down in the water (Song 182); *pᴀʻ-sɔ′rɔrɔi-tcï* waterfall; *pa(·)-rα′-n′ιγι-tsι-ŋᴡï* people who stick their feet in water, Indians of Paranigut Valley (Corn Creek band of Paiutes); *pa-o′ɪ-k̬a-m·ι-mpaʻ* water is flowing down the steep side of a mountain (Song 185); *pa-rïγi-* to water (q. v.); *pa-tcaq·wa·-*, *pa-tcaq·wi-* to be wet, to get wet (q. v.)

-pa·- in comp. n.: *ïv^{w}ï′-p·a·* bad water, whiskey (Song 150); *tɔ‘ca′-p·a‘* white water; *aŋqa′-p·a·-NU^{x}q(w)ι-tcι-tcι-ŋWï* red-water-flowing-people, Red-stream people (band of Paiutes near Cedar City); *cï‘pu′-v^{w}a‘* cold water; *ɔγɔ-ntïrï′na-va‘* fir-butt spring; *qïma′-va·-m·unts·* stranger-water-mountain (Song 185); *sï-va·-rïmbι-ma·haiyo·* from squaw-bush-spring-rock (Song 183); *^{a}’a′t·ü-mpa‘* good water; *w’a′-q·arïrï-mpa‘* cedar-knoll-spring, Yellowstone Spring

-pa·-tsi- dim. in comp. n.: *qatsɔ′a-va·ts·* end of springs (place name); *pavo′’a-va·ts·* Point Spring (Indian pasture about 3 miles east of Moccasin Spring); *tɔnɔ′-va·ts·* greasewood-spring; *cïï′-v^{w}a·ts·* squaw-bush-spring; *tsï’a′mpι-va·ts·* wild-rose-spring, Yellowjacket Spring; *tιŋqa′nι-vä·ts·* cave-spring; *moo′-ntɔ‘tsι-va·ts·* humming-bird-head-spring; *saχwɔ′-vïrïr’^{i}-pa·ts·* blue-hanging-down-spring; *wa’a′-p·a·ts·* cedar-spring; *man·a′-’aγu-mpa·ts·* thorn-fir-spring; *sιu′-mpa·ts·* gravel spring; *tcA^{x}qo′aru-mpa·ts·* wild-geese-spring; *qwι’u′-mpa·-tsι̹-Wï* crown (?)-spring-people (cf. *qwï’yu-^{n}*), Paiute band originally west of Sevier lake; *to·ri·′-mba·-ntsιn* ?-little spring (Song 194)

PA·- altogether (perhaps identical with *paï-^{n}* entirely, q. v.):

as vb. pref.: *pa·′-m·anu-n·ι‘* every single one; *pa·′-tsιŋqoŋqo’^{o}* entirely destroyed (as of wheat-field trampled down by people) (Song 76)

PAA- aunt: *paa′‘* aunt; *paa′-nI* my aunt, *paa′’a-mI* your aunt, *paa(·)′-aŋA* his aunt, *pa(·)ą(·)′’a-ŋWA* his (inv.) aunt (308, 10); obj. *paa′-ia-nI* my aunt, *paa′-i’a-mI* your aunt, *paa′-ia-ramI* aunt of us 2 (incl.) (308, 4), *pa(·)a′-ia-v uŋWA* of his own aunt (308, 8); plur. *paa′-ŋWï* aunts, *paa′-ŋwï-nI* my aunts, obj. *pąa′-ŋwa-a-nI*

paa-vi- abs.: *paa′-ϕI* somebody’s aunt

-PA’A-: *tA‘-pa′’a-p·ï* stockings, socks

PA’A-^{n}, PA’AN·I- high:

pa’a- high: ptc. *pa’a′-ntï* high; *pa’a′(i)-yo-n·ι‘* high up in the air (he went and returned) (404, 12)

pa’an’i- to be high, loud: *pa’a′n·i‘* (it) is high, loud, *pa’a′n·i-yï-aq·A* it is high (in position, pitch)

PA’A-T·ɔγɔ-^{n} long (cf. *pa’a-^{n}* high):

pa’a-t·ɔγɔ-ntï- ptc.: *pa’a′-t·ɔγɔ-nt ’uraro′’^{a}* long it is (446, 21)

pa·p·a’-t·ɔγɔ-ntï- distr.: *pa·′p̓·a-t·ɔγɔ-ntï-m·ï* long ones

pa’a-t·ɔγɔ- in comp. n.: *pa’a′-t·ɔγɔ-m·^{w}ï̹‘* long-month (name of winter month, perhaps December)

PA'A-^{s} animal:

pa'a-vi- abs.: *pa'a'-φɪ* animal (any living thing but man and plants); plur. *pa'a'vi-ŋᴡï*; in comp. n. *nana'x·-qa-ntï-mpa'avɩ-ŋwï'* (obj.) different kinds of animals (400, 4)

-pa'a-tsi-vi- animal: *ma(·)nï'-va·-ntï-p·a'atsɩvɩ-ŋw amï* all future animals (346, 1)

PAI- to call: *pa'(a)i-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he calls me, I call him, *pa'i-y'ï-mɪ* calls, asks for you (353, 3)

pavai- inc.: *pava'(a)i'* called, *pava'i-va-ŋᴀ* will call him (408, 32); *nï̜' pa(·^{a})va'i-yï-aŋᴀ* I commence calling him, tell him to come, *pa(·^{a})va'ɪ-pïγa'* commenced calling (331, 5)

pïŋqa-vai- to keep calling: *pïŋqa'-va(a)i-p·ïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* kept calling it (inv.) (331, 8)

-pai- in comp. vb.: *nï̜' tɪ'qa'-p·ai-yï-aŋᴀ* I call him to eat

PAI- three (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

pai-mac·ïŋwi- 30 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

-VAI-^{g} (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 39); occurs only compounded:

-vai-t·ï- (ptc.) equally to, as . . . as; *-vai-t·ɔγɔ-^{n}* alongside of

-VAIA- (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 40); occurs only compounded:

-vaia-naŋqwa-t·ï- (ptc.) before reaching

PAIYA- (PAIYƆ-) to be many (always neg. in form and with enclitic *-c·u-*): *qatcu'tca·mï pa(a)'iyɔ-ŋwa'a-p·a-c·ᴜ* they have become many (404, 34), *qatcu'raŋᴡᴀ pa(a)'iya-ŋwa'ai-c·ᴜ* we (incl.) are many, *qa'tcᴜ paï̜'·-pïάi-c·ᴜ* were in great number (448, 2); mom. *paï̜'-ŋu-ŋwa'-q·u-c·ᴜ* being in great numbers (448, 17); ptc. plur. *pa(a)'iya-ŋwai'-t·ï-m^{w}ï-c·ᴜ* lots of (them)

-VAIYAU-Q·U- at . . . time (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 41)

PAÏ-^{n} smooth:

paï-ŋqa- to be smooth: ptc. *pa·'-ŋqa-ʀï* smooth; mom. *pa(·)ï'-ŋqa-ŋᴜ* to get smooth

paï- compounded: *paï'-yua·-xa'* to be smooth and level, *pa'ï-yua·-χa-ntï* level desert with no vegetation or only sagebrush, *pa(·)^{γ}-q''nɔq·(wε)·tcɩtcɩ-mpa'* (= *paï-ɔ'nɔq·ɩtcɩ-*) at a smooth path (464, 29); *pa·'-ntᴀ'cɩ^{u}'k·(w)i-ŋqï* to slip on something smooth

PAÏ-^{n} entirely (probably identical with *paï-^{n}* smooth):

in comp. ptc.: *paï'-mpɔ·t·ɔ^{x}q(w)a-ʀï* perfectly spherical; *paï'-ntɔγ(ɔ)^{i}-mᴜ'qunta-ʀï* perfectly straight; *paï'-mpa·n'nɔa-γa-ntï* perfectly hollow (park, valley)

PAÏ-^{g} blood:

paï-p·i- abs.: *paï'-p·ɪ* blood

paï-ŋwa- pos.: *paï′-ŋwᴀ* blood (of one), *paï′-ŋwa-nɪ* my blood, *pa(·)′ï-ŋwa-m· aʀï* their blood (474, 27), *pa·′-ŋwa-ia-φï* her own blood (obj.) (416, 34)

paï- incor.: *pa′·-m·a-ntcaᴀ^{x}-qai-n·a-φï* his own having-blood-hand-taken, his bloody hands (460, 11); *pa′ï-q·wanaŋwa′* blood-? (myth word; 454, 23), *paï′-q·wanaŋ′wa-ntsι-ŋwï* blood-?-people, mythical beings that made a noise to force people to peep and die with blood streaming from their mouths

PAÏQ·A-^{g} ice:

païq·a-p·ï- abs.: *paï′q·a-p·ï* ice

PAÏγI-^{s} hair: *pa′ïx·ɪ* hair of the head; *pa′ïχι-nɪ* my hair

païγi-vi- abs.: *paï′γι-φɪ*, *pa·′χï-φɪ* hair of the head

païγi-a- pos.: *pa·′γï-a-nɪ* my hair (382, 6)

-païγi- in comp. n.: *qava′(u)-xwᴀ‘cι-väïx·ɪ* horse-tail-hair, having a horse-tail in the hair (472, 25)

païγi- incor.: *paï′x·ɪ-sιχwa′ai‘* braids the hair

PAÏC·AγA-^{s} bridge: *pa′ïc·ax·ᴀ* bridge

païc·aγa-ru- to make a bridge: plur. *païc·axa′-ʀᴜ-q(w)a-p·ïγa‘* (they) all made into a bridge (468, 30)

PAMPÏN·I- bucket: *pampï′nɪ*, *pampu′nɪ*, *pa(·)mpï′nɪ* bucket, mud or clay basket without handle; comp. n. *pa(·)mpï′n·ι-ɔra·φï* bucket-stick (one of three for supporting *pampï′nɪ* suspended by rope or chain)

PAN·A-^{g} metal:

pan·a-q·a-rï- being metal: *pa(·)n·a′-q·a-ʀï* metal, iron, money

pan·a-q·a-rï-′ŋwa-γai- to have money: *pa(·)n·a′q·ar′ι-ŋwa-χa-ntï* one who has money; *pa(·)n·a′q·ar′ι-ŋwa-γaɪ-k̯a-ntï* one who has had money

pan·a- in comp. n.: *pa(·)n·a′-p·atcᴀ* iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *qava·′-va(·)n·a-p·atcᴀ* horse-iron-moccasin, horseshoe

PA·N·*a*-^{s} bread (< Span. *pan*):

pa·n·a-ru- to make bread: *pa·′na-ru-i‘* makes bread

pa·n·a-ru-p·i- bread made: *pa·′n·a-ru-p·ɪ* bread; in comp. n. *qɔ′^{i}′nι-va·n·arup·ɪ* corn-bread, corn-cake

PAN·A’A·- crotch: *pan·a′′a‘* crotch (as of forking branch); *a·′-p·an·a·^{a}-va·-nɪ* horn-crotch-at-my, between my horns (456, 31)

-PA’AN·A- on, upon, resting above, about (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 47)

-pa’a-ntï- (ptc.) being on

-pa’a-ntuγwa- on to, against

-pa’an·a-yu- acting on

PAN·AŊQWA- coming down, north (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

PAN·AQ·WIC·AQ·A- breakfast (< Engl. *breakfast;* Arizona Paiute dialect, remodeled by folk-etymology so as to suggest *pan·a-*^{g} iron + *qwic·a-* to spark): *pa(·)n·a'q·ᴡɪcaq·ᴀ* breakfast

PAN·AƔA-^{s} several return (cf. sing. *payï-*):

pan·aγa-q·w'ai- several go back: *pan·a'x·-qwa'* all go back (430, 3), *pa(·)n·a'x·-qw'ɔi-p·ïγa‛* several went back home (396, 18), *pa(·*^{a}*)-na'x·-qwa'ai-p·ïγa‛* (they) went home (321, 8)

pampan'naq·a- distr.: *pampa'n'ᴀ*^{x}*qa-i‛* (they) go home one after another, in parties

pampan'na·q·a-q·w'ai- several return one after another: *pampa'-n'na·q·ᴀ-qwɔ'*^{a} go back home, each of you (346, 12), *pampa'-n·a·q·*^{x}*ᴀ-qw'ai-p·ïγa‛* all went back at different times (432, 26)

-pan·aγa- in comp. vb.: *ya·'-vanax·-pïγa‛* (they) brought home (408, 30); *ɔα'-vanax·-pïγa‛* (they) returned from spying (472, 37)

-pan·aγa- several have been -ing: *tɪ‛qa'-vanax·-qaɪ-t̓ua(i)-yï-r'ua-ᴀ*^{x}*qa-n·ua-χain·ι‛* it seems that they (impers.) have been eating it (long ago), had eaten; *pᴀ*^{x}*qa'-vanaγa-γa‛* (they) having been killing (him) (325, 13)

PAN·I- to take off a water-jar: *pa(·)n·i'‛* takes off a water-jar and puts (it) on the ground, *pa(·*^{a}*)nι'-va·*^{a}*-ts·* when about to take (a pitched water-jar) (337, 2)

pap·an'ni- iter.: *pᴀ‛pa'n'ni‛* takes off a water-jar several times

PA·N'NƆA-^{s} to be hollow, open valley:

pa·n'nɔa-γai- to be hollow: *pa·'n'nɔa-χai(y)-aq·ᴀ* it is hollow

pa·n'nɔa-γa-ntï- ptc.: *pa·'n'nɔa-γa-ntï* hollow; *pa·'n'nɔa-γa-ntï, pa·'n·'ɔa-γa-ntï, pa·'*^{i}*n'ɔa-χa-ntï* "park" (not necessarily watered), open hollow valley, spot of level ground surrounded by ridges (474, 26)

pava·n'nɔa-γa-ntï- distr. ptc.: dim. *pa(·)va·'n'nɔa-ntsι-γα-ntï‛* (obj.) those (countries) that have hollow valleys (370, 11)

-pa·n'nɔa-γa-ntï- in comp. ptc.: *paï'-mpa·n'nɔaγantï* perfectly hollow (park, valley); *tï'ra-va·n·'ɔaγantï* plain valley (surrounded by mountains); *paŋwa·'*^{a}*-van'nɔaγantï* meadow, hollow valley (474, 3)

PAN·Ɔ·Q·AI- to be wet (cf. *pa-* water?): *pa(·)n·ɔ'x·q(w)a‛* to be wet, *pa(·)n·ɔ'x·q(w)ai-yï-aq·ᴀ* it is wet, *pa(·)n·ɔ'x·q(w)a(a)i-ʏᴜ* while wet (389, 11), *pa(·)n·ɔ'x·q(w)ai-'yu-campᴀ* even when wet (389, 10)

pampan·ɔ·q·ai- distr.: *pampa'n·ɔ·q·(w)a‛* several are wet

PA·NTA-ƔA- to make a pecking noise: *pa·′nta-χa(i)-yï-n·ɩʽ* makes a noise like the pecking of a woodpecker

-VANTÏ- place left over (Gram., § 50, 4, 42)

PANTU- to shake:

with instr. pref.: *qï′-p·antu-iʽ* shakes (line) with the teeth; *tcᴀʽ-pa′ntu-iʽ* shakes with the hands; *tᴀʽ-pa′ntu-iʽ* shakes with the feet; *tcɔʽ-pa′ntu-iʽ* shakes with the head; *pɪʽ-pa′ntu-iʽ* shakes, moves about (his) buttocks

-pantu-γi- dur.: *naŋqa′va-ŋᴡɪ-pantu-γ(w)ɩ-yï-nɪ* I shake my ears

PAŊQWI- mountain valley:

paŋqwi-tsi- abs.: *paŋqwɩ′-ts·* valley with mountains on both sides

PA·ŊQWƆ-ƔA- to make a wet, slappy sound: *pa·′ŋq^{w}ɔ-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ɩʽ* sounds like two wet things loosened from each other, wound striking on surface (e. g. sore heel on ground)

PAŊWA·-^{s}: *paŋwa·′^{a}-van′nɔa-γa-ntïʽ* meadow, hollow valley (obj.) (474, 3)

PAŊWAI- to yell: *paŋwa′ɪ-pïγaʽ* yelled (464, 15)

paŋwai-q·a- plur.: *paŋwa′ɪ-ḳa-p·ïγaʽ* several yelled

pavaŋwai- iter.: *pava′ŋwq̣iʽ* yells several times

PAŊWI-^{s} throat:

paŋwi-vi- abs.: *pa(·)ŋwɩ′-ϕɪ* throat

-PAŊWI-^{g} in, inside of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 43)

-paŋwi-t·ï- (ptc.) being in

-paŋwi-t·uγwa- into; *-paŋwi-t·u-m·a-naŋqwa-* out from inside of

-paŋwi-yu- acting in

PAŊWIƔA-^{s}: *paŋwɩ′χ̰a-ruχwa-n· avɩ′ʽ* I lie on my back, *pą(·)wɩ′χ̰a-rux·ᴡᴀ* on (her) back (309, 10)

PAŊWUTCA-^{s} yellowjacket:

paŋwutca-vi- abs.: *paŋwu′tca-ϕɪ* yellowjacket

PAVATCI- to call (inc. of *patci-?*):

pavatci-ŋqï- to call a person: *pava′tcɩ-ŋqï-va÷ŋa-nɪ* let me call him (408, 35)

PAVI- older brother:

pavi-tsi- dim.: *pa(·)vi′-tsɩ-nɪ* my older brother; plur. *pa(·)vɩ′-tsɩ-ŋwï-nɪ* my dear older brothers (476, 17)

na-vavi-ŋwï- recip.: *na-va′vɩ-ŋᴡï* two brothers (308, 2); distr. *nan·a′-vavi-ŋᴡï* three brothers

PAVU-^{n} clear (?):

pavu- in comp. n.: *pa(·)vu′-mpaʽ* clear water, *pa(·)vu′-mpa·-s·* clear water (Song 111)

PAVO’A-ˢ: *pavo’’a-va·ts·* Point Spring, Indian pasture 3 miles east of Moccasin Spring

PAQ·A- to kill, to beat (sing. and dual obj.): *pᴀˣqa′(i)-yï-n·ı̨-’ⁱ* you are whipping me, *tamι′aŋᴀ pᴀˣqa′-va‘* we 2 (incl.) will kill him

paq·a-q·a- plur.: *taŋwa·′mï pᴀˣqa′-q·a-va‘* we (incl.) will kill them 2

paq·a-ŋu- mom.: *nï’ pᴀ‘qa′-ŋᴜ* I kill, *nï’ pᴀ‘qa′-ŋu-mpa·n·ι’a-q·ᴡᴀ* I shall kill it (inv.); pas. plur. *pᴀˣqa′-ŋᴜ-tïx·-qa-va·ᵃnιa-ŋᴡï* you (plur.) will get killed

paq·a-’q·u- inc.: *nį̈’ pᴀˣqa′-q̇·u-ŋᴡᴀ* I gave him a licking

paq·a-q·w’ai- to kill off (dur.): *pᴀˣqa′-q·w’ai(y)-aŋᴀ* kill him while on (your) way

paq·a-q·w’ai-ŋu- to kill off (mom.): *pᴀˣqa′-q·wᵓ’ai-ŋᴜ-q(w)α-nɪ* when I have killed (442, 30); *pᴀˣqa′-ŋᴜ-qw’ai-ŋu-mpa‘* will kill as (he) passes along (410, 3)

paq·a-γw’ai- to go and kill: *pᴀˣqa′-χw’ai-(y)aŋᴀ* go and kill him

pap·aq·a-ŋu- distr. mom.: *pᴀ‘pa′q·a-ŋᴜ* several kill

with incor. obj.: *qam·ï′-φ(ᴡ)ᴀˣqa-q·a‘* has killed a jack-rabbit (446, 11); *tï-vʷa′q·a-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall kill game; *naŋwa(·′ᵃ)’q·u-mpᴀˣqa-ŋᴜ* to kill both, to guess both gambling bones correctly

with adv. pref.: *pιya′-nanü-mpᴀˣqa-i‘* there is a big fight

paq·a-n’nïmpi- killing instrument: *pᴀˣqa′-n’numpɪ* gambling bone that is to be guessed

PAQ·A- to be sore:

paq·a-ŋqï- to have a pain: *pᴀˣqa′-ŋqï-yï-nɪ* I have an ache

-paq·a-ŋqï- to have a pain in (with incor. n.): *taŋwa′-mpᴀˣqa-ŋqï-yï-nɪ* I have a tooth-ache; *tɔ‘tsï′-φᴀˣqa-ŋqï-yï-nɪ* I have a head-ache; *movʷi′-p·ᴀxa-ŋqï-yï-nɪ* I have a nose-ache; *saχwι(·)′a·-φᴀˣqa-ŋqï-pïγa‘* had a stomach-ache (374, 10)

taγu-p·aq·a- to be thirst-sore: *ta(·)γu′-p·ᴀˣqa-i‘* is dying of thirst, is thirsty (402, 8); *taγu′-p·ᴀˣqa-va·n·ιa-ŋᴀ* he will be thirsty

’ït·a·-mpaq·a- . . . -n·ia- to be tired of: *’ï′t·a-mpᴀˣqa-i-n·ι‘* is tired of, *ⁱ̈’ï′t·a·-mpᴀˣqa-p·ïγai-n·ι‘* was getting tired of (336, 8)

piya-vaq·a- to be drowsy: *piya′-φᴀˣqa(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* is drowsy, has a lazy feeling (Song 145)

pap·aq·a- to groan with pain: *pᴀ‘pa′q·ᴀ-pïγa‘* groaned from suffering (450, 3); comp. vb. *pᴀ‘pa′q·a(i)-ya’ai-p·ïγa‘* kept groaning with pain (468, 26)

PAQ·A·-ˢ sweat:

paq·a·-vi- abs.: *pᴀˣqa·′-φɪ* sweat

PAQ·ATCA- horned toad:

paq·atca-tsi- abs.: *pAˣqa'tca-ts·*, *pAˣqa'tsa-ts·* horned toad (*Doliosaurus?*)

-PA'A·γI-ᵍ over, across (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 46)

-pa'a·γi-t·ï- (ptc.) being over

-PAQ·Ï- to bathe:

na-vaq·ï- refl.: *nava'q·ï-iʻ* bathes (him)self; plur. *nava'q·ï-qa-p·ïγaʻ* bathed (them)selves (402, 30)

-PAQ·Ɔ·RA-ⁿ face (?):

-paq·ɔ·ra-mpïtsi- -faced: *tɔʻsa'-p·Aˣqɔ·rαmputs·* bald-faced (not in ordinary use), *tɔ's·a-mɔ'-p·aqɔ·'rαmputsn̥* white-faced (Song 75)

PAQ·WAN'A- frog, toad: *pAˣqwa'n'NA* frog, toad; plur. *pAˣqwa'n'a-ŋwï*

paq·wan'a-γai- to be a toad: fut. ptc. *pAˣqwa'n'a-γai-va·-ntï* who is destined to be a toad (424, 11)

PAγA-, PAQ·A- to tear (intr.); PAγI-, PAQ·I- to tear, to rip (tr.), to be torn:

paγa-q·i- to tear (dur. intr.): *pa(·)γa'-q·(ᵋ)ιʻ* tears slowly

paq·a-q·i- to tear (mom. intr.): *pAʻqa'-q·I* to tear at once

paγi-tcai- several flexible objects are torn, worn out: *pa(·)γ(a)'i-tca·iʻ* (clothes, hat) are worn out, *pa(·)γ(a)'i-tcai-p·ïγaʻ* was worn out by scratching (452, 21); mom. *pa(·)γ(ᵋ)ι'-tcai-ŋU* (moccasins) wore out (394, 12)

tca-p·aq·i-n'na- to tear (mom. tr.): *tcAˣ-pa'q·ι-n'NA* to tear once in two pieces

tca-p·aγi-tca- to tear (dur. tr.): *tcAˣ-pa'γ(a)i-tca(i)-'yïï-ŋWA* tears him (inv.) up to pieces; plur. *tcAˣ-pa'γ(a)i-tca-q·A-pïγai(y)-aŋA* (they) tore him up to pieces (386, 7); distr. *tcAʻtca'-p·aγ(a)i-tcA-pïγaʻ* tore (them) apart (387, 5), *tcAʻtca'-p·aγ(a)i-tcA-pïγai-aq·A* tore it up to pieces (404, 17), *tcAʻtca'-p·aγa-tcAˣ-qai-na-φï* his having torn (it) up to pieces

tɔ-p·aγi-tca- to rip open (dur. tr.): *tɔʻ-pa'γι-tca-iʻ* rips open in several places

tsi-p·aγi-tca- to scratch (dur. tr.): *ts·-pa'γ(ᵋ)ι-tca-p·ïγai(y)-aŋA* scratched him (452, 20)

wii-ŋwa-p·aq·i-n'na- to rip open with a knife: *wii'-ŋWAʻ-paq·ι-n'NA* to rip open with a knife (*-ŋwa-* = *ma-* with the hand)

ɔ-p·aq·i-, *ɔ-vaγi-* there is a hole (q. v.)

PAγA-ⁿ cane:

paγa-mpi- abs.: *paγa'-mpï*, *pa(·)χa'-mpï* cane

in comp. n.: *pa(·)γa'-ntunoip·I* canyon with cane; *paγa'-ŋqWIʻ-*

tɔn’nintcï cane-valley, Canepatch creek (east of Canaan); *pa(·)χa′-o·ʽ* cane-arrow; *pa(·)χa′-ᴜʽqwɩyuʽ* cane-arrow; *paγa′-ŋwi·^{i}-tsɩ-ŋᴡï* cane-knife-people, Navaho Indians

PAγA-^{n}: *paγa′-ntcʌ^{x}qap·ɪ* black bird which makes a clicking sound (see *tcaq·ap·i-*), *paγa′-tcʌ^{x}qap·ɪ* red-winged blackbird; *paγa′-ntïγïits·*, *pa-ntï′γïits·* killdeer

PAγA·- great water (cf. *pa-* water): *pa(·)γa·′ʽ* great water, Colorado river; *pa(·)γa·′-’oip·ɪ* Colorado river canyon

PAγAN’AINA- to play the arrow game (cf. *paγa-* cane?):

paγan’aina-p·i- arrow game: *pa(·)γa′n’aina-p·ɪ* arrow game played without bows

PAγAŋ’WI- bowstring: *paγa′ŋwɩ’^{i}*, *pa(·)γa′ŋwį’^{i}* bowstring; *paγa′ŋ’wɩ-nɪ* my bowstring, *pa(·)γa′ŋ’wɩ(y)-a÷mï* their bowstrings (obj.) (406, 28), *paγa′ŋ’wɩ-a÷m ʽaiʽ* their bowstrings (obj.) (408, 12)

PAγI-^{n} to go, to walk: *nį’ pa(·)γ(a)′i-mpa·^{a}nɩʽ* I shall go, *pa(·)γï′-mpa·^{a}nɩa-nɪ* I shall go, *pa(·)γ(a)′i-ŋk̬aʽ* while walking, *paγï′-χ̬i* walking along (Song 112)

paγi-q·a- plur.: *paγ(a)′i-k̬·a-va·n·ɩa-raŋᴡʌ* we (incl.) will go

paγi-ŋqw’ai-, *paγi-q·w’ai-* to go off: *pa(·)γ(^{ε})ɩ′-q·wa’^{a}* to go away, *pa(·)γ(a)′i-ŋqw’aiʽ* walks off, *pa(·)′x·ɪ-qw’ai-t́ca-rɔa÷ŋʌ*, *pa(·)γ(^{ε})ɩ′-q·w’ai-t́ca-rɔa÷ŋʌ* did he go away? *pa′x·ɪ-qw^{ɔ}’ai-k̬·a-nt uru-″avïʽ* I wonder if (he) went away!

paγi-ŋki- to come walking: *paγ(a)′i-ŋkiʽ* comes walking

paγi-n’ni- cont.: *pa(·)χ(a)′i-n’nɩ-va·-ŋ’wai-n·ɩʽ* (no longer I) shall go about, live (462, 14); usit. *paγ(a)′i-n’ni-m·i-nα-nɪ* my being wont to go about, where I always take my trip (468, 5)

paγi-n’ni-q·w’ai- to be going off, to walk away: *pa(·)γ(a)′i-n$^{y’x}$-qw’ai-vaʽ* shall go away, *pa(·)γ(ä)′i-n$^{y’x}$-qw’ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* went off (313, 2)

paγi-m’mia- to walk along: *pa(·)χ(^{ε})ɩ′-m’mɩq-iʽ* keeps on walking, *paγ(a)′i-m’mɩa-χu-aŋʌ* (I found) him walking

paγi-m·ik·u- to begin to walk along: *paγ(a)′i-mᴍɪʽqu-v^{w}aʽ* (from there) shall walk along (400, 14)

pavaγi- inc.: *pa(·)va′x·(^{a})ɪ* to start to walk

paγi- in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)′i-n·uq·(ᴡ)ɪ* to go-stream, to start to go, *pa(·)γ(a)′i-n’ɴᴜ^{x}q(w)ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* started off (460, 1), *pa(·^{a})γ(ä)′^{i}-n^{y}’ɴᴜ^{x}q(w)ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* started to walk (311, 7), *pa(·)γa′-n^{yx}q(w)ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* started to go (308, 8), *pa(·^{a})γa′-n^{yx}q(w)ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* started on (his) way (322, 12), *paγ(a)′i-n’ɴᴜ^{x}q(w)i-q·wa’^{a}* to walk off, *pa(·)γ(a)′i-n$^{y·’x}$q(w)i-q·wa’ qwa′uʽ* to walk off; *paχ(a)′i-mpuru-χ(w)aʽ* while walking from one to another (436, 6) *paγi-n'ni-* in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)'i-n'nι-vä(i)yε-i'* walk-returns, has come back from a trip (468, 5); *paχ(a)'i-n'nι-t·ïvʷιtcuα-p·ïγa'* learned how to walk (464, 21)

-vaγi-: *nam·u'-vʷax(a)i'* goes first; *tï'ŋwu-vʷax(a)i-ŋk̫ai-n·ι'* while hurriedly-going, hurrying; *ya·-vaγi-* to fear-go, to be afraid (q. v.)

-p·aγi- while walking, from place to place: *qa·'-p·aγ(ᵃ)i-p·ïγa'* sang as (he) went along (424, 24), *qa·'-p·aγ(a)i-ŋki-n 'u'ra'* comes singing toward me; *nï' qa(·)nι'vaγι-p·aγ(a)i'* I visit from place to place; *nɔ·'ᵓ-p·aγ(a)i'* carries on (his) back from place to place; *ivi'-p·aγ(a)i'* drinks while walking; *tɪ'qa'-p·aγ(a)i'* eats while traveling; distr. *qᴜ'qwi'-p·ᴀpaγ(a)i-mpa'* (you plur.) shall shoot as (you) move along (474, 38); *tïra'ŋwantcι-p·aγ(ᵋ)ι-p·ïγa'* stepped (on their heads) as (he) walked along (448, 7); *kwɪ'pa'-p·aγ(a)i-ŋqw'ai-γa'* while hitting as (he) went along (434, 31), distr. *kwɪ'-pa'-p·ᴀpax·ɪ-pïγa'* whipped and kept moving (476, 1); *'a(·)vι'-ŋᴜ-pax·ɪ-pïγa'* went to bed night after night (373, 12); *qwa(·)vι'ŋᴜ-pax·ɪ-pïγa'* (they) stopped to camp while traveling (380, 12); *qwarα'vayai-ṗ·ax·ɪ-pïγa'* cried from pain as (he) went along (398, 2); *wa'a'ŋɪ-pax·ɪ-pïγa'* shouted as (he) went along (371, 7); *a'i-p·aγ(ᶥ)ι'* says as (he) goes along; *paγï'n·a-ŋwïnι-p·a·γï-ʏï* cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

PAγIN·A-ˢ cloud, fog:

incor.: *pa(·)γι'n·a-x·ᴀqarï-χu'* (earth) would cloud-settle, become foggy (364, 10); *pa'γιna·-vo·''vʷiχa-mi-mpï* cloud-spotted (Song 110); *paγιna-tu·'-p·aya-montsï'montsï''montsï'n* cloud-black-side-mountain, mountains whose flanks are black with clouds (Song 76); *paγï'n·a-ŋwïnι-pa·γï-ʏï* cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

PAγWAI'A-ⁿ: abs. *paγwa'i'a-mpï* tree (sp.?)

PA·S·I- seeds of a certain plant: *pa·'c·ɪ* seeds of a certain weed, used for mush; *pa·'ᵃsι-ts·* personal name

PAT·A-Q·I- to burst (mom. intr.): *pᴀ'ta'-q·ɪ-pïγa'* burst (462, 4)

pat·a-q·i-q·a- plur.: *pᴀ'ta'-q·ι-k̫·ᴀ* several burst

pat·a-q·i-t̓·ui- caus.: *pᴀ'ta'-q·ɪ-t̓u'ⁱ* to burst (tr.)

-pat·aq·i-ŋqï- to burst (tr.), with instr. pref.: *ma-va't·ᴀˣqi-ŋqï* to burst by means of the hand; *tɔ'-pa't·ᴀˣqi-ŋqï* to burst by punching

PA·T·Ɔ'ŊWI-ⁿ vein: *pa·'t̓·ɔŋwɪ* vein

pa·t·ɔ'ŋwi-mpi- abs.: *pa·'t̓·ɔŋwι-mpɪ* vein

PARA- to straighten out: *pa(·)ra'(i)-ʏï* straightens out

PA·RA-γA- to make a pattering sound: *pa·'ra-xa(i)-yï-n·ι'* (rain) patters

-PARA·- to make a popping sound:

qu-p·ara·-γa- to pop in burning (sing.): *qᴜʽ-pa′ra·-χa-iʽ* (it) pops, *qᴜʽ-pa′ra-χa-vatcï* wont to pop in burning (334, 3)

qu-p·ara·-γi-q·a- plur.: *qᴜʽ-pa′ra·-χ(ε)ι-k̯·a-iʽ* (they) pop

-PARAI- to knock down several:

with instr. pref.: *ts·-pa′raiʽ* knocks several down by poking with a stick; *ᴡïʽ-pa′raiʽ* knocks several down by slashing with a stick; *tᴀʽ-pa′raiʽ* knocks several down with stones; *tɔʽ-pa′rai-p·ïγaʽ* knocked (them) all down with (his) fist (446, 19), *tɔʽ-pa′rai-va·n·ιa-m·ï-nɪ* I shall knock them all down with (my) fist

PAP·A·RAŊQA- (distr.?) branch, limb: *pᴀʽpa·′raŋqa-iʽ* (obj.) limb (375, 1), *pᴀʽpa·′^{a}raŋqa-q·ᴀ* its branches, *pᴀʽpa·′raŋqa(·)-m·a(i)yu-a(·)q·ᴀ* from one of its branches (460, 35)

PARAŊWARA-^{n} pumpkin: *pa(·)ra′ŋwaʀᴀ* pumpkins, *para′ŋwantᴀ* (Song 205)

paraŋwara- in comp. n.: *para′ŋwara-ntï′m^{w}αp·ɪ* pumpkin-roast; *para′ŋwara-c·a′ap·ɪ* pumpkin-mush

PARÏ(YA)- sand:

in comp. n.: *parι′ya-oip·ɪ* sand-wash (only in song), *parι′yɔ-o(ᴡ)ɪ-pa(·)ŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* going through a sand-wash; *parι′-s·ιŋwa-oip·ɪ* sand-gravel-wash (ordinary prose)

PARÏIA-^{s} elk (water-deer; cf. *pa-^{s}* water, *tïγia-* deer): *parï′iʽ* elk; plur. *parï′ι(y)a-ŋᴡï*

parïia- in comp. n.: *parï′ya-γaiva-m* elk (?)-mountain-at (Song 139); *parï′ya-nᴜʽq(w)ιntɪ* elk-stream, Paria river

PARÏΓI- to wash (cf. *pa-* water): *parï′χιʽ* washes (tr.)

na-varïγi- refl.: *na-va′rïχιʽ* washes (him)self

-PARÏRA^{x}- (cf. *pa-* water): *yïv^{w}ι′-mparïʀ* stream of water at which pines end, East Fork

PARƆ-^{n} water-gravel (cf. *pa-* water):

in comp. n.: *parɔ′-ntïimp(ᴡ)ɪ* gravel, water-gravel stone; *parɔ′-n′tä·mbι-ndzιn* gravel stone (Song 118)

PARUΓU-^{s} prophet:

paruγu-tsi- abs.: *pa(·)ru′χu-ts·* prophet in the Ghost Dance, one that composes a round dance

paruγu-γa-ntï- being a prophet: *pa(·)ru′χu-$^{\gamma}$(w)α-ntɪ* prophet, one who leads the round dance and prophesies the future

PARUΓUNA- Parowan band of Paiutes (cf. *pa-ro·γa-^{n}*):

paruγuna-ntsi- abs.: *paru′γuna-ntsι-ŋᴡï* Indians of Parowan Lake

PAT·CA- moccasin: *pat·cᴀ* moccasin (of deerskin), shoe; *pᴀʽtca′-nɪ* my shoes, *pᴀʽtca′-raŋᴡᴀ* our (incl.) shoes (1 pair) *pap·at·ca-* distr.: *pᴀʻpa′t·ca-raŋwᴀ* our (incl.) shoes (each one's pair)

pat·ca- in comp. n.: *pᴀʻtca′-a(*^{ɔ}*)x·ɔ* moccasin tongue

-pat·ca- in comp. n.: *pï(·)ï′-vat·cᴀ* hide moccasin; *pa(·)n·a′-p·at·cᴀ* iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *a′ï-v*^{w}*at·cᴀ* new moccasin

PA·TCʼA-^{s} bat:

pa·tcʼa-tsi- abs.: *pa·′*^{a}*tca-ts·* bat

pa·tcʼa- in comp. n.: *pa·′*^{a}*t́ca-vuʼ*^{i} bat-eyed (female personal name)

PAT·CAʼI-, PAT·CAʼA·- to hang, to be fastened:

pat·caʼi-q·ai- res.: *pᴀʻtca′ʼɪʻ-k̯a*ʻ (fruit, leaves, branch) hang, *pᴀʻtca′ʼι-k̯·a*ʻ to be fastened on to (a tree); ptc. *pᴀʻtca′iʼ-k̯·α-ntï*ʻ hanging (obj.) (394, 28)

pat·caʼi-q·a-q·ai- plur. res.: *pᴀʻtca′ʼι-k̯·a-q·a*ʻ (they) are fastened on

pap·at·caʼi-q·ai- distr. res.: *pᴀʻpa′t́cai-k̯·a*ʻ several (berries) hang

pat·caʼa·- to be fastened: *pᴀʻtca′ʼa·-p·ïγa*ʻ was left fastened (336, 4), *ʻa′na·*^{a}*x·ɪ pᴀʻtca′ʼa(·)*ʻ (was) left fastened therein (336, 7)

-pat·caʼi- in comp. vb.: caus. *ma(·)′-rɔarɔ-mpᴀʻtcaʼ(a)i-t́·ui*ʻ causes (it) to nearly hang

-pat·caʼa- (tr.) to fasten: with instr. pref. *ma(·)-va′t·cïʼa-i*ʻ fastens; mom. *ma(·)-va′t́ca-ŋᴜ-pïγa*ʻ (he) fastened (310, 12), *ma(·*^{a}*)-va′t́ca-ŋ*^{x}*-pïγa*ʻ (he) fastened on (315, 11); *ma(·)-va′t·cïʼa(·)-ŋqu-tca(·)-q·w′ai*ʻ (it) has been fastened (*-ŋqu-* misheard for *-ŋu-*?)

-VATCAŊWI-^{g} meeting, towards (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 44)

-vatcaŋwi-t·uγwa- moving towards, facing

PATCAQ·WI-, PATCAQ·WA·- to be, get wet (cf. *pa-* water):

patcaq·wi- to be, get wet (sing.): *patca′q·wι*ʻ, *pa(·)tca′q·wι*ʻ is wet, moist, gets wet

patcaq·wi-navitci- (plur.): *patca′q·wι-navιtcι-p·ïγa*ʻ several got wet (388, 12)

patcaq·wa·- to get wet: *patca′q·wa·*^{a}*-va*ʻ will get wet

PATCAQ·Ï-ŊWA- to water (cf. *patcaq·wi-* wet): *pa(·)tca′q·ï-ŋwa-i*ʻ waters, irrigates

PATSI- older sister: *patsι′-nɪ* my sister (404, 34)

pap·atsi- distr.: *pᴀʻpa′tsι-amï* their older sister (434, 8)

patsi-tsi- dim.: *patsi′-tsι-nɪ* my older sister; plur. *patsι′-tsι-ŋwï-nɪ* my dear older sisters (476, 17)

na-vatsi-ŋwï- recip.: *na(·)-va′tsι-ŋw αmï* the two sisters (406, 16)

PATCÏ- daughter: *pa(·)tcï′-nɪ* my daughter; plur. *patcι′-ŋwï-nɪ* my daughters, *patcι′-ŋwï-αŋᴀ* his daughters, *pa(·)tcι′-ŋu-ŋwa′ai-φï* together with his own daughters (396, 19), *patcι′-ŋwï-ŋwá-q·u-aŋᴀ* together with his daughters (408, 29)

PAU-^{n} hail:

pau-mpï- abs.: *pa(q)'ų-mpï* hail

pau-'uŋwa- to hail: *pa(a)'u-'uŋwa (i)-'yι-q·WA* it (inv.) hails

PAONTSI-^{s} beaver: *pao'nts·* beaver

paontsi-vï- beaver-band: *pao'ntsι-φï* hair-wrapping strip, band of beaver skin

PAYA·-^{s}, PAYA- slope, bottom surface, breast: *paia·'-nI* my slope, my breast, *tυ(·)χu'mpaiA pa(i)ya·'-m·anaŋqWA* from sky's surface, coming from the sky (365, 11), *paia·'-ruχ*^{wa} slope-toward, horizontally, on the side in air (Song 118)

paya·-vi- abs.: *pa(i)ya·'*^{a}*-φI* slope of a hill

-paya·-, -paya- in comp. n.: *aŋqa'-q·WA'ci-va(i)ya·-ts·* red-tail-bottomed, blue racer; *tuγu'-mpa(i)ya·-φI* sky-surface, whole sky; *qanι'-p·a(i)ya'* house-slope, wall of house; *tümp*^{w}*ι'-p·aia-i 'ura'* rock-slope (obj.) toward, toward the side of the cliff (456, 15); *qaiva-va'ia-rux·WA* mountain-slope-to, (bird flying) in air beside a mountain, (man walking) on the slope of a mountain (Song 118); *paγιna-tυ·'-p·aya-montsï'montsï''montsï'n* cloud-black-slope-mountains, mountains whose slopes are black with clouds (Song 76); *tɔγɔ'i-N'ɔ*^{x}*q(w)ɔ'mι-tsι-γai-p·a(i)yα-nI* right-be-bent-surface-my, right where my lower surface is bent (406, 35)

-paya·-^{s}, *-paya-*^{s} is compounded postpositions (Gram., § 50, 4, 45): *-paya·-γi-* moving through, along; *-paya·-m·a-yu-* from; *-paya·-m·a-naŋqwa-* from; *-paya·-ruγwa-, -paya-ruγwa-* up beside; *-paya·-ruq·wa-, -paya-ruq·wa-* under, next to

-paya·-vï- surface of object: *tA'-pa'ia·-φï* boot-surface, moccasin sole

-paya·-vï-vi- surface of body-part: *MA'-pa'(i)ya·-vu-φI* palm; *tA'-pa'(i)ya·-vu-φI* sole of foot

-paya-mpïtsi- in comp. n.: *tɔ'ca'-p·a(i)ya-mpats·* white-breasted, gull

PAYAN·I- pan (< Eng. *pan*): *pa'(i)yan·I* pan

PAYÏ-^{s} to return (sing.): *pa(i)yï'-i'* comes back; ptc. *pa(i)yï'-Rï* one who goes home

payï-ŋu- mom.: *pa(i)yι'-ŋU-pïγa'*, *pa(·)yι'-ŋ*^{x}*-pïγa'* went back (313, 3; 320, 2); usit. *pa(i)yü'-ŋu-m·ι-p·ïγa'* (it) always returned (408, 28)

payï-q·w'ai- to go back: *pa(i)yι'-k·w*^{ɔ}*'ai'* goes back, *pa(·)yι'-k·wɔ'ɔi-p·ïγa'* (he) went home

payï-k·i- to come back: *pa(i)yι'-k·i'* comes back; mom. *pa(i)yι'-k·ι-ŋu-ŋqυ·-'ŋwa-χa' 'ɔai'* would that he (inv.) might come back!

pap·a’yï- distr.: *pAʽpa′(i)yι’-p·ïγaʽ* (they) all returned each to (his) home (402, 34)

payï- in comp. vb.: *pa(i)yu′-vuru-iʽ* goes away and comes back the same way

-payï- in comp. vb.: *ya·′-va(i)’yι-q·WA* to bring it (inv.) back, mom. *ya·′-va(i)yι-ŋU-pïγa’ai-k·WA* carried it (inv.) back (400, 30); $^{yu’}$*(w)a′-va(i)yu-ŋ*^{x}*-pïγai’ι-k·WA* brought it (inv.) back (313, 8); *nɔ·′(*^{u}*)-p·a(i)yι-k·w’ai-p·ïγaʽ* returned carrying on (his) back (432, 27), *nɔ·′-p·a(i)yι-k·I-pïγaʽ* came back home carrying (446, 8); *paγ(a)′i-n’nι-vä(i)y(ε)ιʽ* has come back from (his) trip (468, 5)

-payï- to have been -ing: *nį’ ivi′-va(i)yιʽ* I drink-return, I have been drinking, *ivi′-va(i)yι-k·ai-nI* I drink-returned, I had been drinking; *tɪ*^{x}*qa′-vayu-p·ïγaʽ* (he) was to eating; *nï’ qa·′-va(i)yι-YÏ* I have been singing, *qa·′-va(i)yι-k̭·ai-yï-aŋA* he must have been singing; *tɔna′-va(i)yï-iʽ* has been punching; *ts·pι′-mpa(i)yι-k̭·ai(y)-aŋa-nI* I have been riding him; *Aʽpï′i-vaI-k̭aI-t́ua(i)-yï-r’ɔ-n·oa-xain·i iväʽ* somebody has been sleeping here, it seems; plur. *MU*^{x}*qwi′χ̭a-vaI*^{x}*-ka-p·ïγa’ai-ŋWA* (they) had called on him (inv.), came back from calling on him (362, 1)

PAYU·- Paiute Indian:

payu·-tsi- abs.: plur. *pa(i)yu·′-tsι-ŋWï* Paiute Indians (said to mean: "those who return by the same way they have gone," but this is probably folk-etymology)

PI-^{g} buttocks, rear (cf. *pi·-*^{s}):

instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 3

as n. pref.: *pIʽ-tɔ″ɔ-mpI* rump fat; *pIʽ-tca′m·uq·U* buckskin belt; *pi-na′-s·iχ̭α-nI* my crotch, where my legs part; *pi-na′-rï(i)yα-nI* my crotch, where my legs part

with post.: *pi-n·aŋqwa-* soon (q. v.); *pi-m·i-*^{g} back, *pi-mi-t·uγwa-* backward (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

-vi-^{g}, *-vi·-* in back of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 48), occurs only compounded: *-vi-mi-t·uγwa-* out of; *-vi-n·a·γi-* behind; *-vi-naŋqwa-p·a-*, *-vi·-naŋqwa-p·a-* (resting) behind, ptc. *-vi-naŋqwa-p·a-tcï-*; *-vi-naŋqwa-p·a-tcuγwa-* moving after; *-vi-naŋqwa-p·a-yu-* acting behind; *-vi-na·p·ï-*, *-vi·-na·p·ï-* behind

PI·-^{s} backward (adv. pref.): *pi·′-vį̈nι-k̭·aʽ* to look back, mom. *pι·′-vunι-k̭·ai-ŋu-ts·* while looking, having looked back (452, 23)

PIA-^{s} mother, female: *nį′nι pi′A* my mother; *pi(y)ε′-nI* my mother (410, 2) *pia-vi-* abs.: *pi(y)a'-φɪ* mother

pia-tsi- dim.: *pi(y)a'-tsι-ŋwï-nɪ* my dear mothers (476, 16)

pivia- distr.: *pivi'a-raŋwᴀ* our (incl.) mothers

pia-p·ï- female of animal: *pia'-p·ï* mare (Song 117)

pia-p·ï-tsi- dim.: *pι(y)a'-n'ɪ'-puts·* my dear mother; *qava·'ru(w)ats· pi(y)a'-p·uts·* colt little-female, filly

-pia- in comp. n.: *qava·'^{a}-vι'* mare, *qava·'^{a}-vιa-nɪ* my mare; *tïγi'a-vι'* doe; *tcι'k·ιna·-vι'* hen; *qᴜ'tcu'-mpι(y) aŋᴀ* buffalo-cow (456, 28); *yυ·'-p·i(y)α-nɪ* my younger sister

-pia-p·ï-(tsi-) in comp. n.: *saγwa'-vιap·ï* blue mare (Song 117)

na-via-ŋwï- recip.: *na-vi'a-ŋᴡï* mother and child, *na(·)-vi'a-ŋw αmï* the mother and daughter (356, 1); dim. *na-vι''^{ε}-tsι-ŋᴡï* mother and child (452, 1)

PIA- main, big (identical with *pia-* mother? cf. our "mother stream"):

pia- in comp. n.: *pia'-mᴀ'cïuφɪ* main-finger, thumb; *pι(y)a'-ɴᴜ'q(w)ι-ntɪ* main-stream, Sevier river; in comp. vb. *pι(y)a'-nanü-mpᴀ^{x}qa-i'* there is a big fight

PIA-^{s} sap:

pia-vi- abs.: *pi(y)a'-φɪ* sap; in comp. n. *cïa'-p·iaφɪ* sap of tree

PIAIT·CA-P·I- oak (var.): *pia'ɪtca-p·ɪ* oak-like tree with white and red blossoms; in comp. n. *pia'ɪtcap·ι-nuq·(w)ιntï* oak (var.)-stream (place name)

PI'AγU- centipede: *pi'(y)a'x·ᴜ* centipede (green, with two "feathers"); plur. *pi'a'x·u-ŋᴡï*

PIN·A-^{s} last, youngest:

pin·a-p·ïtsi- abs.: *pina'-p·u'tsι-ŋw αŋᴀ* the smallest of all, the youngest one (460, 20)

-pimpin·ara·-p·ïtsi- distr. comp.: *ɔvi'-mpimpin·ara'-putsι-ŋw αŋᴀ* (myth word) the very last youngster of the family (452, 32)

PINAŊQWA- after a while, soon (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

PIN'NARA·- to spread the legs apart bow-legged fashion: *ṗin'na'ra·-i'* spreads the legs apart bow-legged fashion

pin'nara·-q·ai- res.: *ṗin'na'ra·-q·a'* to stand bow-legged

-PIŊ'ANA- to stamp:

-piŋ'ana-γi-ŋqï- dur. with instr. pref.: *tᴀ'-pi'ŋ'ana'-χι-ŋqï-i'* stamps on the ground (in order to make it smooth)

PIŊKI-γA- to sound like dripping water: *pi'ŋki-χa(i)-yï-n·ι'* (it) sounds like dripping water (water-spout, spring)

PIŊWA-^{s} wife, spouse: *piŋwa-'(a)ŋᴀ* his wife; plur. *piŋwa'-ŋwï-a-raŋw u'ŋᴡᴀ* those (inv.) wives (obj.) of ours (incl.)

piviŋwa- distr.: *pivi'ŋwa(i)-ya꞉m aŋᴀ* of their wives (434, 8)
piŋwa-γai- to have a wife: *piŋwa'-xai-nɪ* I have a wife
piŋwa-ru- to make a wife, man gets married: *piŋwa'-ʀᴜ-q(w)ai-ŋu-tsa꞉ŋᴀ* he has taken a wife, has been married, *piŋwa'-ʀᴜ-q(w)ai-ŋu-p·ïγaʽ-qo-ŋwa'a-mï* he had taken them for his wives
-piŋwa- in comp. n.: *i·'-p·ιŋwa-nɪ* my old wife, *i·'-p̓·iŋwa-ia-rúa-mι' ųnι'k̫·ᴀ* are you doing so to your old husband?; *ʽa'ï-v^{w}ιŋwa-vïts uŋᴡᴀ* the new-wived one, newly-married (young man) (446, 5); *na'i-mpiŋwα-nɪ* my (man's) sister-in-law (potential wife)
incor.: *pιŋwa'-χw'ï-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* wife-took her, took her for (his) wife (396, 20)

PIŊWA·-^{s} foot of a mountain: *qa'ivaiᴀ piŋwa·'^{a}-vaʽ* at the foot of a mountain (432, 2)

PIƆ-γA- to drag (dur.): *piɔ'-χ(w)a-iʽ*, *pi(y)ɔ'-χ(w)a-iʽ*, *pi(y)ɔ'-xa-iʽ* drags (something)
piɔ-γa-q·a- plur.: *pi(y)ɔ'-x·(ᴡ)ᴀ-qa-iʽ* several drag
piɔ-γa-m'mia- to drag along: *pi(y)ɔ'-xɔ-m'mιa-xaʽ* while dragging along (456, 5)
piɔ-γa-q·w'ai- to drag off: *pi(y)ɔ'-x·ᴀ-qwa'ai-p·ïγa'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* dragged him (inv.) off (466, 30)
piɔ-γa-q·i- to come dragging: *pi(y)ɔ'-x·ᴀ-qι-p·ïγa'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* he (inv.) came home dragging (it) (466, 24)
ta-p·iɔ-γa- to drag with the foot: *tᴀʽ-pi'ɔ-γ(w)a-iʽ* scrapes the foot along, walks while scraping with the foot

PI·P·UŊ'WA-^{s} red-headed woodpecker:
pi·p·uŋ'wa-ntsi- abs.: *pi·'p̓·uŋwα-nts·*, *pi·'p̓·ų'wα-nts·*, *pi·'p̓·uŋwa-nts·* red-headed woodpecker
pi·p·uŋ'wa- in comp. n.: *pi·'p·uŋ'wa-rïxιvï-aŋ aŋᴀ* the woodpecker-friend of him, his friend Woodpecker (422, 28)

PIK̫·A-^{s} sore; hard:
pik̫·a- sore (in comp. n.): *pɪʽk̫a'-χwιt·ï* sore buttocks (personal name); *pɪʽk̫a'-mɔ'^{ɔ}* sore-hands, sore-handed; *pɪʽk̫a'-rɔ(^{ɔ})ts·* sore-headed; *pɪ^{x}ʽk̫a'-ωa-γai-p·ïγaʽ* had a sore back (474, 37), ptc. *pɪʽk̫a'-ɔa·^{a}-χα-ntï* having a sore back, sore-backed; *pɪʽk̫a'-nampa-ts uŋᴡᴀ* the sore-footed one (Song 149)
pik̫·a- hard (in comp. n.): *pɪʽk̫a(·)'-'aiᴀ* hard-shell turtle, *pɪʽk̫a(·)'-ay aŋᴀ* the land turtle (400, 28); *pɪʽk̫a'-χunaφï* rawhide bag, dim. *pɪʽk̫a'-χunavu-tsι-a꞉ŋᴀ* his little rawhide bag (obj.) (400, 15); *pɪʽk̫a'-m·unts·* rock mountain (below Indian Pasture) (Song 185)

-PIK·I- to touch:

ma-p·ik·i- to touch with the hand: *ᴍᴀʻpi′k·ɪ* to touch with the hand

ma-p·ik·i- to touch (in general; with other instr. pref.): *tsι-ma′p·ik·ɪ* to touch with the end of a stick; *pi-ma′p·ik·ɪ* to touch with the buttocks; *tɔ-ma′p·ik·ɪ* to touch with the fist; *wï-ma′p·ik·ɪ* to touch with the edge of a stick

ta-p·ik·i- to touch with the foot: *tᴀʻ-pi′k·ɪ* to touch with the foot

-PIK·I-^{s} semi-liquid mass:

mu-p·ik·i- nose-fluid, nasal mucus: abs. *ᴍᴜʻ-p(^{w})i′k·ι-φɪ* nasal mucus; incor. *ᴍᴜʻp(^{w})i′k·ɪ-cιn′ιʻ* blows (his) nose

tcɔ-p·ik·i- head-fluid, brains: *tcɔ^x-pι′k·ι-a-r’ɔ-nɪ* my brains (obj. inter.) (373, 9)

PIQ·Ɔ-^{s} "yant" cake: abs. *pɪʻqɔ′-φɪ* "yant" cake made out of the roasted heart of the cabbage-like head of the "yant" (see *nanta-*)

PIγ̱I-^{s} pig (< Eng. *pig*):

pi′γ̱i-tsi- abs.: *pi′γ̱ι-ts·*, *pi·′χ̱ι-ts·* hog; plur. *pi·′χ̱ι-tsι-ŋwï-nɪ* my pigs

piγ̱i- in comp. n.: *pi·′χ̱ι-vuŋqu-raŋwᴀ* our (incl.) pig-pet, our pig; *piχ̱ι′-tcu(w)ats·* pig-child, little pig

PI·S·I’AVA- animal: *pι·′s·ιaφᴀ* animal, obj. *pi·′s·i’ava-iʻ* (460, 12)

PIS·’Ɔ- child:

pis·’ɔ-tsi- abs.: *pɪʻsɔ″-ts·* boy; plur. *pi′s·’ɔ-tsι-ŋwï* children

pip·is·’ɔ-tsi- distr.: *pɪʻpι′s·’ɔ-tsι-ŋwï* children (438, 22)

pi′s·’ɔ-a-tsi-ŋwï- pos. plur.: *pi′s·’ɔ-a-tsι-ŋwï-nɪ* my children, *pi′s·’ɔ-a-tsι-ŋ’wï-mɪ* your children, *pis·’ɔ′-a-tsι-ŋwa-raŋwᴀ* our (incl.) children

PIP·IT·A’NI- to vomit: *pɪʻpi′t·a’niʻ* vomits

in comp. vb.: *pɪʻpι′t·a’nι-mᴜʻcu-iʻ* tries to vomit; *pɪʻpι′t·a’nι-t·ιγa·-(a)iʻ* pretends to vomit, imitates vomiting, *pɪʻpι′t·a’nι-t·ιγax·-pïγaʻ* tried to vomit (373, 10)

pivi·t·an’ni- iter.: *pivi′^{x}tan’niʻ* vomits several times

-PIT·O·M’I- to groan with a twinge of pain:

na-vit·o·m’i-ŋu- refl. mom.: *na(·^{a})-vι′t·ʋ·m’ι-ŋu-p·ïγaʻ* made a groan with sudden pain by drawing in the breath (408, 7)

-PITC’A- to crush:

ta-p·itc’a- to crush by trampling: *tᴀʻ-pι′tca-iʻ* crushes by trampling; plur. *tᴀʻ-pι′tca-q·ᴀ-pïγai-aŋᴀ* (they) crushed him by trampling (412, 19)

ta-p·itc’a-q·i-ŋqï- to trample on (mom.): *nï’ tᴀʻ-pι′tcᴀ^x-qι-ŋqï-’q·wᴀ* I crush it (inv.) by stepping on it

ma-vitc’a-q·i-ŋqï- to crush with the hand (mom.): *ma(·)-vi′tcᴀ^x-qi-ŋqï* to crush with one's hand

-PITSI-γI- to clap (hands):

ma-vitsi-γi- (dur.) to clap hands: *ma(·)-vi'tsι-γι*' claps hands

PIITSI-^{s} female's breast:

piitsi-vi- abs.: *piι'tsι-ϕɪ* female's breast

PITCÏ-^{s} to arrive:

pip·itcï-, pi'tcï- mom.: *pι'tcɪ-qą(·)-'ŋᴡᴀ* if he (inv.) arrives, fut. ptc. *pi'tcι-v^{w}a·-ntï* being about to arrive (420, 13); *nį' qa(·)nι'-va·-nɪ pɪ*'*pι'tcɪ* I arrived at my house, *pɪ*'*pι'tcɪ-pïγa*', *pɪ*'*pi'tcɪ-pïγa*' got to the end of the journey, arrived (336, 5), *pɪ*'*pι'tcι-ʀï* he who arrives, fut. ptc. *pɪ*'*pι'tcu-v^{w}a·-ntï* shall be arriving (348, 12)

pip·itcï-γw'ai-, pi'tcï-γw'ai- to go and arrive: *pi'tcï-χwa'ai-p·ïγa*', *pι'tcι-γw'ai-p·ïγa*', *pi'tcι-χwa'ai-p·ïγa*' arrived, went and arrived (450, 14; 308, 9; 316, 11; 317, 12), *pι'tcï-χwa'ai-va*' shall get (there); *pɪ*'*pi'tcι-χw^{a}'ai-p·ïγa*' arrived (311, 8)

pip·itcï-q·a- plur.: *pɪ*'*pι'tcι-q·ᴀ* several arrive

pitcï-ŋqï- to arrive-for, to engage with in combat: *pitci'-ŋqï^{u}-v^{w}a·-nɪ* shall engage with me, test me (422, 15), *pitcι'-ŋqï-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he engages with me; ptc. *pitcι'-ŋqï-rï-nɪ* engaging with me, *pitcι'-ŋqï-rï-m·ï-aŋᴀ* two who engage with him; plur. ptc. *pitcι'-ŋqï-qa-rï-m·ï-aŋᴀ* several who engage with him; recip. *na(·)-vi'tcι-ŋqï-yï-rɑmɪ* we 2 (incl.) engage; recip. plur. *na(·)-vi'tcι-ŋqï-q·a(i) -yï-raŋᴡᴀ* we (incl.) all engage

cua-p·itcï- to breathe-arrive, to wake up (intr.): *cu(w)a'-p·itci*' is waking up (308, 7), *cu(w)a'-p·itcᴜ* to wake up, *cu(w)a'-p·itcu-i*' is waking up, *cu(w)a'-p·itcï-ya÷q·ᴀ* wake up, ye 2!; plur. *cu(w)a'-p·itcu-q·a(i)-ya÷q·ᴀ* wake up (plur.)!, *cu(w)a'-p·itcι-q·ᴀ* several wake up; caus. *cu(w)a'-p·ιtcu-t̓·ui-nɪ* wake me up, plur. *cu(w)a'-p·ιtcu-t̓·ui-ḳ·a(i)-ya-nɪ* you (plur.) wake me up!

pitcï- in comp. vb.: *pitci'-t·ïŋwavaχa-p·ïγa*' made a noise as (he) arrived (450, 1)

-pitcï- in comp. vb.: *ivi'-vιtcι*' comes to drink; *ya·'-p·itcι-χw'ai-p·ïγai(y)-aq·ᴀ* arrived carrying it (404, 24); *tsa'a'i-vιtcι-χw'ai-p·ïγa*' went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived (363, 3); *un·i-vitci-* to do-arrive, to attack (q. v.)

PIT·CUA'MI- downward (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

PIYA-^{s} drowsiness: incor. *piya'-ϕᴀ^{x}qa(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* he is drowsy, has a lazy feeling; *pi'ya-vai-*'*o'ιŋwa-ro·'^{γ}(^{w})a·* drowsy-canyon-through (Song 145)

PIYAI-, PIYAŊ'WI- to be left over:

piyai- dur.: *piya'i*' is left over (361, 2), *pιya'ɪ-pïγa*' was left (316, 2) *piyaŋ'wi-* mom.: *piya''ŋwɪ* to be left over, *piya'ŋ'wι-va·^{a}nι'* (it) will be left over

PIYAIT·CA-^{n} locust tree:

piyait·ca-mpi-vï- abs.: *piya'ɪtca-mpi-φï* locust tree

PIYAγA-ŋQÏ- to be easy to do, overcome: *piya'γa-ŋqï(i)-yï-aq·ᴀ* it is easy (Song 204)

qatcu-, qa piyaγa-ŋqï- not to be easily overcome, to be powerful: neg. ptc. *qa'tcᴜ piya'γα-ŋqï-ŋwai-t'·ï-mï* not easily overcome (422, 25), *imɪ qa p·iya'xa-ŋqï-ŋ'wai-t·ι-mï* you are very powerful, *qa'tcᴜ piya'xa-ŋqï-ŋ'wai-t·ι-mï'* (obj.) very mighty, most powerful (man) (361, 10)

PIYÏ-^{g} heart: *pi'ʏï* heart; *ipyï'-nɪ* my heart, *piyï'-a·ŋᴀ* his heart (obj.) (404, 11; 458, 5)

piyï-p·i- abs.: *piyï'-p·ɪ* heart

piyï-t·u- to make a heart: *piyï'-t·u-i'* makes a heart

incor.: *piyu'-tcᴀ^{x}qavιn·a-i'* breaks the heart; kills the rabbit by strongly stroking his sides between thumb and index finger, thereby causing his heart to burst

PÏ- whom, which, what (relative pron. with post.; Gram., § 45)

-VÏ- (encl. pers. pron.) refl. poss. (in obj. forms; Gram., § 40, 4)

PÏ-^{g}, PU-^{g} eye (cf. *pu'i-* eye):

instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 4

as n. pref.: *pᴜ'-tï'ŋqanι-φï* eye-cave, superciliary ridge

PÏÏ-^{s} hide, fur:

pïï-vï- abs.: *pï(·)ï'-φï, pïï'-φ(ᴡ)ï, pï(^{γ})ï'-φï* hide before preparation, fur (Song 205)

pïï-a-, pïï-'a- pos.: *pï(^{γ})ï'-a·ŋ aʀï* his (animal) hair; *pï(^{γ})ï'-'a(i)-ya·ŋᴀ* her skin (328, 10); abs. *pï(^{γ})ï'-a-φï* animal's fur

-pïï-vï- in comp. n.: *tïγι'a-vïïφï* deer-hide; *tï-v^{w}ï·'φï* hide owned, *tï-v^{w}ï·'v^{w}ï-nɪ* hide which I own

pïï- in comp. n.: *pï·'^{ï}-ra(·)'^{ï}* hide shirt; *pï(·)ï'-vat·cᴀ* hide moccasin

-pï- prepared hide, blanket, clothing (in comp. n.): *tïγι'a-φï* tanned deer-hide, *tïγι'a-vu-ru-v^{w}a·^{a}nι'* will make a deer-hide; *tïŋqwι'-tca'a-φï* rabbit-skin blanket; *pǫ(·)nι'a-vu-ru-χ(w)a'* while making skunk blankets (450, 15); *pao'ntsι-φï* beaver-wrap, band of beaver-fur wrapped about the hair; *ᴀ'ta'-p·ï* rawhide; *tᴀ'pa''a-p·ï* stockings, socks; *tᴜ'qu'-p·ï* panther-skin; *na(·)rɔ''ɔ-mpï* underwear, what is worn next the body; *qwι·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔ-mpï* clothing, blanket (452, 8)

PÏÏA·-^{s} hair (cf. *pïï-*): *pᴜ'tï'ŋqanιvï pï·'^{ï}a'* brow-ridge's hair, eyebrow

pïïa·-vi- abs.: *pïï'a·-φɪ* body-hair

-pï'a·-, abs. *-pï'a·-vi-* hair (in comp. n.): *tɔʽtsι'-vïȧʽ* head-hair, abs. *tɔʽtsι'-vïȧ·-φɪ; naŋqa'va-vï(·)ȧ·-φɪ* ear-down; *sɔ·'r'ɔa·-vï'a·-φɪ* arm-pit hair; *nava'ia-va· ts·* (read *-vïa·-ts·*?) divide-hair, whiskers, *muntcu'-navaia-va·-ts·* mustache (Song 63)

ᴘÏᴀ- relative: *pïa'-nɪ, pï($^{\gamma}$)a'-nɪ* my relation, *pïa''a-mɪ* your relation

ᴘÏɴ·ɪ- to see, to look: neg. *qatcu'ru'ax·qa'^{a} qan·ι'anɪ pï̯nι'-ŋwa'^{a}* did you not see my house? (452, 3), *pï̯nι'-n·a'aiʽ* while not seeing

pïn·i-q·ai- (res.) to see: *pụnι'-k̯·ai-va-^{a}ŋa-nɪ* let me see him, *pï̯nι'-k̯·ai-k̯·ai-'na-mɪ* what you saw (380, 2), *pï̯nι'-k̯·ai-aq·ᴀ* look at it

pïn·i-t·u'a-q·ai- impers.: *pï̯nι'-t̓·uα-q·aʽ* (it) looks, seems (380, 4)

pïn·i-q·ai-ŋu- mom.: usit. *pï̯ni'-k̯·ai-ŋu-mi-ŋku-aŋᴀ* while he now and then took a look (452, 10)

pïn·i-n'ni- cont.: *pïni'-n'nι-p·ïγaʽ* kept on looking (396, 37)

pïn·i-m'mia- to look along, while moving: *pïnu'-m'mια-iʽ* looks while walking

pïn·i-m·i-q·u- to look while moving (mom.): *pïn·i'-m·ɪ-qu-p·ïγai(y)-a(·)ŋ'a-mï* they 2 went looking straight ahead up to them 2 (432, 24)

pïmpïn'ni- iter.: *pïmpï'n'niʽ* looks repeatedly

pïmpïn'ni-q·ai- distr.: *pïmpï'n'ɪʽ-k̯ai-väʽ-tsι-'ŋᴡᴀ* if (ye are) intending to see him (inv.) (434, 22), *pï'mpïn'ɪ^{x}-k̯aʽ* (ye) saw, just looked on, let go (326, 4)

pïn·i-q·ai-γw'ai- to go to see: *pï̯nι'-k̯·ai-χwa'^{a}* to go and see (381, 2), *pï̯nι'-k̯·ai-χw'ai-p·ïγai(y)-aŋ'a-mï* they 2 went to see him (450, 5); mom. *pï̯nι'-k̯·ai-χw'ai-ŋᴜ* to go to look for (378, 7)

pïn·i-q·ai-q·w'ai- to see away: *pï̯n·i'-k̯·ai-q·wɔ'aiʽ* keeps looking, looks without cessation

pïn·i-t̓·ui- to cause to see: *pï̯ni'-t̓·ïi-k̯·ai-q·wa-nɪ* (he) let me see it (inv.); refl. *na(·)-vï'nɪ-t̓ui-k̯·ai(y)-a(·)ŋa-nɪ* he let me see himself

pïn·i-q·ai-t̓·ui- to cause to see (res.): *pï̯nι-k̯·aɪ-tu'^{i}* to cause to (come and) see (450, 4)

pïn·i-t̓·ui-na'ai- to cause not to see, be seen: *pụnι'-t̓·ui-na(·)'ai-p·ïγaʽ* caused (it) not to be seen (310, 8), *pï̯ni'-t̓·ui-n·'ai-va-ᴀ^{x}qa-ŋᴀ* shall not cause him to see it (454, 15)

pïn·i-nu'i-nïmpï- usit. pas. ptc.: *pï(^{i})nι'-'nu'ι-numpïʽ* (obj.) (things) seen about (311, 4)

pïn·i- in comp. vb.: *pï̯ni'-k̯·arï-iʽ* sits looking, watches, *pïn·i'-k̯·arï-χaʽ* while sitting and looking; *pïnι'-yuγwι-p·ïγaʽ* (they) sat down and watched (382, 11); *punι'-avι-χaʽ, pïni'-avι-χaʽ* lying down and looking (308, 5), *pï̯n·ι'-a(·)vι-va·-tsi-'q·ᴡᴀ* when about to lie down and watch it (inv.) (462, 9); *pįnι'-ŋwįnι-p·ïγa'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* stood watching for her (inv.) (353, 14), *pįn·i'-ŋwïn·ι-χ̯a'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* while (he) stood looking at him (inv.) (466, 35); *pï'nι-ŋwï'nï-p·a·γ(ε)ι-tsι-k·a* walks around, stops, and watches (Song 161); *pïnι'-ŋwïn·ǫ·-n·uq·(w)ι-χ̯w'ai-va'a-ŋᴡᴀ* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9), *pįn·ι'-n'ui-k̯·ai-p·ïγaʽ* (they) stood and looked (452, 32)

with incor. obj.: *pɔ^{ɔ}-vï'nɪ-k̯aʽ* to see a trail; *pa(·)-vï'nɪ-k̯aʽ* to see water, cont. *pa(·)-vu'n'i-n·i'-iʽ* is looking for water; *tümp^{w}i'-p·įni-k̯·aʽ* to see a rock; *tïγι'-p·ïn·ι-k̯·arï-xai-m·į'^{i}* ye sitting and looking for something to eat! (436, 2); *na(·)-mpï'n'ɪʽ-k̯aiʽ* sees the track, *na(·)-mpï'n'i-n·i'-iʽ* looks for the track, *na(·)-mpï'n'i-n·ι-p·ïγaʽ* acted as though looking for a trail (325, 8)

a·γa-p·ïn·i-(q·ai-) to look from a hiding-place: *a·'γa-p·įni-k̯·ai-p·ïγa'ai-mï* watched them from (his) hiding-place (325, 1), *ʽa'x·-pïnɪ^{x}-k̯ai-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* watched him while in hiding (462, 38); comp. vb. *a·'γa-p·įn·ι-yuγwι-p·ïγaʽ* (they) sat watching from a hiding-place (474, 2)

pi·-vïn·i-(q·ai-) to look back: *pi·'-vįnι-k̯·aʽ* to look back; mom. *pι·'-vunι-k̯·ai-ŋu-ts·* having looked back (452, 23); plur. comp. vb. *qa'tcᴜ pi·'-vun·ι-k̯·a-m·ιa-va·-ŋwq'^{a}* (ye) shall not look back on (your) way (462, 15)

ï-p·ïn·i-n'ni- to be looking in vain: *ï'-p·ïn·i-n'niʽ* looks around in vain

naŋa-mpïn·i-n'ni- to be looking angrily; *naŋa'-mpïn'ni-nι-mpïγaʽ* kept looking angrily (456, 6)

-pïn·i-(q·ai-) . . . *-n·ia-* to appear like: *cɪʽ-pï'n·ι-k̯·ai-n·ιʽ* (it) cold-look-like, to be draughty, chilly; *pa·-sa'χwa-vųnι-k̯·ai-p·ïγai-n·ιʽ* looked water-gray in (her) eyes (470, 2); mom. *tcaᴀ^{x}-pï'nɪ-ki-ŋᴜ-pïγai-n·ιʽ* (it) came appearing like open, darkness cleared up (333, 4); comp. vb. *si'umpun·ι-k̯·arï-p·ïγai-n·ιʽ* (something) sat with eyes that looked light-gray (466, 7)

-pïn·i- in comp. vb.: *wïʽcï'γιnta-p·ïn·i-n'niʽ* is looking out of nearly closed eyelids, *wïʽcï'γιnta-p·ïnι-m'mιa-p·ïγaʽ* peeped out of nearly closed eyelids as (he) moved along (430, 26), *wïʽcι'xιnta-p·un·ι-avι-p·ïγaʽ* lay with eyes only partly closed (460, 26); *tɪʽqa'-p·ïni-n'niʽ* looks around for something to eat

-pïn·i-m'mia-, mom. *-pïn·i-m·i-q·u-* to look-along, to be on the lookout to, to be about to: *tɪʽqa'-p·ïnι-mιa-iʽ* is going to, about to eat; *ta(·)va'iʽ ya'uq·wɪ-pïnι-mι(y)a-γo-αq·ᴀ* sun's when it was

just about to set, near sunset (394, 8); *pA*^{x}*qa′-ŋU-pųnι-mι-k̄·u-mï* (two) are on the lookout to kill; *nį̈wu′-RUqwαt·uγwα-p·ųn·ι-mI-qu-’mï* (two) are on the lookout to be beaten, just about to be beaten

PÏMPÏN’NƆA-^{s} toad:

pïmpïn’nɔa-vï-γai-p·ï- abs. (formerly a toad?): *pɔmpɔ′n’ɔa-vï-γai-p·ï* toad (422, 9), *pu′mpun’nυa·-vï-gai-p·ï* (418, 6); obj. *pïmpï′n’ɔa-vï-χai-p·ï‘* (418, 11)

pïmpïn’nɔa-ntsi- dim.: *pïmpï′n’ɔa(·)-ntsi‘* (obj.) of the toad (424, 21)

PÏNTÏ- to hang on to (cf. *pïrï’rï-*, *-pït·ï-k·i-*):

pïntï·-ŋu- mom.: *pïntï·′-ŋ·u-p·ïγa‘* hung on (to him) (438, 26)

pïmpïntï-q·i- iter.: *pïmpï′ntï-qι‘* keeps hanging on, *pïmpï′ntï-qι-va·n·ιa÷ŋA* he will hang on several times

PÏŊQA-^{s} continually (adv. pref.): *pïŋqa′-RIqa-’*^{a} keep on eating!; *pïŋqa′-’ivi‘* keeps on drinking; *pïŋqa′-χa·*^{a}*-’*^{a} keep singing without stopping!; *pį̈ŋqa′-a(·)vι-p·ïγa‘* kept lying down (319, 5); *pïŋqa′-’ampaχa-i‘* keeps on talking; *pïŋqa′-nïa-i‘* (it) keeps blowing; *pïŋqa′-RUcu-p·ïγa‘* kept on grinding (406, 31); *pïŋqa′-ŋwa’aŋι-ι‘* keeps shouting; *pïŋqa′-va(a)i-p·ïγa’ai-k·WA* kept calling it (inv.) (331, 8); *pï′ŋqa-muntun’I‘-k̭ai-p·ïγa‘* kept lying covered up (398, 23); *pï′ŋqa-mai-p·ïγa‘* kept on saying so (454, 10); *pïŋqa′-m·a(·)n·ι-yï-nI* I do so very fast, *pïŋqa′-ma(·)n·ι-m’ya-xa‘* while so acting very fast (385, 4)

PÏŊQAVÏ-^{s} upper part of the leg: *pïŋqa′φï* thigh, leg from hip to knee

pïŋqavï-vi- abs.: *pïŋqa′vu-φI* upper part of the leg

PÏΓA- to put away for future use: *pïχa′-i‘*, *pïγa′-i‘* puts away, leaves in order to use when returning, hangs (game or other thing) on branches in order to come back for it later, *pïχa′-p·ïγai(y)-aŋA* hung him (porcupine carcass) up in order to return to him shortly (458, 33)

with incor. n.: *ųn·a′-vïχa-va‘* shall put away a quiver (poetic), *uγu′n·a-vïχa-va‘* (prose); *o·′-v*^{w}*uγa-i‘* puts away an arrow; *tïmp*^{w}*i′-p·ïχa-va‘* shall gather rocks; *atcï′-p·ïγa-va‘* shall put away bow and arrow for later use (322, 7)

-PÏT·ÏK·I- to miss, to barely graze:

mom. with instr. pref.: *WÏ*^{x}*-pï′t·‘ki-ŋ’u-q·WA* to graze it (inv.), *WÏ*^{x}*-pï′t·‘ki-ŋU-pïγa‘* missed, merely grazed (366, 13)

PÏRA-^{s} right side: *pï(ι)ra′-nI* my right, *pï(*^{i}*)ra′-ŋWI‘tux·WA* to the right *pïra-γai-* to have the right side: *pï(^{i})ra′-χa-ntï* right-handed (personal name)

pïra- in comp. n.: *pï(ι)ra′-m·ʼɔ-nɪ* my right hand; *pï(ι)ra′-vʼui-nɪ* my right eye

-PÏRA- (with *cï-*^{g}) to be cold:

cï-p·ïra- to be cold: *cɪʻ-pï′ra-iʻ* (it) is cold (e. g. ice); plur. *cɪʻ-pï′RA^{x}-qa-iʻ* several objects are cold

PÏRA-^{s} arm: *pï′RA* arm (from shoulder to fingers), *pïra′(i)-ya∸ŋA* her arm (obj.) (365, 3)

pïra-vi- abs.: *pïra′-φɪ* arm

pïra- in comp. n.: *pïra′-ɔɔφï* arm-bone, bone from elbow to shoulder

-pïra- in comp. n.: *pura′-vïra-φ* flour-arm (personal name)

PÏRÏʼRÏ-^{g} to hang on, down (cf. *pïntï-*): *pïrï′ʼrï-p·ïγaʻ* hung on (375, 1)

in comp. n.: *saχwɔ′-vïrïrʼ^{i}-pa·ts·* blue-hanging-down-spring (place name)

PƆ·- trail: *pɔ·ʻ* road; *pɔ·′^{ɔ}-nɪ* my trail, *pɔ·′^{ɔ}ʼɔ-mɪ* your trail

pɔvɔ·- distr.: *pɔvɔ′ɔ* trails

pɔ·-inʼni- owned trail: *pɔ·(ɔ)′-^{i}nʼni-nɪ* my owned trail

pɔ·-aγai- to have trails: ptc. *pɔ·′-a(·)γa-ntï* full of trails, *pɔ·′-a(·)xa-ntï-mpaʻ* at a (place) that has trails (466, 6)

-pɔ· in comp. n.: *mi(y)a′-vɔ·^{ɔ}* traveled trail (324, 9)

PƆ·- to cut off, to pry out: *ṗɔ·′-iʻ* shears (wool), cuts off (hair), trims off (leaves of agave)

tsi-p·ɔ·- to pry out with a point: *ts·-pɔ·′-iʻ* tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by pricking, pries out with a point (e. g. needle)

tsi-p·ɔ·-ŋqï- to prick out for: *ts·-pɔ·′-ŋqï-q̇·wα-nɪ* prick it (inv.) out for me with a point (450, 5)

PƆʼƆ- to mark, to write: *pɔʼɔ′-iʻ*, *ṗɔʼɔ′-iʻ* makes marks, brands (horse), writes

in comp. vb.: *pɔʼɔ′-t·ïγa·-iʻ* practices writing

PƆʼA-^{s} louse: *ṗɔ′ȧ-nɪ* my louse; plur. *pɔ′ȧ-ŋwu-nɪ* my lice

pɔʼa-vi- abs.: *ṗɔ″a-φɪ* louse, *ṗɔ(·)″a-vι-χain·ιʻ* lice as it turned out (464, 23); plur. *pɔ′ȧ-vι-ŋWï* lice, obj. *ṗɔ′a-vι-ŋwïʻ* (452, 5)

pɔʼa-γai- to have lice, to be lousy: *pɔ(·)′ȧ-χai-va·n·ια∸q·A* it will be lousy; plur. *ṗɔ″a-q·a-χai-tcaŋWA* we (incl.) all have lice; ptc. *ṗɔ′ȧ-χa-ntï* lousy, *ṗɔ′ȧ-γa-ntï-mï* two lousy ones; plur. ptc. *ṗɔ″a-q·a-γa-ntï-mï* lousy ones

-PƆA·RUʼI- to make straight lines:

tsit·si-p·ɔa·ruʼi- distr.: *ts·tsι′-p·ɔa·ruʼιʻ* makes straight lines, furrows, with a pointed object, *ts·tsι′-p·ɔa·ruʼι-va·n·ια-nɪ* I shall make straight lines

PƆ·I-^{s} upper part of chest: *pɔ·′ɪ* chest; *pɔɔ′i-nɪ* the upper part of my breast; *pɔɔ′ɪʿ-paḋ-mï* at the upper part of their breasts (408, 19), *pɔɔ′ɪʿ-pa·-t·ï-a∸mï* through (obj.) the upper part of their breasts (408, 24), *pɔɔ′ɪʿ-pa'-t·ï-a-mï* through (obj.) the upper part of their (inv.) breasts, the lower part of their necks (430, 1)

pɔ·i-vi- abs.: *pɔɔ′i-φɪ, pɔ(·)ɔ′i-φɪ* chest, lower part of the neck-front

PƆN·I-, PƆN·A·- to stoop and project one's buttocks:

pɔn·i- mom.: *pǫ(·)n·i̧′-ï* projects (his) buttocks, *pǫ(·)n·ι′-p·ïγaʿ* commenced to sit, put out (his) buttocks (462, 3)

pɔn·i-q·ai- res.: *pǫ(·)n·ι′-k̯·aʿ* has buttocks projecting

pɔn·a·- dur.: *pǫn·a′ʿ, pɔ(·)na′ᴀ* to have one's buttocks projecting when stooped, *pǫn·a·′-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall have my buttocks projecting

pɔmpɔn'na·- iter.: *pɔ(·)mpɔ′n'a-iʿ, pïmpï′n'na-iʿ* keeps stooping and projecting (his) buttocks (408, 13; 482, 9); *pɔmpu′n'a-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they 2 stooped and put out (their) buttocks several times (408, 15); plur. *pɔmpɔ′n·'a-q·a-iʿ* several keep stooping and putting out (their) buttocks

PƆN·IA-^{s} skunk: *pɔnι′ʿ, pǫ(·)n·i′ᴀ* skunk; plur. *pǫnι′ą-ŋᴡï*

pɔn·ia-vï- skunk-blanket: *pǫ(·)nι′a-vu-ru-χ(w)aʿ* while making skunk-blankets (450, 15)

PƆN'NƆA- to drum:

pɔn'nɔ-γa- to make a drumming sound: *pɔ(·)′n'nɔ-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* sounds like drumming

wï-p·ɔn'nɔa- to drum: *wɪ̈ʿ-pɔ′n'nɔa-iʿ* drums

PƆN·Ɔ'I-, PƆN·Ɔ'A·- to get full, to be full:

pɔn·ɔ'i- mom. *pǫ(·)n·ɔ′'ι-yï-nɪ* I am getting full; *tï·′-mpǫ(·)n·ɔ'^{i}-p·ïγaʿ* got very full (460, 33)

pɔn·ɔ'a·- dur.: *tï·′-mpɔn·ɔ'a·-ntsa-nɪ* I am full; plur. *pǫ(·)n·ɔ′'a-q·ᴀ* several are full

PƆNTA·- to be notched:

pɔnta·-tsi-γai- (dim.) to have a notch: ptc. *pɔnta·′-tsι-γα-ntï-a∸ŋᴀ* (stick) having-one-notch (obj.) . . . he (398, 12)

PƆ·NTƆ-γA- to make a thud-like sound: *po·′ntɔ-γ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* sounds like a thud (e. g. on a window-pane)

PƆγƆ-^{n} currant:

pɔγɔ-mpi- abs.: *pɔχɔ′-mpɪ* currant

pɔγɔ-mpi-vï- currant bush: *pɔχɔ′-mpi-φï, pɔχɔ′-mpι-φï* currant bush

-PƆγƆI- to make a pile of dirt:

with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-vɔ′xɔi-ʏï* makes a pile of dirt *ma-vɔγɔi-p·i-* dirt-pile making: *ma(·)-vɔ'xɔi-p·ɪ* game of making dirt-piles

PƆT·A- to have one's feet extended:

in comp. vb.: *pɔ'ta'-q·arï-i'* sits with feet extended

PƆT·Ɔ-, PƆ·T·Ɔ-^{g} round, spherical:

pɔt·ɔ-n'ni-q·ai- to be spherical: *pɔ'tɔ'-n'ɪ'-k̯ai-yï-aq·ᴀ* it is spherical; ptc. *pɔ'tɔ'-n'ɪ'-k̯a-ntï* round like a ball, comp. ptc. *tɔ·'^{ɔ}-p·ɔ'tɔn'ɪ^{x}-k̯α-ntï-n·ɩ'* (something) like a black, spherical object (460, 21)

pɔ·t·ɔ-q·a- to be round, spherical: ptc. *pɔ·'t·ɔ^{x}-q(w)a-ʀï* round like a ball, *paï'-mpɔ·t·ɔ^{x}-q(w)a-ʀï* perfectly spherical, comp. ptc. plur. *qᴜ'tca'-p·ɔ·t·ɔ^{x}-q(w)a-rï-m·ï(·)-aŋa-n uŋwᴀ* the one (inv.) who is light-gray all around (his body) . . . (you shall cause) him (to see for) me (450, 7)

ma-vɔ·t·ɔ-q·a- to make a sphere with the hands: *ma(·)-vɔ'x·tɔ-q·(w)ᴀ-pïγa'* made a ball, made (it) round like a ball (396, 35); with incor. n. *wɩa'-m·a-vɔx·tɔ-q·(w)ᴀ-qai-na-v o'mᴀ* his own mud-sphere-made therewith, with the mud-ball that he had made (398, 1)

PƆRƆ-γA- to make a clattering sound: *pɔ(·)rɔ'-x(^{w})a(i)-yï-n·ɩ'* (it) sounds like hail dropping on the ground, horse's hoofs striking the ground

PƆRƆ- several travel (cf. *-puru-*): *pɔrɔ'-i'* several travel, are on a journey

pɔrɔ-q·u- inc.: *pɔru'-q·ᴜ-pïγa'* started out (380, 12)

pɔrɔ-m'mia- several travel along: *pɔrɔ'-m'ya-p·ïγa(a)i-c·ᴜ* (they) went out again (402, 38), *pɔrɔ'-m'mɩa-p·a·ntuγwα-φï* during their own traveling (438, 13)

PƆRƆ- cane, staff: *pɔ(·)'ʀɔ* cane; *pɔ(·)rɔ'-nɪ* my cane; *pɔ(·)ru'-ma-nɪ* with my cane, *pɔ(·)ru'-ma-raŋwᴀ* with our (incl.) canes, *pɔ(·)rɔ'-ma(u)-φï* with his own cane, *pɔ(^{ɔ})ru'-m'a-mo-φï* with their own canes (324, 10)

PƆMPƆTSA- lizard (var.):

pɔmpɔtsa-tsi- abs.: *pɔmpɔ'tsa-ts·* lizard (speckled white and yellowish; *Crotaphylus wislizenii?*)

PƆTSIN'NA·-, PƆTSIN'NI- to start off (for a race):

pɔtsin'na·- to start off: *pɔ(·)tsɩ'n'na'* to start off (for a race); plur. *pɔ(·)'tsɩn'na·-q·ᴀ*

i·-p·ɔtsin'ni-q·ai- (res.) to be ready to start off: *i·'-p·ɔ(·)tsɩn'ɪ^{x}-k̯a'* to be ready to start off, *i·'-p·ɔ(·)tsɩn'ɪ'-k̯ai-nɪ* I am ready to start off, plur. *i·'-p·ɔ(·)tsɩn'ɪ^{x}-qa-q·ai-va'* shall all be ready to start off (382, 9)

PƆ·YA- to run: *pɔ·ʹya-χuʼu-ŋWA* while he (inv.) was running

pɔ·ya-q·a- plur.: *pɔ·ʹYA*^{x}*-qa-χɔ-amï* while they were running

pɔ·ya-mʼmia- to run along: *pɔ·ʹya-mʼmɩa-iʻ* runs along, keeps on running

pɔvɔ·ya-mʼmi-q·u- inc.: *pɔvɔ·ʹ(*^{i}*)ya-mʼmɩ-k·U* to start to run, to jog along

pɔ·ya-ŋqi- to come running: *pɔ·ʹya-ŋqi-p·ïγaʻ* came running (357, 13)

pɔ·ya- in comp. vb.: *pɔ·ʹya-mpuru-iʻ* runs about here and there, *pɔ·ʹya-mpuru(i)-yï-αmï* they 2 run about; *pɔʹYA-t̃ïγa·-iʻ* practices running

PƆ·YÏ-^{n} stomach fat:

pɔ·yï-mpi- abs.: *pɔ·ʹyï-mpI* fat around deer-stomach

PU-^{g} eye (see *pï-*^{g})

PO·- to stoop and project buttocks: *pʋ·ʹ-iʻ* stoops down and projects buttocks

po·-t̃·ui- caus.: *pʋ·ʹ-t̃·uiʻ* causes to stoop down and project buttocks

POA-^{s} supernatural power: *pu(w)αʹ-nI* my supernatural power, *pu(w)aʹ-m· aiŋqïyïaŋanI* with supernatural power I say for him, I doctor him

poa-γai- to have supernatural power: ptc. *puaʹ-χa-ntI*, *pu(w)aʹ-χa-ntï*, *puaʹ-γa-ntï* having supernatural power, medicine-man (317, 10)

poa-ruʼa- to become possessed of supernatural power, to become a medicine-man: *puaʹ-ruʼ*^{a} to commence to be a medicine-man, *pu(w)aʹ-rʼua-iʻ* commences to be a medicine-man, *pu(w)αʹ-ruʼa(i)-yu-nI* I am becoming a medicine-man, *pu(w)aʹ-ruʼ(*^{w}*)a(i)-yu-ruʼα-nI* am I getting to be a medicine-man? (317, 9), *pu(w)aʹ-rʼua(i)-yï-ruɔ́-n·ɩ-χ̯ain·ɩʻ*, *puaʹ-ruʼa(i)-yu-rʼuɔ-n·ɩ-χ̯ain·ɩʻ* am I too getting to be a medicine-man? (458, 10; 369, 6), it looks as though I too were becoming a medicine-man!, *puaʹ-rʼua-va·-rʼɔ-n·ɩ-χ̯ain·ɩʻ* it looks as though I too am to become a medicine-man!, fut. ptc. *puaʹ-rʼua-va·-ntɩ-nɩʻ* being destined to become a medicine-man

pua- in comp. n.: *puaʹ-uv*^{w}*ɩaφI* medicine-man's song

incor.: *pïaʹ(u)-χwïïʻ* takes out (sickness) with medicine-man's supernatural power

-PUI- to cloud:

uŋwa-p·ui- to cloud up: *uŋwaʹ-p·ui-yï-aq·A* it is clouding up; *uŋwaʹ-p·ui-p·I* clouds; comp. ptc. *tʋ·ʹ-ʼuŋwa-p·uɩ-k̯·a-ntï* having black-clouded, black clouds (388, 5)

PU’I-^{s} eye: *po’’ɪ* eye; *pu’*(^{w})*ι′-ya-φï* one’s own eyes (obj.) (320, 6)

pu’i-vi- abs.: *po’ι′-φɪ* eye

pu’i-γai- to have an eye: distr. neg. *puvυ·′i-γ̯ai-p·ïá’* had no eyes (468, 16)

-pu’i- in comp. n.: *naŋa′-mpu’*^{i} anger-eye, fierce-eyed (name of horse); *pa·′*^{a}*t̓ca-vu’*^{i} bat’s-eye (female name); abs. *yaγa′-p·u’ι-φɪ* cry-eye, tears (Song 63)

incor.: *pu’ι′-ŋᴡɪ‘tuv*^{w}*ɔa-i*‘ covers (his) eyes; usit. pas. ptc. *pu’ι′-ŋᴡï‘qam’mι-nïmpï* eye-coverers, blinds (for a horse)

PU’I-^{s} seed (identical with *pu’i-* eye?)

pu’i-vï- abs.: *pu’ι′-φï* seed

-pu’i- in comp. n.: *to·′-p·u’*^{i}, abs. *tυ·′-p̓·u*(*w*)*ι-φɪ* black-seed, vine-like plant with black, oily seeds

PU’ITCA-^{s} mouse:

pu’itca-tsi- abs.: *pu’*(^{w})*ι′tcα-ts·*, *pu’ι′tcα-tc*‘ mouse, *p̓u’ι′tca-tsι-χ̯ain·ι*‘ mice as it turned out (464, 27), plur. *pu’ι′tca-tsι-ŋᴡï* mice (406, 19)

na-vu’itca-ru- to make oneself a mouse: plur. mom. *na*(·)*-vu’’ιtcα-ʀᴜ-q*(*w*)*q̨-u-mpa*‘ shall change selves into mice (406, 18)

PUŊQU-^{s} horse (possessed by one), domesticated animal: *pu′ŋqᴜ* horse (as owned by a particular person), obj. *puŋqu′ᴀ* (474, 20); *puŋqu′-nɪ* my horse, *puŋqu′-ramɪ* horse of us 2 (incl.); *puŋqu′-ŋw’ai-nɪ* with my horse; plur., *puŋqu′-ŋwï-α-φï* his own horses (obj.), *puŋqu′-ŋwu-ŋw’ai-nɪ* with my horses; distr. *pumpu′ŋqu-ŋwï-rαŋᴡᴀ* our (incl.) horses owned severally

puŋqu-tsi- dim.: *puŋqu′-tsi-a∸mï-φï* their dear horse (obj.) (476, 1)

-puŋqu- in comp. n. (regularly used as second element of nouns indicating owned animal): *qava·′-vuŋqu-nɪ* my horse-pet, my horse; *na·′-vuŋqu-nɪ* my copulating-animal, my stallion; *pi·′χ̯ι-vuŋqu-raŋᴡᴀ* our (incl.) pig; *a*(*i*)*ya′-vuŋqu-nɪ* my turtle; *qon·a′-ɔvι-mpuŋqᴜ* fire-wood-horse, fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 179)

puŋqu-γa- to get a horse: *puŋqu′-x·*(*ᴡ*)*ᴀ-pïγa*‘ got a horse

puŋqu-γai-, *-puŋqu-γai-* to have a horse, domesticated animal: *nï’ puŋqu′-χ*(^{w})*a*‘ I have a horse, *puŋqu′-χ*(*w*)*a*(*i*)*-yï-aŋᴀ* he has a horse; plur. *puŋqu′-q·*(*w*)*a-γai-p·ïaγaɪ-t̓ua-i*‘ once people had horses; distr. *pumpu′q·u-γ*(*w*)*a*‘ each has horses; comp. fut. ptc. *to·′-p·uŋqu-χ*(^{w})*ai-va·-ntï* one who will have a black horse (462, 21); *nï’ cari·′-vuŋqu-χ*(*w*)*a*‘ I have a dog, *sarι′-vuŋqu-χ*(*w*)*ai-aŋᴀ* he has a dog

puŋqu-ŋwï-γai- to have horses: *puŋqu′-ŋwï-χai-yï-aŋᴀ* he has horses

PUŊ'WI- to make a peeping sound:
puŋ'wi-ŋqï- iter.: *puŋ'wi'-ŋqï'*, *pų'wι'-ŋqï-i'* (mouse, rat) makes a peeping sound (406, 22)

-PUQ·WI- to jump, to bounce:
ta-p·uq·wi- to jump: *tᴀ'-pu'q·wι'* jumps, *tᴀ'-pu'q·wι-'* jump!, *tᴀ'-pu'q·ᴡɪ-pïγa'* jumped (318, 6); plur. *tᴀ'-pu'q·wι-k̯·ᴀ* several jump; iter. *tᴀ'ta'-p·ᴜ'qwι'*, *tᴀ'ta'-p·ᴜqwi'* keeps jumping, hops, skips; *tᴀ'-pu'q·wi-ts·* jumper
u-p·uq·wi- to bounce (mom.): *ᴜ'-pu'q·ᴡɪ* to bounce
o-voq·wa-γi- to bounce (dur.) *o-v^{w}o'q·wa-γ(ε)ι'* bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)

PUQ·WI-^{s} bladder: *pu'q·ᴡɪ* bladder; *pᴜ'qwι'-nɪ* my bladder, *pᴜ^{x}qwι'-'a-ŋᴡᴀ* his (inv.) bladder (obj.) (312, 12)
puq·wi-vi- abs.: *pᴜ^{x}qwι'-φɪ* bladder

PUQ·WIAI-ŊQÏ- to pant: *pᴜ'qwι'ai-ŋqï-yï-n·ι'* pants, makes a panting noise

PUQ·WIYA- outer end, top: *pᴜ^{x}qwι'ya·q·ᴀ* outer end, top of the tree

ṖO·γU-γA- to make a ripping sound: *ṗo·'γu-^{x}·ᴀ-pïγai-n·ι'* there was a sound as of something going through (his) flesh (450, 2), *ṗo·'χu-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ι'* there is such a sound

PO·S·IAP·IT·A': *po·'s·ιᴀpι't·a'* (name) (Song 175)

PUC·UT·UQ·WI-^{s} medicine: *pᴜ'cu't·ᴜqwι-'(y)a-ŋᴡᴀ* his (inv.) medicine, medicine bundle possessed of magic power (332, 4)
puc·ut·uq·wi-vi- abs.: *pᴜ'cu't·ᴜ'qwι-φɪ* medicine, poison, magic power

PUT·Ï-^{n} eyeball (?) (*pu-t·ï-^{n}* eye-rock?):
in comp. n.: *pᴜ'tï'-ŋqanι-φï* eyeball-house (?), eye-rock-house = eye-cave (?), ridge above the eyes; *pᴜ'tï'-ŋqanι-vï pï·'a'* brow-ridge's hair, eyebrow; *pᴜ'tï'-c·ïivu-φɪ* eyelash

PURAU- flour (< Eng. *flour*): *pura'u'*, *pura'ᴜ* flour
purau-in'ni- possessed flour: *pu(·)ra'ɔ-ιn'ni-nɪ* my flour
pura- in comp. n.: *pura'-vïraφ* flour-arm (personal name)

-PURU- (only in comp. vb.) to move from place to place (cf. *pɔrɔ-*): *wï'ï'-vuru-i'* dances around, from place to place; *tɪ'qa'-vuru-i'* walks back and forth eating, plur. *tɪ'qa'-vuru-q·(w)a-i'* several walk back and forth eating; *a'i-vuru-p·ïγa'* said as (he) went here and there (436, 6; 458, 8); mom. usit. *ma'i-ŋqï-vuru-ŋu-m·ιa-c·ᴜ* say it for (him) going around again; *an·i·'-vuru-yï·* does so moving from place to place, goes from place to place (Song 178); *paχ(a)'i-mpuru-χ(w)a'* while walking from one to another (436, 6); *nɔntsï'-vuru-p·ïγa'* flew around (372, 12); *pɔ·'ya-mpuru-i'* runs about here and there, *pɔ·'ya-mpuru-yï-αmï* they 2 run about; *yu(·)nι'-vuru-χ(w)aʻ* while running about (387, 9)

-PURUI-, -PURU-γI- to throw about, to scatter:

tca-p·urui- to throw about: *tcᴀʻ-pu'rui-'yï-q·ᴡᴀ* throws them (inan.) around; plur. *tcᴀʻ-pu'rui-k̭·ᴀ-pïγaʻ* (they) threw about here and there (386, 8); distr. intr. *tcᴀʻtca'-p·uru'ι-q·ᴡᴀ* it goes apart, scatters in all directions

tca-p·uru-γi- to scatter (tr.): *tcᴀʻ-pu'ru-χ(w)ιʻ* scatters, sows (seeds)

tcat·ca-p·uru-γi- distr. intr.: *tcᴀʻtca'-p·uru-x·(ᴡ)ɪ* to scatter in different directions, *tcᴀʻtca'-p·uru-x·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγai-n·ιʻ* it seemed as though thrown off in different directions (456, 18)

PURUQ·WI- to break to pieces: *pu'ruq·ᴡɪ-pïγaʻ*, *pv(·)'ruq·ᴡɪ-pïγaʻ* broke to pieces, was crushed to pieces, was shattered (402, 36; 430, 29; 442, 40)

PUT·CA- to be filled: *pᴜʻtca'-p·ïχaʻ* was filled up (410, 17)

PUT·SI- to crush:

qï-p·ut·si-q·i-ŋqï- to crush between one's teeth: *qïʻ-pu'ts·-xι-ŋqï* to crush between one's teeth

ma-vut·si-q·i-ŋqï- to slip from between one's hands: *ma(·)-vu'ts·-kι-ŋqï-pïγai(y)-aŋa'a-mï* they 2 slipped out of their hands (402, 17)

PO·TSI-^{s} star:

po·tsi-vi- abs.: *pv·'*^{u}*tsι(·)-φɪ* star

in comp. n.: *pv·'tsι-γwιtcap·ɪ* star-excrement, shooting stars

PUT·CUTCUγWA-^{s} to know, to understand (*pu-* with the eye?): *pᴜʻtcu'-tcuγwa-p·ïγaʻ* knew (310, 9); ptc. *pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwa-ʀï* one who understands

pup·ut·cutcuγwa- distr.: pas. ptc. *pᴜʻpu't·cutcuγwα-p·ï* what has been learned by several, learning of several (472, 1)

put·cutcuγwa-t̓·ui- caus.: *pᴜʻtcu'tcuγwa-t̓·u(y)ï-q̇·wa-mï* caused them (inv.) to know it (inv.), taught them how to do it (472, 18)

-put·cutcuγwa- in comp. vb.: *nï' nava'q·ï-pᴜʻtcutcuχwa-rï-mï* I swim-knowing (plur.), I know how to swim; *ɔra'-p·ᴜʻtcutcɔγwɔ-p·ïγaʻ* learned how to dig (396, 27); *qa·'-p·ᴜʻtcutcuχwa-iʻ* learns to sing, caus. *nï' qa·'-p·utcuχwa-t̓·ïi-yï-aŋᴀ* I teach him to sing

Q

QA not (Gram., § 57)

QA·-^{s} to sing: *qa·'(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* he sings, *qa·'-p·ïγaʻ* sang (308, 3), *qa·'-va·n·ια-nɪ* I will sing; ptc. *qa·'-ʀï* singing; *qa·'-nᴀ-cu-v ai-k̭·ᴀ* says his still singing, sings on without interruption *qa·-q·a-* plur.: *qa·′-q·a-va·n·ɩa-raŋwᴀ* we all (incl.) shall sing

qaγa·- inc.: *qaγa′ʻ* to start to sing, *qaγa·′-tca∸ŋᴀ* he finished singing

qaq·a’a- iter.: *qᴀˣqa′’a-iʻ* sings repeatedly; plur. *qᴀˣqa′’-q·a-iʻ* several sing repeatedly

qa·-t̓·ui- caus.: *qa·′-t̓·ui-nɪ* make me sing!; ptc. *qa·′-t̓·ui-tcï* one who makes sing

qa·-n’ni- cont.: *qa·′-n·’ɩʻ* sings round, sings while walking, working; ptc. *qa·′-n·’ɩ-ntcï* standing around singing

qa·-m’mia- to sing along: *qa·′-m’mɩa-iʻ*, *qa·′-’mɩa-iʻ* is singing, sings while in motion, *qa·′-m·ɩ’* to sing along, *qa·′-m’mɩa(i)-yï-nɪ* I keep on singing, *qa·′-m’mɩa-va·n·ɩa-nɪ* I shall sing along, *qa·′-m’mɩa-n ’u′raʻ* comes singing towards me, *qa·′-m’mɩa-p·ïγaʻ* sang while moving (e. g. in round dance), *qa·′-m’mɩa-p·ïγaɪʻ-t̓ua-iʻ* people sang along (e. g. while dancing the scalp dance) (476, 6); inc. *qa·′-’mɩa-q·ᴜ* to start singing

qa·-m·i-q·u- to start singing: *qa·′-m·ɩ-k·ᴜ* to begin to sing, *qa·′-m·ɪʻ-qu-p·ïγaʻ* started in to sing along (430, 23)

qa·-γw’ai- to go and sing: *qa·′-χwa’ᵃ* to go to sing, *qa·′-χw’ɔi-va·n·ɩa-nɪ* I shall go and sing, *qa·′-χw’ai-p·ïγaʻ* went in order to sing

qa·-q·w’ai- to sing off: *qa·′-q·wɔ’aiʻ* keeps on singing; mom. *qa·′-q·w’ai-ŋᴜ* to sing while going past

qa·-γi- to come and sing: *qa·′-χɩʻ* comes to sing

qa·-ntu’i- to make a song (?): ptc. *qa·′-nt̓ui-ntï* something that sings (e. g. a gramophone); ptc. pos. *qa·′-nt̓ui-ntɩ-ŋ’wa∸ᵃŋᴀ* song belonging to him

qa·a- to sing in vain: *qa·′a-p·ïγaʻ* sang to no effect

qa·-vi- ag.: *qa·′-φɪ* singer

qa·-p·i- singing: *qa·′-p·ɪ* singing, obj. *qa·′-p·iʻ* (369, 5); plur. obj. *qa·′-q·ᴀ-piʻ* several singing (370, 4)

qa·-t·ïa- singing place: *qa·′-t·ïᴀ* singing place

qa·- in comp. vb.: *qa·′-p·aγ(a)i-p·ïγaʻ*, *qa·′-p·aγ(ᵃ)i-p·ïγaʻ* sang while on (his) way, sang as (he) went along (424, 24), *qa·′-p·aγ(a)i-ŋki-n ’u′raʻ* comes singing towards me, *qa·′-p·aγ(a)i-ŋqw’ai-yï-a(·)ŋᴀ* sings while going along; *qa·′-m·ɩą-iʻ* several go in order to sing, *qa·′-m·ɩa-p·ïγaʻ* (they) sang while on (their) way; *qa·′-q·arï-iʻ* sits and sings, *qa·′-q·arï-χaʻ* while sitting and singing (363, 1); *qa·′-ŋwḭnï-iʻ* stands and sings; *qa·′-ŋwaŋwɩʻ* several stand and sing; *qa·′-t·ɩŋwɑvaxa-q·a-iʻ* (it) sounds like many singing; *qa·′-t·ᴜʻcuŋwï’ɩ-ŋwᴀ* to make him (inv.) sing

-qa·- in comp. vb.: *ᴜʻcu′q·(w)ɩ-χ̰a·-p·ïγaʻ* whistle-sang, whistled a tune (450, 15); *tɪʻqa′-q·a·-χaʻ* eating while singing

QA·- rat:

qa·-tsi- abs.: *qa·′-ts·* rat, wood-rat; plur. *qa·′-tsι-ηᴡï* rats

na-γa·-tci-tcu- to make oneself a rat: plur. *na(·)-γa·′-tcι-tcᴜ-q(w)a-ηu-mpa‘* shall all turn selves into rats (406, 26)

-QA·- to test, to feel:

ma-γa·- to test with the hand: *ma(·)-γa·′-i‘*, *ma-χa·′-i‘* tests with the hands, by feeling

QAA-^{n} ruffed grouse:

qaa-mpïtsi- abs.: *qa(·)a′-mpïts·* ruffed grouse

-qaa-mpïtsi- in comp. n.: *aγɔ′-ηqɔa-mpïts·* fir-grouse

-ΓA’A- (mod. enc.) indeed, then! (Gram., § 19, 2, b)

QAI’NACA-^{s} supernatural being:

qaï’naca-vi- abs.: *qa′ï’naca-φɪ* supernatural being who owned the deer on Kaibab Plateau

-ΓAIN·IA-, -A-ΓAIN·IA- (mod. enc.) too, also; it seems, indeed, just (Gram., § 19, 2, a)

QAIVA-^{s} mountain: *qa′iφᴀ* mountain

qaiva-γai- to have a mountain, to be mountainous: ptc. *qa′iva-γa-ntï* having a mountain

qaγaiva- distr.: *qaχa′iva(·^{a})-χa-ntï* mountains-having, mountains (456, 19)

qa·q·aiva- distr.: *qa·′q·aiva(·)-χa-ntï* mountains-having, mountains (364, 11); dim. *qa·′q·aiva(·)-ntsι-γα-ntï‘* (obj.) those with mountains (370, 10)

qaiva- in comp. n., ptc.: *qa′iva-mïa·χantï* mountain-divide (Song 75); *qa′iva-yaγats·* mountain-edge, *qaiva-ya·′tsï* (Song 109); *qa′iva-γwitcuv^{w}aʀï* mountain-peak; *qa′iva÷vitcï*, *qa′iva÷vιtcï*, *qa′iva÷vιts·* mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau, *qa′iva÷vιtcï umᴀ* mountain-ridge thereon, on the mountain-ridge (382, 11), *qa′iva÷vιtci-t·ŋ̥-nι‘* like a mountain-ridge, plateau (312, 14), *qa′iva÷vιtcι-tsι̥-ᴡï* Plateau-people, Kaibab Paiutes; *qa′iva-γarïʀï*, *qa′iva-χarïʀï*, *qa′iva-xarïʀï* mountain-sitting, peak (361, 3), mountain in northern Arizona directly east of Moccasin Springs in Navaho country (known by Navahoes as *nantsιs·’a·′n*); *qa′iva-raq·a·-φɪ* mountain-plateau, *qa′iva-raq·a·-x·ɪ* through a mountain-plateau (Song 193)

incor.: *qa′iva-tsιηkoηqu-η’qwιn’ιa′va* when the mountain has been deprived of trees (Song 76)

-qaiva- in comp. n.: *tɔ‘ca′-q·aiφᴀ* white-mountain, White Cliffs, *tɔ‘ca′-q·aiva(·)-χa-ntï* white-mountain-having, having a white

mountain; *parï'ya-γaiva-m* elk-mountain-on (Song 139); *qwana'-ntsι-γaiva-ma(i)ʏᴜ* from on the eagle-mountain (Song 192)

qaipa- (borrowed from N. Paiute dialect?): *qa'ipa-ro(w)ats·* mountain-son, Kaiparowitz Peak

QAIC·Ï-^{s} plant (sp.):

qaic·ï-vï- abs.: *qa'ic·ï(·)-φï* mountain plant (sp.)

QAIT·CƆΓƆ-^{s} hat, cap: *qa'itcɔx·ᴜ, qa'itcɔx·ɔ* hat, obj. *qa'itcɔχ(w)α'*

qaitcɔγɔ-γai- to have a hat: *qa'itcɔγɔ-χ(w)ai-aŋᴀ* he has a hat

-qaitcɔγɔ- in comp. n.: *tᴜ'qu'-q·aitcɔx·ᴜ* hat of wildcat skin; *cï·'-γaitcɔx·ᴜ* squaw-bush hat, woman's basket-cap; *saγwa'χa-γaɪ'tcɔγ(w)a-γa-ntï-ŋwï-ŋwαntï* of those who had blue-hats, of bluejays (440, 24), *saγwa'-χaitcaχ(w)α-n·ïŋwï-ŋᴡï* blue-hat people, bluejays (440, 30)

incor.: *qa'itcɔγɔ-tcᴀ'qoinᴀ* to take off one's hat; *qa'itcɔγ(w)ɔ-ŋ'ᴡɪ'-tca-p·ï* hat-band

-QAIYUŊWI- to split in two:

ta-q·aiyuŋwi- to split in two with a stone: *tᴀ^{x}-qa'.iyuŋᴡɪ-tsi-q·ᴡᴀ* having split them (inan inv.) in two by hitting on a stone (448, 33)

QAM·Ï-^{s} jackrabbit: *qa(·)'mï* jackrabbit; plur. *qa(·)mu'-ŋᴡï, qa(·)m·ï'-ŋᴡï* jackrabbits

qam·ï-γai- to be a jackrabbit: usit. ptc. *qam·ï'-χai-vä-tcï* wont to be a jackrabbit; neg. distr. *qaŋqa'm·ï-a·'-q·u-t̓·ua-c·ampᴀ* others not being jackrabbits

qam·ï- in comp. n.: *qam·ï'-ɔap·uts aŋᴀ* the little jackrabbit (406, 2), *qam·o'-aantsι-ŋwï̜'* young jackrabbits (obj.) (448, 28); *qamï'-ru(w)ats·* jackrabbit-son, little jackrabbit; *qam·u'-m·uru'^{i}* rabbit-skin blanket; *qa(·)m·u'-v^{w}'uι-tsι'* rabbit-eyed (obj.) (personal name) (448, 24); *qamï'-χanɪ* rabbit-house, rabbit-camp, camp occupied when out rabbit-hunting, *qamï'-χanι-χ̰ai-yï-aŋᴀ* he has a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)mï'-χanι-χ̰ai-p·ïγa'* had a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)mï'-χanι-χ̰ai-p·ïγaɪ-t̓ua-ï'* they (impers.) used to have a camp for hunting jackrabbits (360, 1), *qamï'-χanι-a-γaɪ-t̓ua-ï'* people have a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)mï'-χanι-a-γai-p·ïaγaɪ-t̓ua-ï'* people had a rabbit-camp (377, 1); dim. *qamï'-saγwαya·-tsι-χ̰α-ntï* having a jackrabbit stomach (Song 178); *qam·v·'(u)v^{w}a-c·'ap·ɪ* rabbit-soup-boiled, boiled rabbit

incor.: *qam·ï'-rï'ma-p·ɪ* rabbit-roasted, roasted rabbit; *qam·ï'-n·arïv^{w}ï'-p·ï* game in which each tries to head off jackrabbits away from one another

QAN·A-^{s} willow:

qan·a-vï- abs.: *qana'-φï* willow

qan·a- in comp. n., ptc.: *qana'-uι-ŋwa-γa-ntι-mpaŋwɪtux·ᴡᴀ* willow-canyon-through, through a willow-grown canyon (402, 29); *qana'-ɴᴜ*^{x}*q(w)ι-ts·* willow run, brook bordered by willows (Song 116)

-qan·a-vï- in comp. n.: *pa(·)-χa'n·a-φï* water-willow, drooping willow

qan·a-rï·- willow canyon-mouth: *qana'-rï'* mouth of canyon bordered by willows, Kanab; *qana'rï-'o*$^{(w)}$*ip·ɪ* Kanab-canyon, Kanab creek; *qana'rï-m·a(·)m·a'ɔtsι-ŋwï-χ 'umï* the (inv.) Kanab-women, it is said (472, 17)

qan·a-'ɔc·a- willow-basket (see *ɔc·a-*), Kanosh band of Paiutes: *qana'-'ɔc·ᴀ* personal name; *qana'-'ɔc·a-tsι-ŋᴡï* Kanosh band of Paiutes (Song 185)

QAN·AQ·ɔ'-^{n},^{s} chin: *qana'q·ɔ'ɔ* chin

qan·aq·ɔ'-mpi-, qan·aq·ɔ'-vi- abs.: *qana'q̇·ɔ-mpɪ, qan·a'q̇·ɔ*$^{(i)}$*-φɪ* chin

QAN·I-^{s} house: *qa'nɪ* house, *qanι'-va'a-ŋᴡᴀ* at his (inv.) house (308, 10), *qanι'-nɪ* my house (which I live in), *qa(·)nι' 'u'ra'* towards the house (308, 8), neg. *qanι'-'ap·ᴀ* not a (real) house

qaŋqan·i- distr.: *qaŋqa'nɪ* houses

qan·i-'ni- owned house: *qani'-'nι-nɪ* my house (which I own)

qan·i-ntsi- dim.: *qani'-nts·* little house

qan·i-t·ïa- house-place, camping place: *qa(·)nι'-t·ï'* camping place, *qa(·)nι'-t·ïα-nɪ* my camping place; distr. *qa(·)nι'-t·ïrïᴀ* camping places, obj. *qa(·)nι'-t·ιrïa-i'* (370, 9)

qan·i-p·ï- former house: *qan·ι'-p·ï, qa(·)nι'-p·ï* old camp, camp no longer used, obj. *qanι'-p·ï'* (374, 3), *qa(·)n·ι'-p·ï-n·ι'* like an uninhabited house (470, 1), *qa(·)nι'-p·ï-v*^{w}*a·*^{a}*-nt u'ʀᴜ* being at an abandoned camp (322, 11)

qan·i-vï- nest: *qa(·)nι'-φï* nest

qan·i-γai- to be a house: usit. ptc. *qanι'-χ̬ai-vä-tcï* always being a house; neg. usit. ptc. *qanι'-a'i-vä-tcï* no house that ever was; fut. ptc. *qa(·)nι'-χ̬ai-va·*^{a}*-ntɪ* going to be a house

qan·i-γai- to have a house: *qa(·)n·ι'-χ̬a'* to have a house, to live; ptc. *qa(·)nι'-χ̬α-ntï* who has a house, plur. *qanι'-χ̬a-ntï-m*^{w} *αmï* villagers (385, 2); perf. ptc. *qa(·)nι'-χ̬ai-k̬·α-ntï* who had a house; usit. ptc. *qanι'-χ̬ai-vä-tcï* always having a house; distr. *qaŋqa'ni-χ̬a'* to have houses

qan·i-γai-ŋqï- to live with: *nï' qa(·)nι'-χ̬ai-ŋqï-tu'a-i'* I live with them (impers.), *qa(·)nι'-χ̯ai-ŋqï-tu'α-p·ïγa‘* lived in camp with people (394, 1)

qan·i-aγai- to be provided with houses: *qan·ι'-axa‘* there are many houses, there is a village; ptc. *qanι'-aγa-nt aʀï* the village, camp (381, 11)

qan·i-a-t̓·ui- to cause to have houses: *qan·ι'-ᴀ-t̓ui-p·ïγa‘* caused (it) to have houses

qan·i-ntcu- to make a house: *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-i‘* builds a wickiup; mom. *qa(·)nι'-ntcu-ŋu-mïï-ts·* having finished the camp (355, 5); ptc. *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-ʀï* builder of a house; ag. *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-φɪ* house-builder; *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-χwaai'* go make a camp (355, 1)

qan·i-ntcu-t̓·ui- to cause to make a house: *nį' qa(·)ni'-ntcᴜ-t̓ui‘* I build houses

qan·i-ntcu'a- to become a house: mom. *qanι'-ntcu'a-ŋᴜ* to become a house, *qanι'-ntcu'a-ŋu-ntca-a(·)ŋᴀ* he became a house

-qan·i- in comp. n.: *to(w)a'-q·anι* giving-birth house, parturition hut; *moχwa'-q·anɪ* cedar-bark wickiup, *mɔγ^{w}a(·)'-q·an·i-ntcᴜ-pïγa‘* built a cedar-bark house (462, 7); *ɴᴀ‘sa''a-q·anɪ* sweat-house; *ava'-χanɪ* shade-house, summer hut; *tca·'cι-χ̯anɪ* menstrual hut; *na·'-χanɪ* copulating house, house of prostitution; *qwιya'tsi-ŋqa(·)-nι‘* bear-den (obj.) (349, 5), *tï-ŋqa'nɪ* rock-house, cave (q. v.); *nį-ŋqa'n·ι-φɪ* somebody else's house

-qan·i-vï- in comp. n.: *mįyï'-ŋqa(·)nι-φï* gopher house, *mïyï'-ŋqa(·)nι-vï-nι‘* like a gopher-pile (329, 11); *tïγι'a-xanι-φï* deer-hide covering of a tepee

qan·i- in comp. n.: *qan·ι'-ntcuats·* house-child, little house; *qanι'-yïï‘* house-entrance, doorway; *qanι'-p·a(i)ya‘* house-slope, wall of house; *qa(·)nι'-iyɔφɪ* house-dove, domestic pigeon; *qanι'-naŋqava-φï* house-ears, tent-flaps

incor.: *qa(·)n·ι'-t·ïŋwa(į)-ʏï* house-closes, shuts the door; *qa(·)nι'-vu-ŋwantcι‘* puts up a tepee; *qa(·)nι'-ntcᴀ^{x}qoina-i‘* takes down a tepee; *qa(·)nι'-ntɪ‘qaŋ'ᴡɪ* to become transformed into a house (for a limited time); *nï' qa(·)nι'-vaγι-p·aγ(a)i‘* I visit from place to place; *qanι'-ntcιwq-'nïmpï* house-closer, door; *qa(·)nι'-nts·-turu'(w)ι-nïmpï* flap-poles

QANI-^{n} kidney: *qa(·)ni'-nɪ* my kidney

qani-mpi- abs.: *qa(·)ni'-mpɪ* kidney

QANI·'- to seek: *nį' qani·''^{i}* I stay around waiting (for something); plur. cont. *taŋᴡᴀ qani·''-q·a-nι‘* we (incl.) stay around waiting (for something)

-qani·'- with incor. obj.: *wara'-x·ani·ⁱ'-x̯wa'ᵃ* to go to ask for grass-seeds (308, 4); *tᴜˣqu'a-xani·ⁱ'-ni·ⁱ'* hangs around waiting for some one to give meat; *ta(·)γu'-q·ani·'ⁱ* to hang around waiting for some one to give water (see *taγu-*)

QANI·ARU- sheep (< Span. *carnero*):

qani·aru-tsi- abs.: *qanι·'aru-ts·* sheep; plur. *qanι·'aru-tsι-ŋᴡ·ï* sheep

QANI'γ̯A- base of cliff:

qani'γa-tsi- abs.: *qanι''γa-ts·* base of cliff; in comp. n. *αŋqa'-q·anι'γa-tcį-ᴡï* red-cliff-base people (name of Paiute band)

QA'NIγ̯A·- side, proximity: *qa(·)'nι'χ̯a·ᵃ-va'* at proximity, next, beside (e. g. the house), *qa'nι'χ̯a-va·ntux·ᴡᴀ* to the side (of it), near by (354, 5), *qa'nι'xa·ᵃ-vaiʏᴜ* on the side (of the round dance) (426, 24)

-qa'niγa·- in comp. postp. (Gram., § 50, 4, 3): *nï-χa''nιxa·ᵃ-va'* on the side of me (at rest like a tree), *taŋwa'-xa'nιxa·ᵃ-va'* (resting) alongside of us (incl.); *nï-χa''nιxa·ᵃ-va(i)ʏᴜ* (something in motion) on the side of me; *u-χ(w)α'n'nιχa·-x·ɪ* (moving) along it (inv.)

QAŊA- morning star: *qa(·)'ŋᴀ* morning star

in comp. n.: *qa(·)ŋa'-m·ʷï̧'* morning-star month, December or January (so called because at the time of greatest frost the children were told to go out in the early twilight to see the star rise out of the bush in the east)

QA'ɔ-ˢ pine-cone:

qa'ɔ-vï- abs.: *qa'ɔ'-φï* pine-cone; in comp. n. *tïvʷa'-q·a'ɔφï* pine-nut cone, pine-cone

QAP·A-, QAVI- to stop:

qap·a-q·i- mom. intr.: *qᴀ'pa'-q·ɪ* to stop, *qᴀ'pa'-q·ɪ-pïγa'* stopped (389, 5)

qap·a-q·i-t'ui- caus.: *qᴀ'pa'-q·ɪ-t'ui-va·n·ιa-ᴀˣqa-nɪ* I shall stop it

qavi-tcai- several stop (intr.); *qavι'-tcai-yi-aq·ᴀ* they (inan.) stop

ma-γavi-tca- to stop several: *nï'aq·ᴀ ma-γa'vι-tca-va·n·ι'* I shall stop them (inan.)

-γA·VA'- (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 4):

-γa·va'-t·ï- (ptc.) being —er than

QAP·I-, QAVI- to cut, to break through:

qavi-tcai- several snap (intr.): mom. *qa(·)vι'-tcai-ŋᴜ* many snap

tsi-q·ap·i-, tsi-q·avi- to cut with a point, knife: dur. *ts·-k̯a'vi-na-i'*, *ts·-k̯a'vι-na-i'* cuts (one object); mom. *ts·-k̯a'p·i-n'ɴᴀ* to cut (one object) in one cut, *ts·-qa'p·ι-'na-p·ïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* cut it (inv.) off

(336, 9), plur. usit. *ts·-ka'p·ɩ-n'na-q·a-m·i-nï-mpïγa'* (they) always cut (them) through (474, 10); with plur. obj. *ts·-ḵa'vɩ-tca-iʻ* cuts several; distr. *ts·tsɩ'-ḵ·avɩ-tcᴀ* to cut several one after another

tca-q·avi-na- to break through (one object) with the fingers (dur.): with incor. obj. *piyu'-t·cᴀˣ-qavɩ-n·a-iʻ* breaks the heart of a rabbit, by stroking (his sides) strongly between thumb and index finger

wï-q·ap·i-, *wï-q·avi-* to cut with a blade, with the length of an instrument: dur. *nį' wɪʻ-qa'vi-na-vaʻ* I shall cut (one object), *wïˣ-qa'vi-na-vaʻ* (you) will cut (one branch from a tree) (348, 10); mom. *nį' wɪʻ-qa'p·ɩ-n'ɴᴀ*, *wɪʻ-qa'p·i-n'ɴᴀ* I cut (one thing) in one cut; with plur. obj. *wɪʻ-qa'vi-tca-iʻ* cuts several, plur. *wïʻ-qa'vɩ-tca-q·a-iʻ* (they) cut down several; distr. *wïwï'-q·a(·)vɩ-tcᴀ-pïγaʻ* (it) cut (them) in half one after another (460, 29)

qï-q·avi-tca- to cut several objects with the teeth: *qïʻ-qa'vɩ-tca-iʻ* breaks in the mouth by gnashing with the teeth (Song 172)

qo-q·avi-tca- to break in two by means of fire: *qo-q·(w)avɩ-tca-yï'* breaks (it) in half by burning over a fire (Song 172)

QA·'P·Ï- cup (< Eng. *cup*):

qa·'p·ï-tsi- abs.: *qa·''p·u(ⁱ)-ts·* cup

QAVA·-ˢ horse (< Span. *caballo*): *qava'ʻ* horse; plur. *qavą·'-ŋwï* horses

qava·-γai- to be a horse: *nï' qava·'ᵃ-γaʻ* I am a horse, *qava·'-χai-y(ⁱ) 'ųnɪ* horse-be-ing thus, like a horse

qava·-γa- to get a horse: *qava·'ᵃ-xa-tca-nɪ* I got a horse

qava·-aγai- to be provided with horses: ptc. *qava·'-axa-ntï* (country) filled with horses

qava·-ru'a- to become a horse: mom. *qava·'-ru'α-ŋu-ntca÷ŋᴀ* he became a horse, *qava·'-ru'α-ŋu-mpa·n·ɩa÷ŋᴀ* he will become a horse

qava·- in comp. n.: *qava·'-vuŋqu-nɪ* my horse-pet, my horse; *qava·'-ru(w)ats·* horse-child, colt, *qava·'-ru(w)ats· piya'p·uts·* colt little-female, filly; *qava·'ᵃ-vɩʻ* horse-female, mare; *qava'ᴀ-sa'mαp·ï* horse-blanket, saddle blanket; *qava·'-va·n·a-p·atcᴀ* horse-iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *qava'(u)-xwᴀʻcɩ-väïx·ɪ* horse-tail-hair, wearing a horse's tail in (his) hair (472, 25)

-qava·- in comp. n.: *tɔʻca'-q·ava·-tc a·ŋa·* the white-horsed one (personal name) (Song 202); *tï'ra-γava·-ŋwï-nɩ* like desert horses (Song 174)

QAVA-Q·I- to break (mom.) (cf. *qɔvɔ-q·i-*):

with incor. n.: pas. ptc. *wï'a'-q·ava-q·ɪ-pï-ŋʻ* penis-broken (personal name)

-Q·AVAI-:

in comp. num.: *na(·)va'ɪ-ḵa(^{a})va'ai-ʏᴜ* seven (cf. *navai-* six), *na(·)va'-(i)^{x}-ḵa(·)vai-yų-nɩʻ* seven (in counting)

QAQ·ARA-^{g} quail: *qᴀ^{x}qa'ʀᴀ* quail; plur. *qᴀ^{x}qa'ra-mï*

QAQ·ARÏ-^{s} to run away: *qᴀʻqa'ʀï* to run away, *qᴀʻqa'ʀï-pïγa'ai-mï* they 2 escaped (319, 6); ptc. *qᴀʻqa'rï-ʀï* one who runs away

qaq·arï-'q·u- inc.: *qᴀʻqa'r'ï-q·ᴜ* to jump off to run away for fear

qaq·at·ï- iter.: *qᴀʻqa't·ɩʻ* runs away several times

tï·-ŋqaq·arï- to run away intensely: *tï'-ŋqᴀ^{x}qaʀï* to run away on a dead run

QA·Q̇·I- to make a noise of clearing one's throat:

qa·q̇·i-ŋu- mom.: *qa·'q̇·ɩ-ŋᴜ-pïγaʻ* made a noise like *qᴀx·* as in clearing one's throat (404, 13; 458, 6)

QAγI- necklace, loop: *qa(·)'x·ɪ* necklace, collar, *qaχɩ'-nɪ* my necklace

-qaγi- in comp. n.: *tcɔ'i-ŋqa(·)x·ɪ* beaded necklace

qaγi-'a- to put on a necklace: *qaγ(ɛ)'i-'a-iʻ* puts (necklace, collar) around the neck

-qaγi-'a- with instr. pref.: *ma-γa'x'(a)i-(y)a-iʻ* loops to the hand, hangs to the wrist through a loop, *ma-γa'x'(a)i-(y)a·-ŋqï-ts·* having hung to the wrists through loops (474, 16); *tᴀʻ-qa'xɩ-'a-iʻ* loops around the feet, ankles

QAγU- grandmother: *qa(·)γu'-nɪ, qa(·)γų'-nɪ* my grandmother (paternal, maternal)

qaγu-tsi- dim.: *qa(·)γu'-tsɩ-nɪ, qa·χu'-tsɩ-nɪ* my (woman's) grandchild, *qaγu'-tsɩ-ŋᴡᴀ* her (inv.) grandson; plur. *qa(·)γu'-tsɩ-ŋwï-nɪ* my dear grandmothers (476, 17)

QA·γUP·ÏN·A'A-^{s}: abs. *qa·'χup·ïn·a'a-φï* low plant growing near Colorado river the leaves of which are chewed to wet pebbles thrown as medicine at a mustang that cannot be caught

QAS·AVÏ- striking wing (cf. *qïc·a-vi-?*): *qᴀʻsa'φï* striking wing (of chicken-hawk), *qᴀʻsa'vu-ma-nɪ* with my wing, *qᴀʻsa'vu-ma-ŋa-φï* with his wing . . . him (366, 12)

QA·T·A- cat (< Span. *gato* or Eng. *cat*):

qa·t·a-tsi- abs.: *qa·'t·a-ts·* cat

in comp. n.: *qa·'t·a'-γumᴀ* cat-male, tom-cat

QA·'AT·A- God (< Eng. *God*): *qa·''at·ᴀ* God (term used by Escalante Paiute)

QARA-γA- to make a crackling sound: cont. *qa(·)ra'-xa-n·ï'i-yï-n·ɩʻ* makes a noise as of rustling paper or crackling rawhide

QARAQ̇·A-^{s} occiput: *qara'q̇·ᴀ* occiput, back of head

qaraq̇·a-vi- abs.: *qara'q̇·a-φɪ* occiput

QARÏ-^{s} to sit (sing)., to dwell: *nï' qarï'-i'* I sit, *qarï'-p·ïγa'* sat (308, 2), neg. *nι' qa q·arι'-ŋwa'*^{a} I not dwelt, I was absent

qarï-q̇·u- to begin to sit: *qa(·)rï'-q̇·u-q·ᴜ* when (the sun) begins to sit, sets (430, 5)

qarï-m'mia- to sit along, to ride: *qa(·)rï'-m'mιq-i'* is riding, rides horseback, *qa(·)rï'-m'mιa-xa'* while riding; plur. *qa(·)rï'-q·a-m'mιq-i'* several ride horseback

qarï-m·i-q·u- to begin to sit along, to begin to ride: *qa(·)rï'-m·ι-k·ᴜ qwa'u'* to ride off

qarï-γi- to come sitting, riding: *qa(·)rï'-χ̂i-ï* comes riding

qaq·arï- to begin to sit, to settle: *qᴀ'qa'ʀï-pïγa'* sat down, gathered, settled (388, 5); with incor. n. *pa(·)γι'n·a-x·qarï-χu'* would fog-settle, (it) would become foggy (364, 10)

qaq·at·ï- iter.: *qᴀ'qa't·ι-χ̂a'* having sat several times

a·-γarï- to sit quietly: *a·'-χarï-i'* sits quietly

qarï-n·ïmpï- sitting instrument, saddle: *qarï'-n·ïmpï* saddle; in comp. n. *qarï'n·ïmpɔ-ʀətsι-ȧ'* saddle-head, saddle horn; *qa(·)rï'-n·ïmpï-ȧ-t·ui'* causes saddle to be on, saddles (a horse)

qarï-rï- ptc.: *qarï'-ʀï* sitter; knoll, hill, peak; dim. *pa·'vaŋᴡɪ qarï'-tcι-ts·* in-water little-knoll, island; *pa'iᴀ*^{x} *qarï'-rï* of water-sitting, of the lake (402, 12), *pa'ai' qarï'-rï'* water (obj.) sitting, lake (404, 33) (see also comp. *pa-γa'rï-rï-* water-sitting, lake)

-qarï-rï- in comp. n.: *yïv*^{w}*ι'-ŋk̯arïʀï* pine-peak, Mt. Trumbull; *ma-a(·)'-xarïʀï* timbered knoll, *maa(·)'-xarïrï'* (obj.) clump of woods (418, 17); *qa'iva-χarïr αʀï* the mountain-peak (361, 3); *nïv*^{w}*a'-xarïʀï* snow-peak (see *nïv*^{w}*a-*); *ɔγɔ'-ŋq(w)arïrï'* fir-island (obj.) (468, 14), dim. *ɔγɔ'-ŋqarï-tsι-tcï* (obj.) little fir-knoll (474, 22); *tɔsa-q·arïrï-nι'ŋwïntsι-tsι-gai'* being white-peak persons (Song 115)

-qarï- in comp. vb.: *a'i-k̯·arï-p·ïγa'* said sitting (362, 11); *'anι'-k̯·arï'*, *an·i'-k̯·arï-i'* does, is so while sitting (362, 12; 436, 1); *tɪ'qa'-q·arï-i'* eats while sitting; *ampa'x·-qarï-i'* sits and talks; *qa·'-q·arï-i'* sits and sings, *qa·'-q·arï-χa'* while sitting and singing (363, 1); *kia'ŋqï-qarï-i'* sits laughing; *pïni'-k̯·arï-i'* sits looking, watches, *pïn·i'-k̯·arï-χa'* while sitting and looking (436, 2); *cïï'-ʀᴜ*^{x}*-q(w)aʀï-pïγa'* was making a basket of squaw-bush as (she) sat (450, 16); *qutcu'ŋ'wa·-q·arï-p·ïγa'* sat on (his) haunches rabbit-like (389, 3); *pɔ'ta'-q·arï-i'* sits with extended feet; *tᴀ'ta'-q·ᴜkwι-k̯·arï-i'* keeps kicking (his) feet while sitting; *qwitca'-χarï-p·ïγa* sat down and defecated (357, 12); *taŋ'a'rɔai-χ̂arï-* to kneel (q. v.); *tɔ's·ᴀ*^{x}*-garï-g̣ï-na·nι* comes white to sit down (Song 194)

-qarï- to be stationed, to keep on -ing: *wụnï'-χarï-ʀɪ̈* stand-sitting, stationed man, *wị̈nï'-χarï-χw'ai-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they 2 went to stand-sit, to be stationed (at certain points) (432, 19); *tɪ'qa'-q·arï-i'* keeps on eating

-QARÏ- to protect:

with instr. pref.: *ma-xa'rï-aŋᴀ* protect him from danger, fut. ptc. *ma-xa'rï-vʷa·-ntï-'mɪ* which will be protecting you (442, 33)

QATCƆA·-ˢ top-end: *qatcɔ'a·-mᴀ* at the top-end (above one's head in sleeping) (464, 22)

in comp. n.: *qatsɔ'a-va·ts·* end-spring, end of springs

QATCU- not (Gram., § 57)

qa·tcu- no! (Gram., § 61, 1)

QATCU- to be exhausted (cf. *qatcu-* not):

qatcu-ŋu- mom. *nï' qa(·)tcu'-ŋᴜ* I have given out; plur. *taŋᴡᴀ qa(·)tcu'-q·(w)a-ŋᴜ* we (incl.) have given out

in comp. v.: *qatcu'-n·avɪtcɪ'* (they) are all tired out; dur. *qa(·ᵃ)tcu'-t·ɪγaɪ-pïγa'* was giving out (329, 3), mom. *qatcu'-t·ɪ'qaŋ'ᴡɪ* to be tired out

QA·YU- to grind up: *qa'a(i)ʏᴜ-pïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* (it) ground them (inan. inv.) up (356, 3); plur. *qa·'ʏᴜ-q(w)a(i)-'yï-q·ᴡᴀ* (they) grind them (inan. inv.) up

qaγa·yu- inc.: *qaχa'iyu-'q·ᴡᴀ* grind them (inan. inv.) up (like a dog crushing bones)

QA'YƆ- to hop: *qa(·)'yɔ'-i'* hops, *qa'yɔ'(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* he hops

qa'yɔ-m'mia- to hop along: dim. *qa'yɔ'-m'yα-ntsɪ-γa'* while hopping along on one leg (398, 2)

-ΓI-ᵍ (post.; Gram., § 40, 4, 5) moving through

KIA- to laugh:

kia-n'ni- cont.: *ki(y)ε'-n'nɪ'* laughs

kia-ŋqï- to laugh: *ki(y)a'-ŋqï-i'* laughs, *kɪ(y)a'-ŋqï(ⁱ)-r'ua-ŋᴀ* does he laugh?; impers. *kɪ(y)a'-ŋqï-tu'ᵃ* some one laughing

kia-ŋqï-q·u- to start laughing: *kiε'-ŋqï-q·ᴜ* to commence laughing

kiγia-ŋqï- inc.: *kiχi'a-ŋqï* to start in laughing; usit. *kiγi'ε-ŋqï-mʷɪ'* is wont to burst out laughing, laughs several times

kik·ia-ŋqï- iter.: *kɪ'ki'ε-ŋqï'* laughs several times

kia-ŋqï-vi- ag.: *kɪ(y)a'-ŋqï-ϕɪ* laugher, one who always laughs

kia-ŋqï-p·i- laughter: *kɪ(y)a'-ŋqï-p·ɪ* laughter, obj. *kɪ(y)a'-ŋqï-pɪ'*

kia-ŋqï- in comp. vb.: *kia'-ŋqï-qarï-i'* sits laughing; *kɪa'-ŋqï-ŋwị̈nï-i'* stands and laughs

-kia-: *tümpʷɪ'-k·ɪa-hɔˠɔ-ts·* rock-laugher (?), sp. of sparrow-like bird

-QIA-: *MAʿ-cι'-q·ιa(i)-yï-nɪ* my hands are cold

KIŋWA'A-^{s} doll:

kiŋwa'a-vi- abs.: *kiŋwa''a-φɪ* doll (used only by girls)

KI·P·Ï-^{s} elbow-joint: *ki'p·ï* elbow-joint

ki·p·ï-vi- abs.: *ki'p·ï-φɪ* elbow-joint

KIḰ·A- to make a sound of pierced paper:

kiḱ·a-q·i- mom.: *kɪ^{x}ḱa'-q·i-n·ιʿ* (it) makes a sound as of paper pierced by something (Song 111)

-KIK·I- to sound like a slap on something soft: with instr. pref. *pɪ^x-ḱi'ḱ·i-n·ιʿ* to sound like a slap on buttocks, face, or other soft part of the body

-QIγI- to narrow (?):

na-γiγi- refl.: *na-γι'γι-p·ɪ* tight place between two hills; *pa(·)-n·a'-γιγι-p·ɪ* water-narrow, spring in a tight place (willow creek between two mountains), Iron Springs

KI·T́CƆ-γA- to sound thick and wet: *ki·'t́cɔ-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* sounds thick and wet (like the noise produced by withdrawing a foot that has sunk in mud)

KIYA- to have a round-dance:

kiya-m·ia- several go to a round-dance: *kiya'-m·ιa-vaʿ* will go and have a round-dance (430, 14)

kiya-q·a-γi- several come for a round-dance: *kiγa'-q·a-x·ɪ* come and have a round-dance (426, 20)

kiya-p·ï- round-dance: *kiya'-p·ï* play, dance, round-dance, "squaw dance" (321, 12; 400, 8)

KI·YU-γA- to make a metallic, rattling sound: *ki·'yu-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* makes a noise like rattling coins

QÏ-^{g} with the teeth, mouth (instr. pref.; cf. *qï'ï-* to bite): Gram., § 21, 5

QÏ·- to sound like tearing:

qï·-γa- dur.: *qï·'-χa(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* (it) sounds like a rag tearing

qï·-k·i- mom.: *qï·'-k·i-n·ιʿ* (it) sounds like one tear of a rag

QÏ'Ï- to bite: *qï''ɪ* to bite, *nï'ntcaa(·)ŋ qï''^{i}* I bit him, *qï'ï'-iʿ*, *qï(·)''-ιʿ* bites, *qï'-va·n·ιʿ* will bite, *qï'ï'(^{i})-tca^{ɪ}ŋα-nɪ* he bit me, *qï'ï'-p·ïγai(y)-aq·A* bit it (404, 12)

QÏAŋWI- yesterday (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

QÏM·A-^{s} stranger, other:

qïm·a- other, stranger (Gram., § § 39, 2; 59, 3, d): an. sing. *qïma'-ŋa-c·U* another one, stranger, obj. *qïma'-ŋa-ia-c·u-ru' aiḱ·A* are you talking about a stranger? (366, 2); an. plur. *qïma'-m·u-c·U* strangers; inan. *qïma'-rï-c·U qanɪ* strange house, *qïma'-rï-c·*

aRÏ qanι'nI my other house, *qïma'-ru-c·U ya·'^{a}xwa'^{a}* go and fetch another (458, 30); obj. *qïma'-q·U-cu-n qaχa·'^{a}va·^{a}c·U* I shall sing another (song) again (346, 7); *qïma'-ŋWIʽtux·WA* in another direction (325, 5)

na-γïm·a-ŋwï- recip.: *na(·)-γï'm·a-ŋu-ŋu-c·U* strangers to each other you (plur.) (367, 3)

qïm·a-ntsi- abs.: *qïma'-ntsι-ŋWï* strangers, Shoshone Indians (cf. *Comanche*)

na-γïm·a-ntsi-ŋwï- recip.: *na-γï'ma-ntsι-ŋWï* two who are strangers to each other

-qïm·a-ntsi- in comp.: *wa·'-q·ïma-ntsι-ŋWï* two strangers

qïm·a- in comp. n.: *qïma'-χani-nI* my other house; *qïma'-va·-m·unts·*, *qïma'-p·a·-m·unts·* stranger-water-mountain (Song 185)

qïm·a- incor.: *qïm·a'-ntcïkι-va·-ŋwa'^{a}* shall not be mixed up with others' (urine) (434, 25)

-qïm·a- in comp. postp.: *nï-γï'ma-ŋwa-ntï* being other-from me, strange to me, not related to me, obj. *imι'-xïma-ŋwα-ntïʽ* not related to you (366, 3); *nï-χι'm·a-ŋwιt·uγwα-q·a÷ŋA* he goes away from me, *a-χï'm·aŋwιt·ux·WA*, *a-χï'm·aŋwιt·ux·WA* away from here (464, 5; 450, 18); *u-γu'm·a-ŋwιt·ux·WA* (moving) away from it (inv.) (325, 6; 389, 6), *qanι'-χumaŋwιt·ux·WA*, *qan·ι'-γïmaŋWItux·WA* away from the house

QÏŊWA·-^{s} edge: *qïŋwa'ʽ* edge, *qιŋwa÷'q·A* side, edge of it, *qïŋwa·'^{a}-va·-ntï* at the edge (380, 3), obj. *qïŋwa·'^{a}-va·^{a}-ntïʽ* (317, 7)

pa-γïŋwa·- water-edge: abs. *pa(·)-χι'ŋwα-φI* water-edge, shore; *pa(·)-χιŋwa·'^{a}-rux·WA-pïγaʽ* went along the river-shore (456, 24)

QÏ·VI- locust: *qï·'φI* locust; plur. *qï·'vι-ŋWï* locusts; *qï·'vι-nI* my locust, pos. *qï·'vι-n'ι-nI* my (owned) locust

QÏ·Q·A-γA- (old tree) creaks: *qï·'q·a-χa-iʽ* wood (or old tree) creaks, strains in the blowing of the wind, *qï·'q·a-χa(i)-yï-n·ιʽ* (it) sounds like an old tree's creaking in the wind

-QÏQ·ÏI- (see -QƆQ·ƆI-)

QÏC·AP·AI- to have supper (< Eng. *supper*): *qïʽca'p·ai-vä·n·ιʽ*, *qïha'f·ai-vä·n·ιʽ* will sup, eat supper (Escalante Paiute term)

QÏC·AVI- hawk (sp.) (see *qïc·avï-* wing): *qïʽca'φI*, *qïʽca'φï* Sennett white-tailed hawk (?), white-breasted sp. that hits smaller birds with his wings

in comp.: *caγwa'-xUcaφI* gray-hawk, *caγwa'-xUcav aŋA* the chicken-hawk (360, 4)

QÏC·AVÏ-^{s} wing (see *qas·avï-*):

qïc·avï-vi- abs.: *qïʽca'vu-φI* wing

QÏRA- cut in the hair: *qï'RA* cut in the hair

qïra-tsi- with hair cut: *qïra'-ts·* with the hair cut off

QÏRA-C·I'A-^{g} water-jar stopper:

qïrac·i'a-p·ï- abs.: *qïrα'c·ι'α-p·ï* stopper for a water-jar

QÏRIN'NAŊQA- hawk (sp.):

qïrin'naŋqa-tsi- abs.: *qïri'n'naŋqa-ts·* sparrow-hawk (?)

QÏRÏRÏ- to make the sound of a hard object drawn over a row of teeth: *qï'rïrï(^{i})-yï-n·ι'* (it) sounds like a hard object played over a toothed or notched thing

QÏTCA-^{s} blood for roasting:

qïtca-vi- abs.: *qïtca'-φI* prepared blood, blood held in a paunch for roasting, *qïtca'vι-na·^{a}γιt·ux·WA* into blood to be roasted (468, 20)

incor.: plur. *qïtca'-rï'mα-ŋqï-qa-va-ŋa-nI* (you) all will blood-roast him for me (468, 7); in comp. vb. *qïtca'-rï'mα-t·ïv^{w}ιtcU-q(w)ai-n·α-nI* my blood-roast-asked, blood-roast that I have asked for (468, 12); *qïtca'-rï'mα-p·I* blood-roast, blood held in a paunch and roasted under ashes (468, 4)

QÏT·SI-^{s} saliva:

qït·si-vi- abs.: *qï'tsι'-φI* spit

qït·si-'a- pos.: *nï̜'ni qï'tsι'-ȧ'* my spit

-QÏU-^{s} fish (only compounded with *pa-* water):

pa-γïu- fish: *paγï'*', *pa(·)γï'*' fish

paγïu-tsi- fish-person: *paγï'u-ts·* Fish (personal name); plur. *pa(·)γï·'^{i}-tsι̜-Wï* fish-people, Paiute band of Panguitch Lake

paγïu- in comp. n.: *paγï'u-φA* fish-water, Panguitch Lake (so called because abounding in trout, suckers, and white fish); *paγï'u-va-NU'q(w)ιntI* fish-water-stream, Panguitch creek

-paγïu- in comp. n.: *tcuŋu'-p·aγï'* pipe-fish, sucker; *aŋqa'-p·aγï'* red-fish, trout

incor.: *paγï'u-rïq·a-i'* eats fish

-QƆ'AI-^{s} grove bend:

in comp. n.: ptc. *w'a'-q·ɔadi-tcï* cedar-grove bend, semicircular cedar-grove

QƆ'I- to kill several: pas. ptc. obj. *qɔ'ɔ'i-p·ï-a-i'* who (plur.) had been killed (424, 23)

qɔ'i-t·ï·- pas.: ptc. plur. *qɔ'ɔ'i-t·ï·-rï-m·ï̜'* of those who had been killed (474, 27)

qɔγɔ'i- distr.: *qɔχɔ''ι-tca-m·ï-nI* I have killed them (452, 12), *qɔχɔ'i-va'* will kill (them), *qɔγɔ''i-p·ïaγaI-ťua(i)-yï-aq·A* they (impers.) killed them (inan.) all (396, 12) with incor. obj.: distr. *na(·)γa'-γɔχɔ'ι-k̯·ai-n·a-φï* mountain-sheep (plur.) that he had killed (452, 16)

QƆ'I- several go to sleep (cf. *qɔ'i-* to kill several, *aq·ɔ'i-* several sleep): *qɔ''ɔi-p·ïγaʻ* (they) all went to sleep (334, 1)

QƆI'NA·-, QƆI'NI- to fall apart, to hang loosely apart:

qɔi'na·- to fall apart: *qɔ'ï'naʻ* to have two parts separate yet without falling away from each other (like bread cut into two chunks), *qɔ(ɔ)'ï'na·-p·ïγaʻ* (line) was mowed down, fell right down (320, 12)

qɔi'na·-t'ui- to cause to fall apart: *qɔ'ï'na·-t'ui-aq·ᴀ* cut it off into two parts that hang together, *qɔ(ɔ)'in·a·-t'ui-mï* to mow them down, make them fall down, *qɔ(ɔ)'in·a·-t'ui-k·ᴡᴀ* to mow down (grass, objects)

qɔγɔi'na·- iter.: *qɔγɔ'ιna·'* to keep coming together in two chunks (Song 144)

qɔi'ni- to hang apart: *qɔ'ï'nι-yï-aq·ᴀ* it hangs together consisting of two parts

QƆI'NI-^{s} corn (< Eng. *corn*): *qɔ'^{i}'nɪ* corn, *qɔ'^{i}'ni-nɪ* my corn

qɔi'ni- in comp. n.: *qɔ'^{i}'nι-va·n·arup·ɪ* corn-bread, corn-cake, *qɔ'^{i}'nι-ɔaφï* corn-bone, corn-cob

incor.: *nï̯' qɔ'ï'nι-ntcïqa-iʻ* I eat corn

QƆ·N·I- to return: *qɔ·'ni-ntca-nɪ* I returned, *qɔ·'nɪʻ-pïγai-c·ᴜ* turned back again (460, 5)

qɔ·n·i-q·a- plur.: *qɔ·'nι-k̯·ᴀ* several return

qɔ·n·i-γi- to come back: *qɔ·'n·ι-χ̯ι-n·ιʻ* come back (myth word) (456, 20)

QƆN·Ɔ- cradle of basketry: *qɔ(·)'nɔ* cradle, *qɔ(·)n·ɔ'-nɪ* my cradle

qɔn·ɔ- in comp. n.: *qɔ(·)n·ɔ'-uru'aʻ* cradle carrying-strap

QƆP·Ɔ-, QƆVƆ-; QƆP·I-, QƆVI- to break (intr., tr.):

qɔp·ɔ-q·i- mom. intr.: *qɔʻpɔ'-q·(ᴡ)ɪ, qɔʻpɔ'-q·ɔ* to break (once, right away); with incor. n. *yu'ɔ'-x·ɔpɔ-q·(ᴡ)ɪ* to leg-break (intr.), to break one's (own) leg

qɔvɔ-q·i- dur. intr.: *qɔvɔ'-q·(^{ɔ})ιʻ* breaks slowly, not at once; *qɔvɔ'-q·(w)ι-tsι-χ̯aʻ* to commence to break; pas. ptc. *qɔvɔ'-q·(w)ι-p·ï, qɔvɔ'-q·(^{ɔ})ι-p·ï* broken (person, arrow)

qɔvi-tcai- several break (intr.): pas. ptc. *qɔvι'-tc(ι)ai-p·ï* broken (arrows)

-qɔp·i-n'na- to break one object (mom. tr., with instr. pref.): *ma(·)-χɔ'p·i-n'ɴᴀ* to break (tr.), *ma(·)-χɔ'p·ι-'na-p·ïγaʻ* broke (his bow) (335, 6); *ᴡɪʻ-qɔ'p·i-n'ɴᴀ* to break by swinging on to the

edge of something; *ts·-qɔ'p·i-n'NA* to break by sticking into (the ground) and bending; *tAʿ-qɔ'p·i-n'NA* to break by stepping on; with incor. obj. *yu'ɔ'-RAˣ-qɔp·ι-'na-q·ai-na·ŋ aŋA* the one who had had his leg broken (398, 9), *yu'ɔ'-RA-qɔp·ι-n'NA* to break a leg (by throwing)

QƆVA-ˢ (QOVA-ˢ) face: *qɔ'φA* face

qɔva-vi- abs.: *qɔva'-φI* face

ta-q·ɔva-vï- foot-face-skin (?), moccasin upper: *tAˣ-qo'va-φï* moccasin upper

tca·-γɔva-γai- to have a wrinkled face: *tca·'-χu(w)a-χai-nI* I have a wrinkled face

-QƆQ·ƆI-, -QÏQ·ÏI- to sound like a noise made by punching:

with instr. pref. *tcɔ-*: *tcɔx·-qɔ'q·ɔi-nʸ·iʿ*, *tcïx·-qï'q·ï(ⁱ)-nʸ·ιʿ* to sound like a noise made by punching one hard on the head or face

QƆC·Ɔ-ˢ slow-match, tinder:

qɔc·ɔ-vï- abs.: *qɔʿcɔ'-φï* slow-match, cedar-bark roll used as tinder, obj. *qɔʿcɔ'-vï-a-φï* his own tinder (385, 8)

qɔc·ɔ-vï-ru- to make tinder: *qɔʿcɔ'vu-ru-iʿ* makes, gets ready tinder; pas. ptc. obj. *qɔʿcɔ'vu-ru-p·ï-a-nI* my cedar-bark roll prepared for starting a fire (382, 5)

qɔc·ɔ-vi-tcu- to make tinder: *qɔʿcɔ'vι-tcu-iʿ* makes, gets ready tinder; *qɔʿcɔ'vι-tcu-p·I* something made for tinder

QƆT·CA'- (= *qut·ca-ᵍ* gray?): in comp. n. *qɔʿtca(·)''-(ɔ)ItɔitcïmW)ï* ?-sloping back (cf. *it·ai-tcï-m·ï-*), sandhill crane (?), plur. *qɔʿtca(·)''-(ɔ)Itɔitcïmʷï-ŋWï*

-QƆRA- to spread out:

in comp. vb.: *tca(·)γwι'-k·ɔra-iʿ* puts out to dry

with incor. obj.: instr. n.: *ia'p·ï-xɔra-n'nïmpï* sliced-meat spreader, drying frame for sliced meat

-QƆRƆ- to paint:

in comp. vb.: *aŋqa'-q·ɔrɔ-iʿ* red-paints, paints the face (any color)

QU-ᵍ with fire (instr. pref.; cf. *qun·a-* fire): Gram., § 21, 12

QO·-γA- to make a noise of whirring wings: *qo·'-χa(i)-yï-nιʿ*, *qo·'-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·ιʿ* makes a noise of whirring wings (*xW* +) as when a duck or eagle sails down with wings held still, *qo·'-x·A-pïγai-n·ιʿ* there was a noise of whirring wings (365, 11)

QO·'U- plant (sp.): *qo·''ᵘ* "weeds like grass burrs" of red seeds of which mush is made

-QU'AI- to gallop (?):

with incor. n.: *ta(·)ŋa'-xw'ai-p·ïγaʿ* galloped (476, 12)

-QOI- to take off:

tca-q·oi- to take off clothing, a cover: dur. with sing. obj. *tcᴀˣ-qo'i-na-iʻ* takes off one article of clothing, pulls down, with incor. obj. *qa(·)nι'-ntcᴀˣ-qoi-na-iʻ* takes down a tepee, *taï(·)'-tcᴀʻ-qoi-na-iʻ* takes off a shirt, *qa'itcɔγɔ-tcᴀʻ-qoi-nᴀ* to take off one's hat; with plur. obj. *tcᴀˣ-qo'i-tca-iʻ* takes off (several clothes, saddle, blankets), *tcᴀˣ-qo'i-tca-p·ïγaʻ* took off several (349, 2), plur. *tcᴀˣ-qo'i-tca-q·a-iʻ* several take off several, iter. *tcᴀˣtca'-q̇·oi-tca-iʻ* takes off several things several times

ma-γoi-tca- to take off from the hands: *ma(·)-γo'i-tca-iʻ* takes off (bracelet, rope, armlet) from the arm, wrist, *ma(·)-γo'i-tca(i)-'yï-q·ᴡᴀ* takes it (inv.) (e. g. gloves) off

ta-q·oi-tca- to take off from the feet: *tᴀʻ-qo'i-tca-iʻ* takes off shoes, stockings

mo-γoi-na- to take off with the nose (sing. obj.): *mo(·)-γo(·)'i-na-iʻ* takes off with the nose

qï-q·oi-n'na- to take off with the teeth (mom.): *qïʻ-qo'i-'na-iʻ* takes off with the teeth

pi-q·oi-n'na- to take off from the buttocks (mom.): *pɪʻ-k̯o'i-'na-iʻ* lets (his) trousers down

-QOITSIVI- to shake from side to side:

with instr. pref.: *tcᴀˣ-qo'itsιvιʻ* shakes (head, penis) from side to side

QUM·A- male, husband: *qom·α'-nɪ* my husband, *quma∸'(a)ŋᴀ* her husband

na-γum·a-ŋwï- recip.: *na(·)-γu'ma-ŋᴡï* husband and wife

-qum·a- in comp. n.: *sari·'ⁱ-γumᴀ* male dog; *tcι'k·ιna·-γumᴀ* chicken-male, cock, plur. *tcι'k·ιna·-γuma-ŋᴡï*; *na(·)γa'-x·um·a(i)-ya∸ŋᴀ* mountain-sheep buck (obj.) . . . he (356, 7); *na'i-ŋqumα-nɪ* my (woman's) brother-in-law

qum·a-ru- to make a husband, a woman marries: *quma'-ru-yï-aŋᴀ* (she) marries him

incor.: *quma'-χwïï-'ŋᴡᴀ* to take him (inv.) for a husband

QUM·IAˣ- corn: *qom·į'ʻ* corn (old Indian name for "corn," rarely used now; cf. *qɔi'ni-*)

QUN·A-ˢ sack:

qun·a-vï- abs.: *quna'-φï* sack

-qun·a-vï- in comp. n.: *tïγι'a-χuna-φï* deer-sack, sack of deerskin; *ᴍᴀˣ-qu'na-vï-α-φï* his own hand-sack, gloves (obj.); *tcᴀˣqï'v'ui-xuna-φï* testicle-sack, scrotum; *pɪʻk̯a'-χuna-φï* hard-bag, rawhide bag, dim. *pɪʻk̯a'-χuna-vu-tsι-a ∸ŋᴀ* his little rawhide case (obj.)

-qun·a- in comp. n.: *u-χu'n·A* arrow-case, quiver; incor. *u̧n·a'-vïχa-va'* shall put away a quiver (poetic), *uγu'n·a-vïχa-va'* (normal form)

QUN·A-^{g} fire: *qu'nA* fire, *quna'-p̓·ana·* on the fire, *qu(·)na'-ia-raŋWA* our fire (obj.) (385, 1)

qun·a-i'ni- pos.: *quna'-i'ni-a-raŋWA* our (incl.) possessed fire (obj.)

qun·a-q·ai- to have fire: ptc. *quna'-q·α-ntï* having fire

qun·a-ŋwa-γai- to be provided with fire: ptc. *quna'-ŋwa-xa-ntï* containing fire; fut. ptc. *quna'-ŋwa-xai-vä·-ntï* destined to have fire (390, 5); mom. *quna'-ŋwa-χai-ŋu-p·ïγa'* got fire (390, 7)

qun·a- in comp. n.: *qon·a'-ɔvι-mpuŋqU* fire-log-horse, fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 179)

incor.: *quna'-tca'ai-k̯·a'* to hold fire

QO·N'I- to lie on the ground:

qo·n'i-q·ai- res.: *quo'(^{i})n$^{v'x}$-k̯a'* (it) lies (398, 5), *aru'q·WA qv·'n'I'-k̯a'* under it lie (460, 24)

QUN·U- great-grandfather: *qunu'-nI*, *qu̧nu'-nI* my (male's or female's) great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother, *qon·o'-m'm uŋWA* your great-grandfather (454, 21)

qun·u-tsi- dim.: *qunu'-tsι-nI* my (man's) great-grandchild, brother's great-grandchild

QUN·UΓUI-^{s} huckleberry:

qun·uγui-vï- abs.: *qon·o'xui-φï* huckleberry

QO·P·AŊA- to spill water out of one's mouth: *quv(·)'p·aŋa-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* (he) let it (inv.) spill out of (his) mouth (402, 27)

QUQ·WA-^{g} (frequently heard as *uq·wa-*) wood, to gather wood: *qU'qwa'-m·a-ntï(^{u})-'mi-nI* (give) me some of your wood

quq·wa-p·i- abs.: *U^{x}qwa'-p·I* wood, *U^{x}qwa'-p· aʀï* the wood (337, 8), *U^{x}qwa'-p·ι-α-nI* I . . . a stick (obj.)

quq·wa- incor.: *qU'qwa'-m·aχa-nI* give me wood; *U^{x}qwa'(i)-yana-m·ιq̧-i'* (they) go for wood, *U^{x}qwa'(i)-yïna-xwa'ai'* goes for wood, *U^{x}qwa'(i)-yana-χwai-p̓·ïγa'* went after wood, mom. *qU'qwa'-iɔna-γw'ai-ŋu-p·ïγa'* went for an armful of wood (375, 3); *U^{x}qwa'-n·ɔ·^{ɔ}-xw'ai-yï-nI* I go to carry wood, caus. *U^{x}qwa'-n·ɔ·^{ɔ}-χw'ai-t̓·ui-p·ï-γai(y)-aŋA* caused her to go to carry wood (456, 11), dim. ptc. *U'qwa'-n·ɔ·^{ɔ}-ntsι-tcï* little wood-carrier (337, 10)

quq·wa- to gather wood: *U^{x}qwa'-p·ïγa'* gathered wood (456, 12)

QUQ·WI-^{g} to shoot at: *qo'q·WI* to shoot, *qU'qwi''*, *qU'qwι''* shoots, (evil spirit, medicine-man) "shoots" (disease into one), *qU'qwi'-vä·n·ια-nI* I shall shoot, *qU'qwι'-tca∸^{a}ŋA* he shot, *qU'qwι'-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* shot at it (inv.) (313, 9), *qU'qwι'-t̓·u'a-c·uya-γwa·*^{a}*ŋa-no'* would that he might get shot! (321, 3)

quq·wi-γw'ai- to go to shoot: *qU'qwi'-χ̬w'ɔi-va·n·ιa-nI* I am going in order to shoot

quq·uq·wi-, qu'q·wi- iter.: *qU'qo'q·wι'* shoots several times, *qU'qu'q·WI-pïγa'* shot at (him) several times (456, 16), *qU'qu'q·wι-χ̬ai(y)-amï* as (he) kept shooting at them (452, 9); plur. *qo'q·WI-k̬a-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* (they) kept shooting at it (inv.) (402, 33); *qo·'q·WI-qwa'ai'* keeps shooting off, shoots one after another

quq·wi-ŋu- mom.: *qU'qwι'-ŋu-nts·-qα-nI* I am ready to shoot

ta-q·uq·wi- to shoot with one's foot, to kick out one's feet: *tA'-qu'q·wi'* kicks one's feet out into the air, stubs one's toes, bumps against with the foot; iter. comp. vb. *tA'ta'-q·Ukwι-k̬·arï-i'* keeps kicking out (his) feet while sitting

quq·wi- in comp. vb.: *qU'qwi'-p·Apaγ(a)i-mpa'* shall shoot while moving along (474, 38); *qU*^{x}*qwi'-ŋwi̥nï-i'* stands and shoots; *qU'qwι'-t·ιγaA*^{x}*-qa-va'* (plur.) all shall practice shooting (402, 32)

quq·uq·wi-'nïmpï- shooting instrument (iter.): in comp. n. *wa'a(·)'mpi-x·Uquq̇·wι-numpï* cedar-berry shooter, kind of bean-shooter

na-γuq·wi- (recip.) to shoot at each other, to fight: *na(·*^{a}*)-γu'q·wι-ŋqï-t̓·u'*^{u} to fight with people (impers.), to have a fight (319, 8), *nι̥' na'-uq·wι-ŋqu-t·u'a-i'* I fight, *na(·)'-uq·wι-ŋqu-t̓·u'a-va·*^{a}*-nA* being about to fight, future combat (317, 1), usit. *na(·)-γu'q·wι-ŋqï-t̓·uα-m·ιA* there is always fighting; *na(·)-γu'q·wι-p·A* fighting-contest, war, *na(·)-γu'q·WI-pa-ia-c·U* (obj.) war with bow and arrows (438, 34); in comp. n. *na(·)-γu'q·wι-n·ιn·i'a·vι-ŋWï* (distr.) war-chiefs, great fighters (440, 26); with incor. obj. *wιa'-n·a-χuq·wι'* shoot mud at each other, there is a mud-battle

-QUγI- to point:

ma-γuγi-q·ai- res. with instr. pref.: *ma-γu'x·(W)I-k̬a'* to point at

QUC·A-, QUC·A·-^{s} leggings, trousers:

quc·a·-ru-mpï- trousers-string: *qU'ca·'-ru-mpï, qU'ca·'*^{a}*-ru-mpï* trousers-string, rope; Paiute band at Grass Valley whose chief was *ɔa'q·aRï* "Yellow"

-quc·a- in comp. n.: *witca'-χuc·A* calf (of the leg)-trousers, buckskin leggings

-QUC·I-^{s} round lid (?), rim (?):

-quc·i-, -quc·i-vï- in comp. n.: *tümpa'-xUsι-φï* mouth-lid, lip; *tA*^{x}*-qu'c·I* foot-cover, moccasin top stitched on to upper

-QUT·U-N·A- to take out:

tsi- with a stick: *ts·-qu′t·ɩn·a∸ŋᴀ* to take him out with a stick, *ts·-qu′t·ŋ̥na-p·ïγa′ai-ŋᴡᴀ* took him (inv.) out with a stick (400, 30)

QUT·UC·U- giant: *qᴜ‘tu′c· uŋᴡᴀ* the giant (408, 34)

in comp. n.: *qᴜ‘tu′c·ŋ̥-narïχwɩ·n·ap· aŋᴀ* the giant-powered, the powerful giant (410, 6)

QURA-^{s} neck: *qu′ʀᴀ* neck

qura-vi- abs.: *qura′-φɪ* neck

QURUN·A- to carry on one's head: *quru′nᴀ* to have on one's head, *quru′na-yï-’q·ᴡᴀ* carries it (inv.) on top of (his) head

with incor. obj.: *nïv^{w}a·′-χorona* carry snow on (its) head (Song 139)

QURUTCA·- to stick out one's head (cf. *qurun·a-*):

qurutca·-q·ai- res.: *quru(·)′tca·-q·a‘* to have one's head sticking out (of the water, from a corn-field)

with incor. n.: *cɪ^{x}pï′-χïrutca·-q·ai-p·ïγai-n·ɩ‘* (he) had (his) head projecting as though in the cold, felt as though a cold breeze were in (his) head (373, 7)

-QUR’U- to poke in a hole:

tsi- with a pointed object: *ts·-qu′r’u-i‘* pokes in a hole (e. g. gopher hole, hole in the wall) with the point of a stick, tamps (a pipe), cleans (a gun-barrel) by pushing a stick back and forth

ma- with the hand: *ma(·)-γu′r’u-i‘* pokes in a hole with the hand, feels around in a hole

ta- with the foot: *tᴀ^{x}-qu′r’u-i‘* pokes in a hole with the foot

-QUR’UVI- a limbless object is erect:

with instr. pref.: distr. mom. *wïwï-qor’uv^{w}ï-x̣ɩ-ŋu* (branchless objects) stand up straight (Song 45); in comp. vb. *ᴡɪ^{x}-qu′ruv^{w}i-ŋųni-yu-nɩ‘* stands up straight as though without limbs

QUT·CA-^{g} light gray; ashes:

qut·ca-q·a- to be gray: ptc. *qᴜ‘tca′-q·a-ʀï* gray, light gray, bluish gray, obj. *qᴜ‘tca′-q·a-rï-ᴀ* (319, 12)

qut·ca- in comp. ptc.: *qᴜ‘tca′-c·aγwa-γa-ʀï* gray-blue, light blue (color of U. S. mail-carriers); *qᴜ‘tca′-p·ɔ·t·ɔ‘q(w)a-rï-mï* light-blue and round, one who is light blue around, *qᴜ‘tca′-p·ɔ·t·ɔ^{x}q(w)a-rï-m·ï-a∸ŋa-n uŋᴡᴀ* the one who is light-gray around (obj.) . . . him (for) me (450, 7)

qut·ca-p·ï- ashes: *qᴜ‘tca′-p·ï* ashes

QUT·SIAγƆT·CA^{x}- receptacle (perhaps *qut·cï’a-* to burn + *ɔt·ca-* jar, receptacle; receptacle for burning, pan?): *qᴜ‘tsɩ′aγɔt·c‘* receptacle for food or drink, cup, pan, tray (term used by Utes)

-QUT·CÏ'A- to burn (contains *qu-* with fire):

na-γut·cï'a- refl., to burn (intr.): *na(·)-γu't·ca'*^{a} to begin to burn (430, 10); *na-γu'tc'-yï-aq·ᴀ* it burns fast, *na(·*^{a}*)-γu'tc'ua-p·ïγa*ʻ (he) burned up (337, 12); ptc. *na(·)-γu't·ci'ai-tcï* burning, being on fire (434, 9)

QUT·CU-^{n} buffalo, cow: *qu't·cᴜ* buffalo, cow

qut·cu-mpuŋqu- cow-pet, cow owned (by one): *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-nɪ* my cow, ox; plur. *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwï-nɪ* my cattle, *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwï-raŋwᴀ* our (incl.) cattle

qut·cu-mpuŋqu-γai- to have a cow: *nï̧'* *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-χa*ʻ I have a cow

qut·cu-mpuŋqu-ŋwï-γai- to have cattle: *nï̧'* *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwï-χa*ʻ I have cattle, *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwï-γai-p·ïaγaɪ-t́ua-i*ʻ people (impers.) used to have cattle

-qut·cu- in comp. n.: *muru''ι-γut·cᴜ* blanket-cow, buffalo (i. e. aboriginal cow from whose hide robes used to be made); *tɔ*ʻ*ca'-q·ᴜ*ʻ*tcu-mpuŋqu-ŋwï* white cattle (Song 161)

qut·cu- in comp. n., ptc.: *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpι(y) aŋᴀ* the buffalo-cow (456, 28, *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-mpi(y)a-ts·* cow mother, heifer; *qᴜ*ʻ*tcv(·)'-'ιyap·ï* cow-dried, dried beef; *qᴜ*ʻ*tcu'-ntan·as·ιγa-ŋwïx·ï* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulva, (girl) with a vulva like a buffalo's hoof-cleft

-QUTCU'- to feel around, to pick at:

ma- with the hand: *ma-χu'tcu'-ι*ʻ feels around in a part of the body, picks at (ear, arm-pit, tooth)

ta- with the foot: *tᴀ*ʻ*-qu'tcu'-i*ʻ feels around, picks at with the foot

-QUTSI'NI-γI- to put (feet) into (cf. *tsi-'niγi-?*):

ta- with the feet: *tᴀ*^{x}*-qu'tsι'nιχι-ι*ʻ puts (his) feet into (shoes, stirrups); instr. n. *tᴀ*^{x}*-qu'tsιn'ιγι-n·ïmpï* instrument of putting the feet in, stirrups

QUTCUŊ'WA·- to sit on one's haunches:

in comp. vb.: *qutcu'ŋ'wa·-q·arï-p·ïγa*ʻ sat on (his) haunches rabbit-like (389, 3)

QW

-γWA-, -γWA'A- temp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 1, b); -γWA- mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, c)

-' . . . Q·WA- (enc. pers. pron.) it (inan. inv.; subj., obj.); its (inan. inv.) (Gram., § 40)

QWA·- to win, to beat:

qwa·-ŋu- mom.: *nï'* *qwaa(·)'-ŋᴜ* I win, beat, *nï'm(ᴡ)ɪ qwa'a'-ŋᴜ* we (excl.) have won out, *nï′ntca·ŋ qwa·′-ŋ(w)ɔ-aŋᴀ* I beat him, *qwą·′-ᴜʻ-q(w)ai-ŋᴜ-campa-nɪ* (you) have beaten me

qwaγwa·- distr.: *qwaγwa′ʻ-pïγaɪ-t̓ua-iʻ* they (impers.) won (414, 22)

qwa·- in comp. n.: *qwą·′*^{a}*-'nu(w)aʻ* goal (generally a tree) in a ball-game

-QWA'A- to hold down:

ta- with the feet: *tᴀʻ-qwa′'a·-ŋᴀ* (catch hold ofh im and) hold him down with (your) feet; res. *tᴀ*^{x}*-qwa·′*^{a}*-q·ai-nɪ* to hold me down with the feet, *tᴀʻ-qwa·′*^{a}*-q·ai(y)-aŋᴀ* to hold him down with the feet

QWAIA-^{n} beyond, opposite (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

comp.: *-q·waia-ntuγwa-* (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 27) to opposite, across

QWAN·A- eagle:

qwan·a-ntsi- abs.: *qwa(·*^{a}*)na′-nts·* eagle; plur. *qwa(·*^{a}*)na′-ntsι-ŋwï* eagles

qwan·a-tsi-tsi- dim.: *qwa(·*^{a}*)na′-tsι-ts·*, *qwa(·)n·a′-tsι-ts·* little eagle, red-tailed hawk, chicken hawk

qwan·a-ntsi- in comp. n.: *qwana′ntsι-γaiva-ma(i)ʏᴜ* from on the eagle-mountain (Song 192)

QWAN·AN·Ï-^{n} plant (sp.):

qwan·an·ï-mpï- abs.: *qwa(·)n·a′n·ï-mpï* aromatic plant about three feet high with blue or purple flowers

-QWAN·AŊ'WA-:

-qwan·aŋ'wa-ntsi- abs.: in comp. n. *aŋqa′-q·wa(·)ną'wa-nts·*, *aŋqa′-q·wa·'naŋwa-nts·*, *aŋqa′-q·wa(·*^{a}*)'naŋwa-nts·* robin (cf. *aŋqa-* red); *paï′-q·wanaŋ'wa-ntsι-ŋwï* evils beings who caused blood-flowing (cf. *paï-* blood)

-QWAN'NU- to stir (mush):

tsi- with a stick: *ts·-qwa′n'u-iʻ*, *ts·-qwa′n'nɔ-iʻ* stirs (mush); instr. n. *ts·-qwa′n'u-numpï*, *ts·-qwa′n'nɔ-n·ɔmpï* stirrer used in boiling mush

QWAŊWA-NTCUγWA- (cf. *qwau-*) a little further beyond (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

QWAVI- to lie down (plur.) (cf. *avi-* sing.):

qwavi-ŋu- mom.: *qwa(·)vι′-ŋw-ιʻ* (they) stop to camp over night; in comp. vb. *qwa(·)vι′-ŋᴜ-pax·ɪ-pïγaʻ* (they) stopped to camp while traveling (380, 12)

nam·ï-γwavi-ŋu- to camp for the first time: pas. ptc. *na(·)m·ï′-χwavi-ŋᴜ-pï-a-iʻ* (obj.) first place of camping over night (438, 16)

-qwavi- in comp. vb.: *aŋa′-ʀïcu'ai-k·wɔ(a)vι-p·ï'a'*^{a} (they) lay down

without paying any attention to him (436, 7); *ᴜʽtcu′m′ɪ*^{x}*-qwavι-vaʽ*, *-qɔavι-vaʽ* (several) shall lie with eyes closed (460, 25)

QWA·γWI- grass seed (sp.): *qwa·′x·ᴡɪ* grass seed of plant two or three feet high from which mush is made

QWAS·I-^{s} tail: *qᴡᴀʽcι′(y)-aŋᴀ* his tail (316, 2)

qwas·i-vi- abs.: *qᴡᴀʽsi′-φɪ* tail

-qwas·i- in comp. n.: *yïŋï′-ŋqwas·ɪ* porcupine-tail; *aŋqa′-q·ᴡᴀʽcι-va(i)ya·-ts·* red-tail-bottomed, blue racer; *qava′(u)-xᴡᴀʽcι-väïx·ɪ* horse-tail-hair, wearing a horse-tail in the hair (472, 25)

QWAC·Ï-^{s} to be ripe, done: *qᴡᴀʽcï′-iʽ* is ripe, done, cooked

qwac·ï-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *qᴡᴀʽcï′-p·ï-aq·ᴀ* it is ripe, done; with incor. n. *nanta′-q·ᴡᴀʽcï-p·ï* yant that is cooked (see *nanta-*)

qwac·ï-t̓·ui-q·ai- caus. res.: *qᴡᴀʽsι′-t̓·ui-k̥·a·-q·ɔ(w)-aq·ᴀ* when it is cooked, caused to be done (378, 3)

tɔγi-q·wac·ï- to be quite done, just ripe: ptc. *tɔγ(ɔ)′i-q·ᴡᴀʽcï-rïʽ* just ripe (obj.) (394, 7)

qwac·ï-t·u′a- to be hot: *pa·ʽ qᴡᴀʽcι′-t̓·ua-iʽ* water is hot

QWAT·ÏRO·TSI- to be warm (inan.) (cf. *at·uro·tci-*): *qᴡᴀʽtï′ruv(·)tsιʽ* (it) is warm (object)

QWARAŊARA^{x}- rolling country: *qwara′ŋaʀ* rolling country, country intersected by several petty hill-ridges

QWARAVA- pain:

qwarava-ya′i- to pain-die, to cry from pain: *qwarα′va-ya′aiʽ* (baby) cries because hurt; in comp. vb. *qwarα′va-yai-p̓·ax·ɪ-pïγaʽ* cried from pain as (he) went along (398, 2)

QWATCA- to splash in the water:

qwatca-γa- dur.: *qwatsa′-xa-iʽ* splashes about in the water; plur. *qwa(·)′tca-x·ᴀ-qa(i)-yï-n·ιʽ* (it) sounds like (ducks, pigs) splashing around; in comp. vb. *qwa′tsa-xa-vuʀᴜ-pïχai-n·ιʽ* made a splashing-like noise as (he) moved about (410, 29)

qwat·ca-q·i- mom.: *qᴡᴀʽtca′-q·ɪ* to make a splash

QWAU- off, away; to go off:

qwau- adv.: *qwa′uʽ* thither, away, *pa(·)γ(a)′in*^{y}*·′ʽqwiq·wa′ qwa′uʽ* to walk off, *qa(·)rï′m·ιk·ᴜ qwa′uʽ* to ride off, *ma′ʀï qwauʽ* off in that direction, *i′tcï qwauʽ tιn·a·′xwa′*^{a} go hunt in this direction (355, 10); *qwa′u-t·uγwα-c·ᴜ* (facing) the other way, turned around (408, 13)

qwau-t̓·ui- to cause to go off: *qwa′u-t̓·ui-yï-′ŋᴡᴀ* to make him (inv.) go ahead, proceed; iter. *qᴡᴀʽqwa′ᴜʽ-t̓ui-yï-aŋᴀ* causes him to go ahead several times

QWI·-^{s} left (side): *qwi·'-nɪ* my left, *qwi'-mɪ‘tux·ᴡᴀ* to the left

qwi·-tsi- left-handed: *qwi'-ts·* left-handed (male name)

qwi·- in comp. n.: *qwi·'-m·*^{ɔ}*'ɔ-nɪ* my left hand; *qwi·'-vu'ι-nɪ* my left eye

-qwi·- in comp. n.: *ᴀ‘ta'-q·wï‘* sand-left-hand (Song 184); *tɔ‘ca'-q·wi·*^{i}*-ts·* white-left-hand (personal name)

QWI·-^{g} smoke:

qwi·-q·a- to smoke (intr.): *qwiι'-k̯·a-i‘* (it) smokes; mom. *qwiι'-k̯·a-ŋᴜ* to start to smoke; ptc. *qwiι'-k̯·a-ʀï*, *qwi·'-k̯·a-ʀï* smoke (of a house)

incor.: *qwιi(·)'-t·ïŋwα-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* smoke-locked him, locked him up in smoke (444, 32); *qa(·)n·ι'-q·w'e·-c·ururuin'nɔa-i‘* house-smoke-whirls (?), smoke-hole (416, 28)

QWIA-^{s} grizzly bear:

qwia-γa-ntï- abs.: *qwι'a-γa-ntɪ*, *qwι'(y)a-γa-ntɪ* grizzly bear, obj. *qwι'a-γa-ntï‘* (309, 2); plur. *qwι'a-γa-ntï-m(ᴡ)ï*

qwia-tsi- abs.: *qwιyα'-ts·* grizzly bear (309, 14); plur. *qwιa'-tsι-ŋᴡï*

-qwia-γa-ntï- in comp. n.: *tɔca'-q·wιaγantï-m·a·matsι* white-grizzly-bear-woman (Song 158)

qwia-tsi- in comp. n.: *qwi(y)α'tsi-m·auma'*^{u}*ts iŋᴀ* the grizzly-bear-woman here (350, 11); *qwι(y)a'tsï-ŋqa(·)nι 'u'ra‘* towards the grizzly-bear-den

qwia-tsi- incor.: *qwι(y)a'tsι-ya(a)i‘* hunts grizzly-bears; *qwι(y)a'tsι-ntɪ‘qaŋ'ᴡɪ* to become a grizzly-bear

QWI'A- fence:

qwi'a-p·ï- fence: *qwi'(y)α'-p·ï* fence; in comp. n. *ɔvi'-ŋqwι'(y)α-p·ï* wood-fence (personal name)

QWIMPU- to wiggle:

qwimpu-γa- dur.: *qwιmpu'-χ(w)a-i‘* (it) wiggles, *qwιmpu'-χ(w)a-va·n·ιa-q·ᴀ* it will wiggle

-qwimpu-q·i-ŋqï- to make wiggle (with instr. pref.): *ma-γwι'mpᴜ*^{x}*-q(w)ι-ŋqï* to make wiggle with one's hand; *tᴀ*^{x}*-qwι'mpᴜ*^{x}*-q(w)ι-ŋqï* to tilt up with the foot (while walking along)

QWI·MO·RA-^{n} (?):

in comp. vb.: *kwi·'mʋ·*^{u}*rα-ntιk·a-mιa-γa‘* (several) going in order to eat people up (myth form) (370, 5)

QWI·N·ƆRƆ'-^{n} blanket (cf. *narɔ'-*^{n}):

qwi·n·ɔrɔ'-mpï- abs.: *qwi·'-n·ɔrɔ'ɔ-mpï* clothing, blanket (452, 8)

QWINUN'NU- to revolve: *qwinu'n'nu-i‘* (it) turns around

qwiŋqwin·uŋqwa·- iter.: ptc. *qwiŋqwi'n·uŋqwa·-ʀï* turning around, revolving continually (Song 154)

QWIN·O·RA- wolf (?):

-qwin·o·ra-tsi- abs. in comp. n.: *ava′′t·ï-ŋqwin·o·ra-ts·* big-wolf (?), wolf

QWI’ƆQ·I- to be hollow and round: ptc. *qwɩ’ɔ′q·(w)ɩ-tcï, qwɩ’ɔ′q·(ɔ)ɩ-tcï* round and hollow, solid high ring, hollow ball, circular valley

paï-ŋqwi’ɔq·i- to be perfectly hollow and round: ptc. *paï′-ŋqwɩ’ɔq·(ʷa)i-tcï, pa·′-ŋqwɩ’ɔq·(ɔ)ɩ-tcï* perfectly round and hollow, smooth and hollowed (like a round basket)

qwi’ɔq·i-q·ai- res.: *paï′-ŋqwɩ’ɔq·(ᴡ)ɪ-k̯ai(y)-aq·ᴀ* it is smooth and hollowed, *paï′-ŋqwɩɔ̓q·(ᴡ)ɪ-k̯ai(y)-aq·ai(y)-aq·ᴀ* it has been smoothed and hollowed (?), it is smooth and hollowed (450, 26); *tca·′ᵃ-χwɩ’ɔq·ɪ‘-k̯a‘* there are marks of wrinkles (450, 28)

QWIP·A- to hit, to strike, to throw (tr.); to strike, to fall (intr.):

qwip·a- tr.: *kwi′p·ᴀ* to hit, *kwɪ‘pa′-nɪ* hit me, beat me (398, 27), *kᴡɪ‘pa′-p·ïγa‘* struck at (313, 10)

qwip·a- intr.: *qwi′p·ᴀ* to fall, *kᴡɪ‘pa′-p·ïγa‘* fell down (dead), struck (the ground as he fell) (404, 24; 373, 3)

ta-q·wip·a- to fall with the foot: *tᴀ‘-qwi′p·ᴀ* to stumble

qwip·a-m·i- usit. *kᴡɪ‘pa′-mɪ-pïγa‘* (they) always threw (321, 13)

qwiq·wip·a- iter.: *kᴡɪ‘kwi′p·a-i‘* hits several times, *kᴡɪ‘kwi′p·ᴀ-pïγa‘* hit several times (324, 11)

qwip·a- in comp. vb.: *kᴡɪ‘pa′-p·aγ(a)i-ŋqw’ai-γ̯a‘* hitting as (he) went along (434, 31), iter. *kᴡɪ‘pa′-p·ᴀpax·ɪ-pïγa‘* whipped and kept moving (476, 1)

na-γwip·a-q·a- recip. plur.: *na(·)-γw(ᵊ)ɩ′p·ᴀˣ-qa-p·ïγa‘* (they) hit each other (440, 28)

with incor. instr.: *qᴡᴀ‘sɩ′-xᴡɪ‘pa-p·ïχai(y)-aq·ᴀ* with (his) tail (he) hit it (458, 5)

qwip·a-n’nïmpï- striking instrument: *kᴡɪ‘pa′-n’ïmpï* shinny-stick

-qwip·a- in comp. vb.: *tɔŋwɔ′t̓·ui-ŋqwɩp̓·a-ŋᴡᴀ* to knock him (inv.) down with the fist

-QWIVÏ- to squeeze:

ma- with the hand: *ma(·)-χwi′vu-i‘* squeezes with the hand

ta- with the foot: *tᴀ‘-qwi′vu-i‘* squeezes with the foot; iter. *tᴀ‘ta′-q·wɩvï-χw’ai-ŋᴡᴀ* go and squeeze her by stepping on (her) (446, 37)

QWIVUA·- top: *qwɩvu′a·q·ᴀ* top of it, *qwɩvʋ(·)′a·-m·a·q·ᴀ* on top of it (394, 27), *qwɩvu′a·-m·a·q̇·a-ŋᴀ qarï′i‘* on top of it he sits, *qwivo′a-m·antï-m·a-naŋqwa·q·ᴀ* from its top down, *qwivo′a-m·antï-ma-naŋqwa-n·ɩa·q·ᴀ* from its very top down

QWIC·A-^{s} to flash: *qᴡɪʻca′-iʻ* (it) flashes

qwiq·wic·a-, *qwi′c·a-* iter.: *qᴡɪʻqwi′c·a-iʻ* (it) flashes several times; *qwɩ′c·a-iʻ* (it) sparks, (iron) sparks several times like lightning

-qwic·a- in comp. vb.: *tɔ·′χwa·^{a}-χwic·ᴀ* to flash purple (446, 27); *aŋqa′-χwɩc·ᴀ* to flash red (446, 30); ptc. *aŋqa′-q·ᴡɪca-rïʻ* red-flashing (obj.), lightning (317, 6)

QWIT·ƆN’NI- round valley at the foot of a hill: ptc. *qᴡɪʻtɔ′n’ni-ntcï* semicircular valley at the foot of a hill

-qwit·ɔn’ni- in comp. ptc.: *paγa′-ŋqᴡɪtɔn’nɩ-ntcï* cane-valley, Canepatch creek

QWIT·U-^{n} buttocks, anus: *kwi′t·ᴜ*, *qwi′t·ï* buttocks, *kᴡɪʻtu′-nɪ* my buttocks, *kᴡɪʻtu′-x·p̓a·-q·o-aŋᴀ* through his anus (408, 4)

qwit·u-mpi- abs.: *kᴡɪʻtu′-mpɪ* buttocks

qwit·u- in comp. n.: *kᴡɪʻtɔ′-ɔpaq·ïp·ɪ* buttocks-hole, anus; *kᴡɪtu′-n·aïγïʀï* anus-copulator, pederast; *kᴡɪʻtï′-ɩɔγɔ-t·ïʻ* anus-copulating-place, person used for pederastic purposes

-qwit·u- in comp. n.: *pɪʻk̯a′-χwɩt·ï* sore-anus (personal name)

QWIT·UA·- bottom: *kᴡɪʻtu′aʻ* bottom, *kᴡɪʻtu′a(i)-ya·q·ᴀ* the bottom (obj.) of it, *quna′vï kᴡɪtu′a·-vaʻ* at the bottom of a sack (358, 3)

QWITCA- to defecate: *qwitca′-n·a·ŋᴀ* his defecating, excrement (410, 14); usit. *qwitca′-m·iʻ* is wont to defecate (410, 11)

qwitca-γw’ai- to go to defecate: *qwɩtca′-χw’ɔi-p·ïγaʻ* went to defecate (408, 1)

qwitca-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *qwitca′-p·ï* what is defecated, excrement, *qwitca′-p·ï-a·ŋᴀ* his excrement (obj.) (410, 28); in comp. n. *pʊ·′tsɩ-γwɩtcap·ï* star-excrement, shooting stars

qwitca- in comp. vb. (= excrement): *qwɩtca′-t·ï’ma-iʻ* buries excrement

qwitca- in comp. vb. (= to defecate): *qwitca′-χarï-p·ïγaʻ* sat down and defecated (357, 12)

qwitca- in comp. n.: *qwɩtcα′-q·anɩ-’a-ŋᴡᴀ* his (inv.) defecating-house (obj.) (406, 36)

QWITCAC·Ï-^{s} wild onion: *qwitcα′c·ï* wild onion (used as medicine)

qwitcac·ï-vï-aγai- to be provided with wild onions: ptc. *qwitcα′c·ɩ-v^{w}ï-aγa-ntɪ* (country) that has wild onions

QWITCUMPI- to assemble (intr.): *qwɩtcu′mpɪ-pïγaʻ* (they) gathered together, came together one by one (412, 2)

QWITCUVA-^{s} to be peaked, a hill: ptc. *kwitcu′v^{w}a-ʀï*, *qwitcu′va-ʀï* mountain peak, knoll

qwitcuva-tsi-tcï- dim. ptc.: *qwɩtcu′va-tsɩ-tcï* knoll; distr. *kᴡɪʻkwi′tcuva-tcɩ-tcïʻ* (those places) that are peaked, knolls (obj.) (370, 11)

-qwitcuva- in comp. ptc.: *qa'iva-γwitcuva-RÏ* mountain peak, obj. *qa'iva-χwιtcuva-rï'* (363, 1)

QWI'U-^{n}: *qwι'u'-mpa·-tsι̧-WÏ* ?-water-people, Paiute band formerly dwelling west of Sevier Lake

QWIYA-^{s} scrub oak:

qwiya-vï- abs.: *qwι'ya-φï, qwι'a-φï* scrub oak, *qwι'ya-vï ava''anA* on an oak, *qwι'ya-vï-mA* on (the surface of) an oak

qwiya- in comp. n.: *qwi'a-numts·, qwι'ya-munts·* oak-mountain, Paunsaugunt Plateau; *qwι'ya-rïnaφï* oak-stump (Song 63)

-qwiya-vï- in comp. n.: *pa-γwι(·)'aφï* water-oak, red oak growing along rivers

-QWIYU- to mark a wavy line:

tsi- with a pointed object: distr. *ts·tsι'-k·wιyu-i'* scrapes wavy lines

QWI'YU-^{n} crown of the head: *qwi(·)'YU* crown of the head, *qwιyu'-mpa·-nI* at the crown of my head, obj. *qwιyu'-mpa·-ŋqu-nI*

qwi'yu-mpi- abs.: *qwi'yu'-mpI, qwιyu'-mpI* crown of the head

-qwi'yu- in comp. n.: *tɔ'tsι'-χwιyu-nI* my head-crown, the center of my head

QWÏÏ- to take (sing. obj.): *nι̧' qwïï(·)'-'q·WA* I take it (inv.), *nïa'q qwïï'-v^{w}a·n·ι'* I shall take it, fut. ger. *qwïï'-va·-ts·* being about to take (385, 1)

qwïï-ŋu- mom.: *qwïï'-ŋU* to start to pick up

qwïq·wï'- iter.: *nï'aq qWÏ'qwï''-i'* I take it several times

with incor. n.: *quna'-q·wïï-va'* will seize fire (382, 6); *quma'-χwïï-'ŋWA* to take him (inv.) for a husband; *pιŋwa'-χw'ï-p·ïγai(y)-aŋA* took her for (his) wife (396, 20), *piŋwa'-χwïï-ṗï-ŋWA* his (inv.) wife-taken, the wife that he had taken (398, 18); *pua'-χwïï'* (medicine-man) takes out (disease) with (his) supernatural power

QWÏ·'NI-Q·AI- (res.) to strut one's breast pigeon-fashion: *qï·'(i)'NI^{x}-ḵa(a)i'* struts out (his) breast, *qï·'(i)'NI^{x}-ḵa(a)i-yï-n·ι'* acts as though strutting out (his) breast, *qï·'(i)'NI^{x}-ḵaI-pïγa.i-n·ιa'a-mï* they 2 acted as though putting (their) breasts out and heads back (402, 4)

-QWÏRI- to rake out:

tsi- with a stick: *ts·-qwï'rι-'na-p·ïγa'* (mom.) raked out (one animal, plant) with a stick (456, 8); *ts·-qwï'ri-tca-i'* rakes out several (animals, plants) with a stick

QWÏRÏ- to get up:

qwïrï-q·i- to get up: *qwïrï'-q·I-pïγa', q^{w}ïrι'-ḵ·I-pïγa', qwïrι'-k·I-pïγa'* got up (310, 3; 312, 9; 394, 5), *qwïrï′-k·ι-yï-aŋᴀ* he is getting up (460, 1); usit. *qwïrï′-k·ι-m·ι̹ʿ* always gets up (468, 13)

qwït·ï-q·i- mom.: *qwɪ̈ʿtι′-k·ɪ-pïγaʿ* got up (quick, excitedly) (310, 2)

QWƆ’A-^{g} tobacco:

qwɔ’a-p·i- abs.: *qɔ’a′-p·ɪ* Indian tobacco

qwɔ’a- incor.: *qɔ’a′-t·ɪʿqa-iʿ* tobacco-eats, smokes, *qw^{ɔ}’α′-t·ɪʿqa-q·w^{ɔ}’aiʿ* smokes away, keeps on smoking, usit. *qw’a′-t·ɪʿqa-m·ι̹ᴀ* always smokes; *qɔ’a′-t·a·γwa-iʿ* smokes tobacco

QWƆRƆ-γA- to make a sound like a cork in a bottle: cont. *q^{w}ɔrɔ′-xa-n·i-ιʿ* (it) makes a noise as of something hard shaken in an enclosed object (e. g. a cork in a bottle)

-QWƆTSAYAI- to wrap around (?):

pi-q·wɔtsayai-p·ï- wrapped around the buttocks (?): *pɪʿ-qwɔ′tsa(i)-yai-p·ï* breech-clout

s (c)

c + don’t! shut up! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

SA·-^{n} raw, unripe:

sa·-ŋqa- to be raw, unripe: *sa·-ŋqa′-iʿ* (it) is unripe, not cooked, *sa·′-ŋqa-χoȯ-q·wᴀ* when it (inv.) is raw (377, 9)

sas·a·-ŋqa- distr.: *sᴀʿsa·′-ŋqa(i)-ɪ̈* several things are unripe

sa·- in comp. vb.: usit. *sa·′^{a}-ntïq·a(·)-m·ι-p·ïγaʿ* was accustomed to eat (him) raw (462, 37)

SA’A-^{g} to boil (tr.), to make mush: *sa’a′-iʿ* boils, *wa’a(·)′mpι sa’a′-iʿ* makes mush out of cedar-berries

sa’a-q·a- plur.: *sa’a′-q·a-iʿ* several boil

sas·a’a- iter.: *sᴀʿsa′’a-iʿ* boils several times

sa’a-ŋqï- to make mush for: *sa’a′-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* make mush for him (410, 5); impers. *sa’a′-ŋqï-t́ua(i)-yï-nɪ* they (impers.) make mush for me, mush is made for me, *sa’a′-ŋqï-t́ua(i)-yï-χwa-noa-n ʿɔaiʿ* mush was made for me, *sa’a′-ŋqï-t́ua-va·n·ιa-noa-nɪ* mush will be made for me; plur. *sa’a′-ŋqï-qa-va·-ŋ’wai(y)-amï* shall not make mush for them (462, 29)

with incor. obj.: *ov^{w}a′-c·a’a-iʿ* soup-boils, boils meat

na-s·a’a- refl.: *nᴀʿ-sa′’a-iʿ* boils self, takes a sweat-bath; in comp. n. *nᴀʿ-sa′’a-q·anɪ* sweat-house

sa’a-p·i- what is boiled as mush: *sa’a′-p·ɪ*, *cï’a′-p·ɪ* mush, Mush (personal name), obj. *sa’a′-p·iʿ* (373, 4)

sa’a- mush (incor.): distr. *sa’a′-m·amax·-qai-nɪ* several have given me mush (373, 6)

-*sa’a-p·i-* in comp. n.: *ᴀ^{x}qï′-c·’ap·ɪ* sunflower-seed mush; *wa’a′i-c·ï’ap·ɪ* mush of *wa·′’ᴀɪ-* seeds (q. v.); *wara′-c·ï’ap·ɪ* mush of *wa′ʀᴀ-* seeds (q. v.); *para′ŋwara-c·a’apɪ* pumpkin mush; *o·′c·ɪ-ca’ap·ɪ* yucca mush

-*sa’a-p·ï-* pas. ptc.: in comp. ptc. *ïa′-c·a’ap·ï* boiled corn

-C·A’A- (mod. enc.) and, but, then! (Gram., § 19, 2, i)

SA’AI- to melt: *sa·′i-ʏï* melts (intr.)

sa’ai-t̓·ui- caus.: *sa’a′i-t̓·ui‘* causes to melt

SA’MA- to spread out (a blanket): *sa(·)’ma′-i‘* spreads out in order to lay on (e. g. bedding)

sa’ma-q·ai- res.: *sa’ma′-q·a‘* to lie spread out; ptc. with incor. n. *ɔ(·)′vι-s·a’m·a-q·a-nt̓ï-nι‘* like timber laid low (on the ground) (474, 25)

sa’ma-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *sa(·)’ma′-p·ï* spread out, cover on which something is laid or put; in comp. n. *qava′‘-sa’map·ï* horse-cover, saddle blanket, *na(·)γa′-c·am’ap·ï* mountain-sheep robe, *tïγι′ᴀ-cam’ap·ï* deer-robe

-C·AMPA- (mod. enc.) only, except, but, although (Gram., § 19, 2, j)

-C·AMPÏA-: in *tïŋwï-c·ampïa-ya′i-* to hurry (q. v.)

SAŊWA-^{s} sagebrush:

saŋwa-vï- abs.: *saŋwa′-φï* sagebrush (389, 13)

saŋwa- in comp. n.: *saŋwa′-wιaγant̓ï-m·am·atsι·* sagebrush-singer-woman (Song 172)

SAP·IΓA- to overcome: *qatcu′aŋᴀ sᴀ‘pi′χa-ŋwa’^{a}* did not overcome him, injure him in combat

sap·iγa-q·a- plur.: *sᴀ‘pi′χ·ᴀ-qa-va·-t̓sι-ŋᴡᴀ* all being about to overcome him (inv.)

sap·iγa-t·ï·- pas.: ptc. *sᴀ‘pi′χ·ᴀ-t̓ï-ʀï* one who is overcome

sap·iγa-m·i- usit.: pas. ptc. *sᴀ‘pi′χa-m·i-p·ɪ* one always overcome

sas·ap·iγa- iter. usit.: *sᴀ‘sa′p·iχa-m·ιa-nɪ* is wont to overcome me (several times)

SAP·Ï-^{s} belly:

sap·ï-vi- abs.: *sᴀ‘pï′-φ(ᴡ)ɪ* belly

incor.: pas. ptc. *sᴀ‘pï′-ŋ’ᴡɪ‘tca-p·ï* belly-wrapped, cinch

SAVÏTCA- to hop off:

savïtca-γi- dur.: *savï′tca-χι-p·ïγa‘* hopped off in several hops (used only of rabbits) (389, 7); plur. *savï′tca-χι-k̑·a-i‘* several (rabbits) hop off

-C·AΓAI- to seek:

pu-c·aγai- to seek with the eye, to look for: *pᴜ‘ca′χa-i‘* hunts for, *pU‘ca′χai-p·ïγai-aŋA* looked for her (374, 4), *pU‘ca′γai-p·ïγai(y)-aq·A* looked around for it (404, 10)

with incor. obj.: *pa(·)-vu′c·aχa-i‘* hunts for water; *wi·′-p·U‘caχai-γa‘* while looking for a knife (458, 8); inc. *na-mpu′c·aγaI‘-ku-p·ïγa‘* started to look for a track (458, 13)

-C·AγƆI- old (?): in comp. n. *mam·a′′-caγɔi-tsi-* old woman (q. v.)

SAγWA-^{s} blue:

saγwa-γa- to be blue: ptc. *sa(·)γwa′-χa(·)-RÏ, caγwa′-γa-RÏ, caγwa′-χa-RÏ* blue (e. g. sky), green (e. g. grass), gray (320, 8)

saγwa-n’na- to paint blue: *sa(·)γwa′-n’na-i‘* paints blue, red

-saγwa-γa-rï- in comp. ptc.: *A‘sι′-s·aγwa-γa-RÏ* very light blue; *qU‘tca′-c·aγwa-γa-RÏ* light blue; *tυ·′-c·aγwa-γa-RÏ* black-blue, dark blue; *maa′-c·axwa-ri‘* plant-blue, green (Song 139)

saγwa- in comp. n.: *saγwa-vι′ap·ï* blue mare (Song 117); *saγwa′-χaitcaχwα-n·ïŋwï-ŋWï* blue-hat-people, bluejays (440, 30); *caγwa′-xUcaφI* gray-hawk, *caγwa′-xUcav aŋA* the chicken-hawk (360, 4); *caγwa′-ŋ’wιntsi’its·* bluebird

saγwa- in comp. vb.: *pa·-sa′χwa-vιηnι-k̯·ai-p·ïγai-n·ι‘* looked water-gray in (her) eyes (470, 2); *saχwɔ′-vïrïr’ⁱ-pa·ts·* blue-hanging-down-spring (place name)

saγwa-rï- being blue (?): *saχwa′RÏ, sa(·)χwa′RÏ* lizard (sp.) of bluish color that was eaten roasted or boiled

SAγWIA·-^{s} stomach, belly: *saχw(ε)′ιa·-nI* my belly, *saχwι(·)′a-i’a-ŋWA* her stomach (obj.) (374, 6)

saγwia·-vi- abs.: *saχwι(·)′a·-φI, saχw(a)′ia·-φI, saχwï′ya·-φI, sa-γwo′i-φI* stomach, belly

saγwia·-in’ni- pos.: *saχw(ε)′ia·-in’ni-nI* my owned belly (some animal’s paunch that I possess as meat)

-saγwia·- in comp. n.: dim. *qamï′-saγwαya·-tsι-γα-ntï* having a little jackrabbit-stomach (Song 178)

incor.: *saχwι(·)′a·-φA^{x}qa-ŋqï-pïγa‘* had a stomach-ache (374, 10)

SAN·A-^{g} gum: *san·a-p·i-* abs.: *sana′-p·I, san·a′p·I, sa(·)n·a′-p·I, sa(·^{a})na′-p·I* gum, pine-gum, sap, juice

-san·a-p·i- in comp. n.: *nanqa′φA-cana-p·I* ear-gum, ear-wax

san·a-n’na- to put on gum: *sa(·)na′-n’na-i‘* smears on gum

san·a- in comp. n.: *sa(·)n·a′-t·ɔts·* gum-head; *sa(·)n·a′-ŋwits·* gum-knife; *sa(·)n·a′-’atcï* gum-bow; *sa(·^{a})na′-ŋw’a(i)-ya-φï* his own gum-penis (obj.) (326, 12)

incor.: *sana′-q·Utsιk·ι-ts·* gum-burner (man’s name)

-SARA- baby:

-sara- in comp. n.: abs. *aŋqa′-s·ara-ts·* red-baby, infant (term used by Escalante Paiutes, but not Kaibab Paiutes; *sara′-ts·* not used alone); dim. *aŋqa′-sara′-tsι-tsι-gay* when (he) is a red little baby (Song 179)

SA·RA-γA- to make a noise with a rattle in the mourning ceremony: *sa·′ra-xa(i)-yï-n·ιʽ*, *ca·′ra-xa(i)-yï-n·ιʽ* makes a noise with the rattle used in the mourning ceremony

-CARA·- to open, to bare (?):

qï-c·ara·- to open one's mouth wide: *qïʽ-ca′ra·(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* (snake) opens (his) mouth

qï-c·ara·-q·ai- res.: *qïʽ-ca′ra·-q·ai-p·ïγaʽ* (his) mouth remained open

with incor. obj.: res. *tï′v^{w}ι-k·ï-cara·-q·ai-p·ïγaʽ* (his) mouth was filled with earth (404, 20)

CARAγA-:

caraγa-'nïmpï- (instr. n.) shell: *cara′γa-'nįmp(w)ɪ* shell; dim. *cara′γa-'nαmpu(^{i})-tsiʽ* little rattle-like shell (obj.) (331, 4)

SARI·-^{s} dog:

sari·-tsi- abs.: *sari·′^{i}-ts·* dog, *sari·′-tci ȧro'^{a}* it is a dog, *sari·′-tcι-tcu' aro'^{a}* is it a dog?

sari·-tsi-γai- to be a dog: *nï' sari·′-tcι-γaʽ* I am a dog, usit. ptc. *sari·′^{i}-tsι-γai-vä-tcï* always being a dog

sari·- in comp. n.: *sari·′^{i}-γumᴀ* dog-male, male dog; *sari·′^{i}-tcu(w)a-ts·* dog-child, little dog; *sa($^{·a}$)ri·′^{i}-γwιtcap·ïʽ* dog-excrement (obj.) (329, 7)

sari·-vuŋqu-γai- to have a dog: *nï' cari·′-vuŋqu-χ(w)aʽ* I have a dog, *sari′-vuŋqu-χ(w)ai-aŋᴀ* he has a dog, usit. ptc. *sari·′^{i}-vuŋqu-χ(w)ai-vä-tcï* always owning a dog

sari·- incor.: *sari·′^{i}-t·ɪqa-ts·* dog-eater, Arapaho Indian; plur. *sari·′^{i}-t·ɪqa-mï* dog-eaters, Arapaho Indians

-sari·-, *-sari·-tsi-* in comp. n.: *yu(w)a′-sarι′-tcι-ŋwï* dogs of the plain, coyotes (Song 174); dim. *to·-sari·′-m·a·m·'atsι-tsι-gaiʽ* when (she) is a little black-dog-woman (Song 181)

-C·ARɔγɔI- to splash:

with incor. obj.: *pa·′-c·arɔγɔ-its·* water-splasher (when he darts down to drink), swallow

SARU- hoarse:

saru-tsi- abs.: *saru′-ts·* hoarse

saru- in comp. vb.: *saru′-ampaγa-iʽ* talks hoarse

SAYA-^{s} backbone: *sa′iᴀ* backbone

saya-vi- abs.: *saya′-ϕɪ* backbone, *saya′-v* (460, 23)

SI’I-^{s} to urinate: ptc. *si’i′-tcï* one who urinates, perf. ptc. *si’i′-k̭·a-ntï* one who has urinated

tï·-s·i’i- to urinate well: *tï′*(^{i})*-si’i*ʿ urinates well (e. g. after keeping water back long)

sis·i’i- iter.: plur. *s·si′′*^{i}*-k̭·a-n·a∸mï* what they always urinate, their urine (434, 25)

si’i-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *si’i′-p·ï* what is urinated, urine, *sι’ι′-p·ï-a∸ŋᴀ* her urine (obj.) (periphrasis for “vagina”) (446, 34), *si’i′-ṗ·u-mɪ* your urine, vulva, *si’i′-p·ï*($^{\gamma}$)*-a*(·)*-’m* ‛*ʔą̨i*ʿ your urine (obj.) (353, 7)

SI·’A- plant (sp.): *si·′′*^{a} plant whose stalks are eaten raw in June (*Refinesquia californica?*)

SIA·M’MƆΓƆ- scorpion (?):

sia·m’mɔγɔ-tsi- abs.: *sιa·′m’mɔxu-ts·* “worm-like, long-tailed animal about as long as a finger, of reddish yellow color, with three or four legs on each side; it hits with its tail, causing a swelling and pain, creeps on and sometimes into the earth, and lives chiefly in sandy country”

in comp. n.: *sι’a·′m’mɔxɔ-nιŋwïntsι-ŋᴡï* scorpion (?)-people (438, 33)

SI’IM·O·RA-^{n} bumble bee:

si’im·o·ra-mpi- abs.: *sι’ι′m·o·*^{u}*rɑ-mpɪ* bumble bee

SIŊQWA-NAŊQWA-T·Ï- the other of two (ptc. of *-naŋqwa-* postp.): in comp. n.: *s·ιŋqwa′nɑŋ’qwat·ï-aŋa′vï-a∸ŋᴀ* her other arm (obj.) (364, 4), *s·ιŋqwa′naŋqwat·ï-aŋa′vï-nɪ* my other arm; *s·ιŋqwa′naŋqwat·ï-pu’*(^{w})*i′-nɪ* my other eye

SI·P·I- sheep (< Eng *sheep*):

si·p·i-tsi- abs.: *si·′p·ι-ts·*, *ci·′p·ι-ts·* sheep

SIVA- to whittle: *sιva′-i*ʿ whittles

sis·iva- iter.: *s·sι′va-i*ʿ whittles many times

with incor. obj.: *ᴡÏ*ʿ*cι′ᴀ-sιva*(*i*)*-ʏÏ* scrapes a quill smooth; *wawa*(·)′*-s·ιvä-ts·* having whittled a foreshaft to a cane arrow (458, 18)

-SIVAVAI-^{s} to drop sheer (?) (cf. *siva-* to whittle?):

with incor. n.: *tümp*^{w}*ι′-s·ιvavai-tcï* rock-precipitous, cliff, precipice

SIVI-^{n} Sibit band of Paiutes:

sivi-tsi- abs.: *sιvι′-tcį-ᴡï* Sibit Paiutes formerly living at Trumbull Mt., Arizona, now at St. George, Nev.

sivi- in comp. n.: *sivi′-ntïv*^{w}*ιp·ï-v*^{w}*ɑ*ʿ at the Sibit country (444, 20), *sivi*(·′^{i})*-ntïv*^{w}*ιp·u-v*^{w}*a·-nɪ* at the Sibit country . . . I (478, 6)

-C·IIVU-^{s} hair (?):

in comp. n.: abs. *pᴜ*ʿ*tï′-c·iivu-ɸɪ* eyeball (?)-hair (?), eyelash

SIK·I-N'NA- to turn the head to a side: *s·kι'-n'na-i'* turns the head to a side

sis·ik·i-n'na- iter.: *sɪ'sι'k·ι-n'na-i'* keeps turning the head to a side

SIK·U-^{s},^{g} squirrel: *sι'k·ᴜ* squirrel (any kind)

sik·u-tsi- dim.: *s·qu'-ts·* gray squirrel (*Sciurus castanonotus?*); plur. *s·qu'-tsι-ŋwï* gray squirrels

sik·u-mpï- squirrel-plant: *s·qu'-mpï* "rabbit bush," bush with yellow blossoms; in comp. n. *s·qu'-rumpa'ya'* mouth of rabbit-bush canyon (place name, said to be called "Skoorumpaw" in English)

SIγA-^{s} crack, long opening:

siγa·-γai- to have a crack: ptc. *sιχa·'-χa-ntï* crack in the rocks; with incor. n. *tümp^{w}ι'-s·ιγa·^{a}-χα-ntï* rock with a crack big enough to see through

-na-s·iγa- (recip.) opening between two long things: in comp. n. *pi-na'-s·iχα-nɪ* the cleft at my buttocks, my crotch, where my legs part; *ta-n·a-s·iγa-* foot-cleft, *tan·a'c·ix·ᴀ* hoofs, abs. *tan·a'c·i-χa-φɪ* hoofs, *tana'c·ιχa(i)-ya-ŋᴀ* his hoofs (obj.) (404, 11) *qᴜ'tcu'-ntan·as·ιγa-ŋwïx·ï* buffalo-foot-cleft-vulva, (girl) with a vulva like a buffalo's hoof-cleft

SI·γA-γA- to make a scraping, rustling noise: cont. *si·'γa-xa-n·i'ι-yï-n·ι'* makes a noise as of feet scraping on the ground, of a lizard rustling on leaves or in his rock-crack

SIγI-^{g} spear:

siγi-c·ï- spear: *sιγι'-c·ɪ* spear for spearing bears, sword

incor.: *siχι'-t·ɔnᴀ* to pierce, hit with a spear, stick

SIγƆ'Ɔ- "sego": *siγɔ(·)'^{ɔ}* "sego," sort of "wild onion"

SIγU-^{n} navel: *si'x·ᴜ* navel

siγu-mpi- abs.: *siχu'-mpɪ* navel

-SIγWA'A- to braid:

incor. *paï'x·ɪ-sιχwa'a-i'* braids the hair of the head

SIU-^{n} light gray (pebble-colored? cf. *siu-*^{n} gravel):

siu-ŋqa- to be light gray: ptc. *siu'-ŋq(w)a-ʀï* light gray (like some glasses or pebbles, rabbit's eyes)

siu- in comp. vb.: *s·i'u-mpun·ι-k̯·arï-p·ïγai-n·ι'* (something) sat looking light gray in the eyes (466, 7)

SIU-^{n} gravel:

in comp. n.: *sιu'-mpa·ts·* gravel-spring (place name)

-CIU'- to slip:

paï-nta-c·iu'-k·i-ŋqï- to slip on something smooth: *pa·'-ntᴀ'-cι^{u}'-k(w)i-ŋqï* to slip on something smooth

SI’YU-^{s} to slide:

si’yu-γa- dur.: *si’yu′-χ(w)a-iʻ* slides

si’yu-q·i- mom.: *si’yu′-q·(W)I* to take a slide, to slip

si’yu-γi- to come sliding: *sio′y’o-χ(w)ι-nA* (glass, stones, snow, ice) coming sliding (Song 195)

with incor. n.: *ɔɔ̈′mp-s·ιɔ(·ᵓ)-χ(w)a-iʻ* (dur.) slides in a game

CÏ-^{g} cold:

cï- vb. pref.: *c·-tu′′-ιʻ* is cold weather, *cIʻ-tu′i-y’ï-q·WA*, *c·-tu′i-y’ï-q·WA* it (inv.) is cold weather; *cIʻ-pï′n·ι-k̫·ai-n·ιʻ* to look like cold, to be draughty, chilly; *MAʻ-ci′-q·ιa(i)-yï-nI* my hands are cold; *ta-c·ï-n·’ai-* feet burn from cold (see *-c·ï-n·’ai-*)

cï-p·a- cold feeling, suffering cold: incor. *c·pa′-i’aiʻ* cold-dies, (he) is cold, *cIʻpα′-i’αi-yï-nI* I feel cold; plur. *cÏʻpa′-i’ai-k̫·a-iʻ* several feel cold

cï-p·ï- cold (of objects): incor. *c·pï′-ra-iʻ*, *cIʻpï′-ra-iʻ* (it, e. g. ice) is cold, plur. *cIʻpï′-RA^{x}-qa-iʻ* several (e. g. pieces of ice) are cold; *cI^{x}pï′-χïrutca·-q·ai-p·ïγai-n·ιʻ* felt as though a cold breeze passed through (his) head (373, 7)

cï-p·ï- in comp. n.: *cÏʻpu′-v^{w}aʻ* cold water; pos. dim. *cÏʻpu′-v^{w}’a-in·ι-ntsι-γ̫ai-m·ιʻ* is wont to have a little cold water (456, 2)

-CÏ-N·’AI- to burn from cold (*cï-* cold + *na’ai-* to burn):

ta- in the feet: *tAʻ-ci′n·’ai-yï-nI* I foot-cold-burn, my feet burn from the cold (e. g. from walking barefoot in the snow), *tAʻ-ci′n·’ai-k̫·ai-nI* my feet have burned from intense cold, snow has burned my feet

CÏÏ-^{s} strong:

cïï-γai- to be strong: ptc. *cïï′-xa-ntï* strong

CÏÏ-^{s} "squaw-bush" stems used for basketry:

cïï-vï- abs.: *cïï′-φï*, *cïu′-φ(W)I* squaw-bush stems

cïï-vï-mpï- "squaw-bush" (abs.): *cïï′-v^{w}ι-mpï* squaw-bush, *cïï′-v^{w}ï-mpï-a(i)-ya(u)-v* his own squaw-bush (obj.) (369, 4)

cïï-γa- to get "squaw-bush" stems: *cïï′-xa-xw’aiʻ* goes for squaw-bush stems, *sï·′-γa-χw’ai-p·ïγaʻ* went to get squaw-bush stems (456, 23); *cïï′-xa-ŋqi-xw’ai-nI* go to get squaw-bush stems for me (369, 2); in comp. vb. *cïï′-x·Aʻ-tïv^{w}ιtcu-p·ïγai(y)-aŋA* asked him to get squaw-bush stems (456, 22)

cïï-ru- to make a basket of "squaw-bush" stems: *cïï′-RU^{x}-q(w)aRU-pïγaʻ* was making a squaw-bush basket as (she) sat (450, 16)

cïï- in comp. n.: *cïï′-v^{w}a·ts·* squaw-bush spring (place name); *sï-va·-rï′mbι-ma·haiyo·* from a squaw-bush-spring-rock (Song 183); *cï·′-γaitcɔx·U* squaw-bush cap, woman's basket-cap

-c·ïï-vï- in comp. n.: *to·′-c·ïu-φ(w)ɪ* black-squaw-bush; small, black plant whose black leaves, curving up into thorns, are split up into strands for sewing material when designs in black are desired

CÏ'Ï-^{g} blossom:

cï'ï-p·i- abs.: *cï'ï′-p·ɪ, cï'ï′(*^{i}*)-p·ɪ* blossom

-c·ï'ï-p·i-, -c·ï'ï- in comp. n.: *ma(·)a′-c·*^{i}*'ïp·ɪ* plant-blossoms, flower blossom (female's name); *maa(·)′-c·ɩu-t·campɩ-φï* blossoms of locust tree (cf. *piyai t·campɩ-*^{s} locust tree)

-C·ÏA-^{g} pink, rosy-colored:

-c·ïa-q·a- to be pink (only used to qualify otherco lors): ptc. *tʋ·′-c·ɩa-q·a-ʀï* black-rosy, brown; *aŋqa′-c·ɩa-q·a-ʀï* red-rosy, pink; *tɔʿca′-c·ɩa-q·a-ʀï* white-rosy, very light pink (between pink and white)

CÏA-^{g} sapling:

cïa-p·ï- abs.: in comp. n. *wa'a′-c·ɩap·ï* cedar-sapling; *ɔγɔ′-c·ɩap·ï* fir-sapling; *yïv*^{w}*ɩ′-c·ɩap·ï* long-leaved pine sapling, *pa(i)-yï′φɪʿ-sïa'p·u-tsɩ-mᴀ* on a little long-leaved pine sapling growing along the water (458, 33); *tïv*^{w}*a′-c·ɩap·ï* pinon sapling

cïa- in comp. n.: *cïa′-p·iaφɪ* sap of a young tree

CÏA-P·Ï- after sunset (cf. *ta-c·ïa-*^{n} dawn): *cïa′-p·ïʿ* (obj.) after sunset, when it is already dark, evening, early night

cïa-p·ï-a- in comp. n.: *cïa′p·ïa-ruγwanʊ* dark up to midnight

CÏ'MÏ- Muddy River, Nev.:

cï'mï-ntsi- abs.: *cï'mï′-nts·* Muddy River (Song 147)

CÏM·ÏA-^{g} to let go: *cɩm·*^{w}*ï̦′ʿ* to let go, *cɩmï′'a-ŋwᴀ* to leave him (inv.), *nï̦' cïm*^{w}*ï′'a-q·wᴀ* I let it (inv.) go, *cɩmï′ᴀ*^{x}*-qai-nɪ* left me, *cï̦mï̦′ᴀ*^{x}*-pïγa'ai-k·wᴀ* let it (inv.) go (313, 11)

cïc·ïm·ïa- distr.: *cɪʿcɩ′m*^{w}*ïa-p·ïγa'ai-ŋwᴀ* (they) left him (inv.) (there)

cïm·ïa-q·w'ai- to let go moving away: *cï̦m·ï′x·-qwa'*^{ai}*-pïγaʿ* left as (they) started away (450, 13)

cïm·ïa-q·i- to let go moving hither: *cï̦m·ï̦′α-k·ɪ* to leave (him) and come away (450, 17)

with incor. obj.: *ɴïʿ-cɩ′m·*^{w}*ï̦ʿ* to let a person go

CÏN·A- maternal uncle, nephew; parallel cousin:

cïn·a-: *cï̦nα′-nɪ* my maternal uncle; *cɩnα′-nɪ* my (male's) father's brother's son, older than I

cïn·a-tsi-, cïn·a-ntsi- dim.: *cï̦nα′-ntsɩ-nɪ* my nephew; *cɩna′-tsɩ-nɪ* my (male's) father's brother's son, younger than I

CÏN·A-ŊWA-VI-^{n} coyote (cf. *cïna'avi-* wolf, dog): *cïna'ŋwaφɪ* coyote (common myth name) (308, 7), *cį̈na'ŋwavɩʻ tɔʻtsɩ'aŋᴀ* coyote (obj.) his-head, head of a coyote

cïn·aŋwavi-ŋqai- to be a coyote: ptc. *cį̈na'ŋwavɩ-ŋk̯a-ntï* being a coyote, inordinately amorous, (boy) who is crazy for girls, (girl) inordinately fond of boys, usit. ptc. *cį̈na'ŋwavi-ŋk̯ai-vä-tcï* always being a coyote, "sissy" (446, 4)

cïc·ïn·aŋwavi-ŋqai- (distr.) several are coyote-like: neg. impers. *c·cɩ'naŋwavɩ(y)-a·'-q·u-t̓·uα-c·amp aŋᴀ* while others were not coyote-like, still he . . . (446, 4)

cïn·aŋwavi-'ui-ŋqï- to act coyote-fashion to: *cį̈na'ŋwavɩ-'ai-ŋqï-iʻ* hugs, kisses, and teases (a girl) in all sorts of ways

cïn·aŋwavi- in comp. n.: *cį̈na'ŋwavi-ntɔts·ɪ* (having a) coyote-head, coyote-headed, crazy-headed

cïn·a- in comp. n.: *cį̈na'-'u(w)ɩaφɪ* coyote-song (one of the four types of mourning songs)

CÏN·A-'AVI-^{s} wolf, dog: *cɩna''aφɪ, cïna''aφɪ, cį̈n·a''aφɪ* wolf, dog

-c·ïn·a'avi- in comp. n.: *ava't̓·ï-c·ɩna'aφɪ* large-wolf, gray wolf; *tï'ʀᴀʻ-cɩn'avɩ-χ̯ai-va·-ntï* destined to be a desert-wolf, coyote (464, 17)

-CÏN'I-:

with incor. n.: *ᴍᴜ^{x}p^{w}i'k·ɪ-cɩn'ɩʻ* voids nasal mucus, blows (his) nose

CÏ'NI-K·I- to stick through (cf. *tsi-'nik·i-*): *cɩ'nɩ'-k·ɪ-pïγaʻ* stuck (it) through (326, 13)

ta-c·ï'ni- to stick through by throwing, to play cup and ball: plur. *tᴀʻ-cɩ'n'ɪ^{x}-qa-va·-raŋᴡᴀ* let us (incl.) play cup and ball; *tᴀʻ-cɩ'n'nɩ-p·ɪ* cup and ball, game played with rabbit-head; usit. pas. ptc. *tᴀʻ-cɩ'n'nɩ-nïmpï* wherewith cup and ball is played, rabbit-head used in cup and ball game

CÏN·Ï-MPÏ- vulva (not as coarse as *wïγi-*^{n}, q.v.): *cį̈nï'mpï-aŋ aʀï* her vulva (356, 4), *cïnï'mpï-α-nɪ* my vulva (obj.) (353, 11), *cɩnï'mpï-a÷ŋ ʻaiʻ* her vulva (obj.) (356, 6)

CÏŊWA-^{n} sandy gravel:

cïŋwa-mpï- abs.: *cɩŋwα'-mpï* sandy gravel

ta-c·ïŋwa- gravel: abs. *tᴀʻ-cɩ'ŋwα-mpï* coarse gravel; incor. *t̓ᴀʻ-cɩ'ŋwɩ-yunta'q·a-γ(ᵋ)ɩʻ* (it) keeps changing color like gravel

-c·iŋwa- in comp. n.: *parɩ'-s·ɩŋwa-oip·ɪ* sand-gravel-wash

-C·ÏŊWI- count of fingers, ten (cf. *-c·ïu-*):

-ma-c·ïŋwi- ten: *tɔγɔ'-m·ᴀʻcüŋwɩ-ʏᴜ* just-ten, ten; *cu(w)a'-rɔγɔ-*

mA'cüŋwι-YU nearly-just-ten, nine; *waa(·)'-mA'cüŋwι-YU* two-ten, twenty; *pa(a)'i-mA'cüŋwι-YU* three-ten, thirty; *WA'tcü'ŋwι-mA'cüŋwι-YU* four-ten, forty; *manι'χι-mA'cüŋwι-YU* five-ten, fifty; *nava'i-mA'cüŋwι-YU* six-ten, sixty; *cυ'yu-t·ɔγɔ-mA'cüŋwι-YU* one-just-ten, one hundred (Gram., § 59, 1)

CÏγÏ- lizard:

cïγï-p·ïtsi- lizard: *cïγï'-p·ïts·* common, small lizard

cïγï-'mi-ntsi- lizard (sp.): *ciχï''mi-nts·* lizard (sp.) (*Holbrookia?*)

pa-c·ïγï-'mi- water-lizard: abs. *pA'-cï'γu'mι-nts·*, *pA'-cι'χι'mi-nts·* water-lizard, newt (?); in comp. n. *pA'cι'χι'mι-vaχarïRÏ* water-lizard lake (place name)

CÏRA·- Cedar City (< Eng. *cedar*): *cï'ra'* Cedar City, obj. *cï'ra·-y uŋWA* the one of Cedar City (472, 7)

in comp. n.: *sï'ra·-m·a(·)m·a'ɔtsι-ŋwï-χ'a÷m· uŋWA* the Cedar City women then . . . them (472, 18)

CÏRÏ'YA·-, CÏRÏ'I- to be, become frightened:

cïrï'ya·- to be frightened: *cïrï''ya'*, *cïrï'(^{i})'ya'* to be frightened, surprised; plur. *cïrï''ya·-q·A* several are frightened

cïrï'ya·-t·ui- caus.: *cïrï''ya·-t·ui(y)-aŋA* to frighten him

cïc·ïrï'ya·-t·ui- iter. caus.: *cI'cι'rι'ya'-tui-yï-nI* frightens me several times

cïrï'i- to become frightened: *cïrï''^{i}'-pïγa'* was frightened (318, 7); with incor. n. *pu'ι'-c·ïrï'ι-p·ïγa'* became eye-frightened, was surprised (466, 19)

CÏTCA·'A-^{g} sage hen: *cιtca·'^{a}'* sage hen, sage grouse; plur. *cιtca·''a-mï*

CÏTCAŊ'WAI- to fool, to tease: *cïtca'ŋ'wai-yï-aŋA* teases him, *cïtca'ŋwai-p·ïγa'ai-mï* fooled them

cïtcaŋ'wai-ŋu- mom.: *cïtca'ŋwai-'ŋu-ŋWA* to fool him (inv.)

with incor. obj.: *nï-cï'tcaŋwa'ι-χ̰a'* while teasing a person

CÏTCU- finger-nail, claw:

incor.: *cιtcu-'ma-nι'k·I-pïγa'* put (her) claws in (309, 14)

cïtcu-m'mi- to pinch: *cιtcu'-m'mι-nI* pinch me; iter. *c·cι'tcu-m'mι-χ̰a'* always pinching (452, 13)

ma-c·ï(n)tcɔ'-^{n} finger-nail: *MA'-cï'tcɔ'* finger-nail; abs. *MA'-cï'tcɔ-mpI*, *MA'-cï'ntcɔ-mpI* finger-nail

-C·ÏU-^{s} finger, toe:

ma-c·ïu- finger: *MA'-cï''* finger; abs. *MA'-cï'u-φI* finger

ta-c·ïu-vi- toe (abs.): *tA'-cï'u-φI* toe

CÏYA-^{s} quaking asp:

cïya-vï- abs.: *cιa'-φï* quaking asp, obj. *cιya'-vï'* (336, 2)

SƆƆ-^{s} lung: *sɔ(·)ɔ'-nɪ* my lung

sɔɔ-vi- abs.: *sɔ(·)ɔ'-φɪ* lung

sɔɔ- in comp. n.: *sɔ·'-'ɔnïp·ɪ* lung-spirit (evil spirit believed in by the Utes)

SƆ'Ɔ-Q·I- to sit down: *nį̈' sɔ'(*^{w}*)ɔ'q·ɪ* I sit down

SƆ·A- to sound like flowing water: *sɔ·'a(i)-yï-n·ι'* (it) makes a noise as of flowing water

SƆ·'I- soldier (< Eng. *soldier*):

sɔ·'i-tsi- abs.: *sɔ·''ι-ts·* soldier, *sɔ·'ι'-tsι-nι'* like a soldier (320, 9)

CƆN·I-^{s} tinder: *cǫ(·)nι'-mä-ntï'u-mι-nɪ* some of your tinder (give to) me (330, 13)

cɔn·i-vï- abs.: *cǫ(·)nι'-φï* tinder, something to start a fire with

incor.: *nį̈' cǫnι'-maχa(i)-ya·ŋʌ* I give him tinder, some of my fine material

SƆN·IA-ŋWÏ- (anim. plur.) Great Bear: *sɔ(·)n·ι'a-ŋwï, sǫ(·)nι'a-ŋwï* seven stars of the Great Bear (believed to be transformed from Coyote's daughters who fled from him when he tried to rape them)

sɔn·ia-ŋwï-γai- to be the Great Bear stars: fut. ptc. *sɔ(·)n·ι'a-ŋwï-xai-va·-ntï-mï* who are destined to be the Great Bear (464, 16)

incor.: *sɔ(·)n·ι'a-ŋwa-rïχai-ŋᴜ-pïγa'* (they) became the Great Bear (464, 17)

SƆP·IK·I-^{s} brains: *sɔ'pi'k·ɪ* brains

sɔp·ik·i-vi- abs.: *sɔ'pi'k·i-φɪ* brains

SƆVAVU-^{s} cheek: *sɔ(·)va'φï* cheek

sɔvavu-vi- abs.: *sɔ(·)va'vo-φɪ* cheek

SƆ·VI-^{g} cottonwood:

sɔ·vi-p·ï- abs.: *sɔ·'vι-p·ï* cottonwood

sɔ·vi- in comp. n.: *cɔ·'vι-nuq·(w)ιntï* cottonwood-stream (place name)

-SƆγƆ-: in comp. n. *tümp*^{w}*ι'-k·ιε-hɔ*$^{\gamma}$*ɔ-ts·* rock-laugher, sparrow (sp.)?

SƆγƆ- Sioux Indian:

sɔγɔ-tsi- abs.: *sɔγɔ'-ts·* Sioux Indian; plur. *sɔγɔ'-tsι-ŋwï*

SƆγƆ-^{s} moist earth:

sɔγɔ-vï- abs.: *sɔγɔ'-φï* moist earth

sɔγɔ-aγai- to be provided with moist earth: ptc. *sɔχɔ'-aχa-ntï* moist

sɔγɔ-rï- moist: *sɔχɔ'-ʀï* moist (?), female name

sɔγɔ-'ma-q·ai- (res.) moist earth is covered over (for *-'ma-* cf. *sa'ma-*): *cɔγu'-m'ᴍᴀ*^{x}*-qai'* moist earth is covered over *na-s·ɔγɔ-’ma-* (refl.) to cover self with moist earth: *NA*‘*-cɔ′χu-’ma-p·ïγa*‘ covered himself with earth (474, 14); cont. *nï̧’ NA*‘*-sɔ′γɔ-’ma-’ni-i*‘ I cover myself with moist earth, *NA*‘*-sɔ′xɔ-’ma-’nι-p·ïγa*‘ covered himself with moist earth (400, 38); in comp. vb. *NA*‘*-sɔ′xɔ-’ma-*^{a}*vι-p·ïγa*‘ lay covered under dirt (474, 28), ptc. *NA*‘*-cɔ′xɔ-’ma-*^{a}*vι-tc aŋA* the one who had covered himself with dirt while lying down (476, 4)

SƆRI·K·I- Salt Lake City (< Eng. *Salt Lake*): *sɔri·′*^{i}*k·ɪ* Salt Lake City; *sɔrι′ɪ*^{x}*kι-ŋ’wιt·uχwa-ramɪ* to Salt Lake City (let) us two (Song 149)

SƆ·R’ƆA·-^{s} arm-pit: *sɔ·′r’ɔa*‘ arm-pit

sɔ·r’ɔa·-vi- abs.: *sɔ·′r’ɔa·-φɪ* arm-pit

in comp. n.: *sɔ·′r’ɔa·-vï’a·φɪ* arm-pit hair

-SƆRƆRƆI-^{s} water falls in a waterfall:

with incor. n.: ptc. *pA*‘*-sɔ′rɔrɔi-tcï* water-falling, waterfall

SƆTSI- to peep: *sɔ(·)tsι′-ι*‘ peeps out, puts out (his) head to peep; neg. *s·ɔ(·)tsι′-n·ai-va’a-q̇·wα-mï* (you) two shall not peep at it (inv.) (454, 16)

sɔtsi-ŋu- mom.: *sɔtsι′-ŋU-pïγa(a)i-c·U* again (he) peeped out, *s·ɔtsι′-ŋu-mpa-A*^{x}*qa-nɪ* I shall take a peep at it; impers. *s·ɔtsι′-ŋU-tu’*^{a} someone peep(s) (454, 22)

sɔtsi-q·ai- res.: *sɔ(·)tsι′-k̫·a*‘ to peep, to have one’s head stuck out to peep, *sɔ(·)tsι′-k̫·ai-p·ïγa*‘ peeped out (404, 7)

CƆYA·-, CƆI- to bend (intr.), to be bent:

cɔya·- to bend: *cɔ(·)′ya·(i)-yï-aq·A* it is bending, *cɔ(·)′ya*‘*-pïχa*‘ bent (410, 22)

cɔi-q·ai- res.: *cɔ(·)′i-k̫·a*‘ to be bent

-C·U- (mod. enc.) also, again, same; just, only (Gram., § 19, 2, k)

CO·-^{g} very (adv. pref.; probably identical with *co·-* one): *cυ·-’a′(i)yï-i*‘ is very good, feels very well, *sυ·′-’a(i)yu-χυ·-p·ï* (it) would (be) extremely good (378, 4); *cυ·′-mU*^{x}*qunta-’mιa-p·ïγa*‘ went straight ahead (394, 23); *sυ·′-p·a’a-ntï* very high; *su·′-tcaχιp·A* very near (381, 11)

CO·- one; other, the other (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

co·-yu-t·ɔγɔ-mac·ïŋwi- 100 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

CUA- to consume:

cua-ŋu- mom.: *nï̧’ cua′-ŋ’u-q·WA* I finish up eating it (inv.), *cu′α-ŋu-mï*‘*-tsi-’q·WA* after having finished eating it (468, 24); usit. *cua′-ŋu-mi-ŋk̫adi-k·WA* as (he) finished it (inv.) all up time after time (410, 10) *cua-q·w'ai-* to consume away: *cu(w)α'-q̇·wa(a)i-x̯·ᴜ* eating (it) up (396, 4)

cua- in comp. vb.: *nï̧' cu(w)α'-m'muq·ᴜ* I eat (it) up

-c·ua-ŋu- in comp. vb.: *ivi'-c·ua-ŋᴜ* to finish drinking (one's portion), to drink out, to drain (a cup), *ivi'-c·ua-ŋᴜ^{x}-q(w)a'* has drunk (it) up, *ivi'-c·ua-ŋᴜ-tιx-qa'* (water) has been drunk up

CUA-^{s} nearly (adv. pref.): *cu(w)a'-ŋᴡᴀ'tcï-p·ïγa'ai-mï* nearly caught up with them (inv.) (322, 10); *cua'-φᴀ^{x}qa-ŋu-ntsa-nι-'ι* you nearly killed me (367, 1); *nï̧' cu(w)a'-ʀɪqa·q·ᴀ* I nearly ate it; *nï̧' cu(w)a'-ivi-ŋu-aq·ᴀ* nearly drank it; *nï̧' cu(w)a'-'ᴀpï'^{i}* I nearly slept; *nï̧' cu(w)a'-ya'ᴀ* I nearly died; *nï̧' cu(w)a'-vunι-k̯·ai(y)-aŋᴀ* I nearly saw him; *nï̧' cu(w)a'-χwïï-'q·ᴡᴀ* I nearly took it (inv.); *nï̧' cu(w)a'-χwïrι-k·ɪ* I nearly got up; *cu(w)a'-mᴜ^{x}qwiχ̯a-χwa'ai-ʏᴜ* (I) nearly went to call for help (400, 2); *cu(w)a'-ʀᴜpι-k·ᴜ-pïγa'* (berries) were nearly all gone (394, 18); *cua'-ruγwι-p·ïγa'* (fire) nearly went out (388, 13); *cu(w)a'-ųnιvιtcι-a-nï̧mɪ* he was about to attack us (excl.); *cua'-rɔγɔ-mᴜ'qunta-ʀï* nearly straight; *cu(w)a'-rɔγɔ-mᴀ'cüŋwι-ʏᴜ* nearly-ten, nine (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)

cua-r'ua- perhaps (Gram., § 60, 2, d)

CUA-^{g} to breathe:

cua-q·a- to breathe (dur.): *cu(w)a'-q·a-i'* breathes, *cu(w)a'-q·ᴀ-pïγa'* breathed

cua-ŋ'wi- to take a breath (mom.): *cu(w)a'-ŋ'wį'* takes a long breath

cua-p·itcï- to breathe-arrive, to come to life (see *pitcï-*)

CUAI- to be glad: *cu(w)a'(a)i'*, *cu(w)a'.i'* is glad, *cu(w)a'ɪ-pïγa'* was glad (333, 5)

cuai-p·i- being glad: *cu(w)a'i-p·ɪ* (some one's) being glad, *s·v(·)'aɪ-pi-n·ι'* like being happy (454, 36); *cu(w)a'ɪ-pi(y)-a'^{a}* (it was meant for) welcome words (434, 30)

CUM·AI- to have in mind: *anιa' cųma(·)'i'* what are you thinking of?

cum·ai-q·ai- (res.) to remember: *sųma'ɪ-qa'ai-p·ïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ*, *cumą'ɪ-qaɪ-pïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* remembered it (inv.), kept it (inv.) in mind (312, 13; 313, 2)

CO·P·A·γAI- to be assembled (cf. *co·-* one, *co·p·ar'ua-* to assemble): *co·'p·a·γai-p·ïγa'* (they) were assembled together (474, 6)

CO·P·A·R'UI-, CO·P·A·R'UA- to assemble (tr., intr.) (cf. *co·-* one):

co·p·a·r'ui- tr.: *co·'p·ar'ui'* gathers (people) together; mom. *co·'ṗ·a-r'ui-ŋu-mï·-ts·* after (he) had collected (them) together (365, 7); iter. *cco''pa·r'ui'* gathers together several times *co·p·a·r'ua-* intr.: *cʋ·'p·ar'ua-i'ʻ* (people) gather together, *cʋ·'p·a·ro'α-p·ïγa'* (they) gathered together in one group

co·p·a·r'ua-p·i- place of assembly: *cʋ·'p·ar'uα-p·ιʻ* gathering-place (obj.) (400, 18)

SO·VA- provided that, if (Gram., § 60, 2, d)

CO·Q·U-P·I-A- (obj.) anything at all, recklessly (cf. *co·-* one; see also *nan·a-c·'o·q·u-p·i-*): *cʋ·'q·ᴜ-pι m·aik̫·ᴀ* you say anything! (contempt: "what you say counts for nothing") (462, 5), *cʋ·'q·ᴜ-pι(y)-a·ŋ an·ι'k̫·ᴀ* he does anything, acts without regard for anyone else, *so·'q·ᴜ-pι(y) an·ι'k̫·ᴀ* anything at all you do, act as though superior to everybody else (424, 10)

CO·γÏI- sugar (< Eng. *sugar*): *cʋ·'χïʻ* sugar; pos. *cʋ·'χïι-'ni-nɪ* my sugar

-C·URU'U- (mod. enc.) nor can (Gram., § 19, 2, l)

CURUR'U- to make a noise of whirling down: *cu'rur'u-iʻ* makes a noise of whirling down, *cu'r'uru-p·ïγai-n·ιʻ* made a noise like that of an object whirling down (373, 3)

-CURURUIN'NƆAI- (smoke-) hole: in comp. n. *qa(·)n·ι'-q·w'e·-c·ururuin'-nɔaiʻ* house-smoke-hole, smoke-hole (obj.) (416, 28)

-C·UYA-γWA-(N·OA-) (mod. enc.) would that! (Gram., § 19, 2, h)

T

TA-^{s} sun, heat (cf. *tava-*, *tavi-* sun, day): Gram., § 21, 14; *ta-ru'i-* to be hot weather (see *-tu'i-*); *ta-c·ïa-* to dawn (q. v.); *ta-c·ïp·a-* to be evening (q. v.)

TA-^{g} foot:

instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 6

as n. pref.: *tᴀʻ-tɔ'm·pïʻtca-φɪ* ankle; *tᴀʻ-cï'u-φɪ* toe; *tᴀʻ-pa''a-p·ï* stockings, socks; *ta-n·a'-s·ιγa-φɪ* foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes; *tᴀ*^{x}*-qo'va-φï* moccasin upper; *tᴀʻ-pa'ia·-φï* moccasin sole; *tᴀʻ-pa'i(y)a·-vu-φɪ* sole; *tᴀ*^{x}*-qu'c·ɪ* top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin

TA-^{g} stone (cf. *tavi-* to throw a stone):

instr. pref. (by throwing, with a stone): Gram., § 21, 11

as n. pref.: *tᴀʻ-cι'ŋwα-m·pï* coarse gravel

TA-^{n} far away (adv. pref.):

ta-ntïvai- far west: *ta-ntï'v*^{w}*ai-p·aʻ* in a far-west (country) (345, 2); abs. *ta-ntï'v*^{w}*ai-p·ɪ* country way west; in comp. n. *ta-ntï'v*^{w}*ai-uv*^{w}*ιaφï* far-west songs, Mohave songs

TA·'ï-^{s} shirt: *ta·''^{ï}, taa(·)''^{ï}, ta(·)a''^{ï}* shirt, *ta(·)a''ï-nɪ* my shirt

ta·'ï-ru- to make a shirt: *ta(·)a''^{u}-ru-p·ïγa'* made a shirt (315, 6); *ta·'^{a}'-rü-ŋq^{x}ï-pïγai-ᴀ^{x}qa-aŋᴀ* made it into a shirt for him (315, 7)

-ta·'ï- in comp. n.: *ᴀ'sɩ''a·-ra·$^{a'ï}$* bark shirt; *pï·'^{ï}-ra·'^{ï}* hide shirt; *tïa'vï-ra'^{ï}* deerskin shirt; *ɩ·'t·ümpï-ra·'^{ï}, -ra·ï'* old shirt; *aï'-raï''* new shirt

TAM·A- spring:

tam·a-n·a- abs.: *tam·a'-nᴀ, tama'-nᴀ* spring

tam·a-r'ui- to turn spring: ptc. *tama'-r'ui-ntï* turning spring, spring

ɔn·ɔ-t·am·a-r'ui- to turn early spring: *ɔ(·)nɔ'-t·a(·)m·a-r'ui-ŋqᴜ* when (it) turned early spring, early in the spring (348, 9)

tam·a- in comp. n.: *tam·a'-'uts·ɪ, tam·a'-'ɔt·sᴀ* spring water-jar (?), name of spring month (probably March); *tam·a'-ru(w)ats·* little spring, name of spring month (perhaps April)

incor.: *tama'-r'aip·a·ra'ip·a·ra'ip·ᴀ* there are summer-footprints (song form; 428, 5)

TAM·I- we 2 (incl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

tam·ia- us 2 (incl.) (obj.; ibid.)

-RAM·I- (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *tam·i-*) we 2 (incl.); us 2 (incl.); our (du. incl.) (Gram., § 40)

TAMPI-^{g} heel: *ta'mpɪ* heel

tampi-p·i- abs.: *tampi'-p·ɪ* heel

tampi- in comp. n.: *tampɩ'-n·-'uʀᴜ, tampɩ'-n'n-uʀᴜ* heel-string, string for tying a moccasin

TA·MPI-N·IA- tiringly; with *ai-*, to talk tiringly, to tire somebody: *ta·'mpi-ni 'aik̑·ᴀ* you talk tiringly, (they are)t ired of you, *ta·'mpi-nia-ŋ a'ik̑·ᴀ* (they are) tired of him, *ta·'mpi-nia-raŋw a'ik̑·ᴀ* (they are) tired of us (incl.), *ta·'^{a}mpi-ni(y)a-ŋwï nįm^{w}į'' a'ik̑·a(·)mɩ'* you (plur.) are wont to talk tiringly (to) us (excl.), we are tired of what you always say (327, 8)

-TAMPOQ·W'I-: in comp. n. *nïva'-rαmpoq̇·wɩ-ts·, -rαmpoq̇·ɔi-ts·* snow-?, chickadee (?)

TAM·U-^{s} sinew:

tam·u-vi- abs.: *ta(·)m·u'-ɸ(ᴡ)ɪ, tą(·)m·u'-ɸ(ᴡ)ɪ* sinew

tam·u-'a- pos.: *nį'ni tą(·)mu'-'a'* my sinew

incor.: *ta(·)mu'-ŋᴡɪ̈'qwɩnta-i'* wraps sinew around

TAN·AQ·I- rattlesnake:

tan·aq·i-tsi- abs. (myth word for *tɔγɔavi-*): *tana'q·ɩ-tc uŋᴡᴀ* the rattlesnake (404, 15), obj. *tana'q·ï-tsɩ aŋᴀ* the rattlesnake (400, 11)

TAŊA-^{s} knee: *ta'ŋᴀ* knee

taŋa-vi- abs.: *taŋa'-φɪ* knee

taŋa-γai- to have a knee: *taŋa'-xai-nɪ* I have a knee

taŋa- in comp. n.: *taŋa'-tsι'na-φɪ* bone from knee to foot

taŋ'a-rɔai- to kneel: in comp. vb. *taŋ'a'-rɔai-χ̣arι(·)-ι*ʿ kneel-sits, is kneeling, mom. *taŋ'a'-rɔai-χ̣arü-ŋw-i*ʿ kneels down; *taŋa'-rɔai-maŋwa'φᴀ-pïγa*ʿ crawled on (his) knees (458, 24)

taŋa-γu'ai- to gallop: *ta(·)ŋa'-xu'ai-p·ïγa*ʿ galloped (476, 12)

TAŊA- to kick: *nï̯' ta'ŋᴀ, nï' ta(·)'ŋᴀ* I kick, *taŋa'-i*ʿ kicks, *ta(·)ŋa'-nɪ* kick me, *taŋa'-va·n·ι*ʿ will kick; pas. plur. *taŋa'-t·ï·-q·a-tca-raŋᴡᴀ* we (incl.) were all kicked

taŋa-mpi- ag.: *taŋa'-mpɪ* kicker

taŋa-ntsi- dim.: cont. *taŋ'a'-nts·-k̯a-n·i*ʿ (mountain-sheep) keeps kicking up (his knees) when walking

in comp. n.: *ta(·)ŋa'-'atcï* kick-bow, sinew-backed bow

-TAŊI- to put into:

with instr. pref.: plur. *ma-ra'ŋɪ-k̯a-i*ʿ (they) put into

TAŊWA- we (plur. incl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

taŋwaia- us (plur. incl.) (obj.; ibid.)

-RAŊWA- (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *taŋwa-*) we (incl.); us (incl.); our (incl.) (Gram., § 40)

TAŊWA-^{n} tooth: *ta'ŋᴡᴀ* tooth

taŋwa-mpi- abs.: *taŋwα'-mpɪ* tooth

taŋwa-ŋqai- to have a tooth: *taŋwa'-ŋqai-nɪ* I have a tooth

taŋwa-ntu- to make a tooth: *taŋwa'-ntu-vʷa·ᵃnι*ʿ will make a tooth

taŋwa- in comp. n.: *taŋwa'-ntïʿqoa-φɪ* gum of tooth

TAŊWA- to kick (misheard for *ta̜ŋa-* ? q. v.): *ta(·)ŋwa'-t̓·sι-q·ᴡᴀ* having kicked it (inv.) (329, 8)

TAŊ'WA- man:

taŋ'wa-tsi- abs.: *taŋ'wa'-ts·* man; plur. *taŋ'wa'-tsι-ŋᴡï* men

in comp. n.: *taŋ'wa'-avιt·a-i*ʿ men's chief (obj.) (476, 18)

TANTAŊWAVI- (red.) man's brother-in-law: *tanta'ŋwa(·ᵃ)vι-nɪ* my (man's) sister's husband, wife's brother (?)

TAŊ'WAC·U- to charge on horseback: *ta(·)ŋ'wa'c·ᴜ* to charge on horseback

taŋ'wac·u-ŋu- mom.: *ta(·)ŋ'wa'c·u-ŋu-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they 2 galloped (their) horses on a charge (474, 17)

TAŊWI'AT·A-^{s} ankle (see *-wi'at·a-*^{s})

TAŊWÏγARU- to circle around: *taŋwï'xaru-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* rounded him up (404, 1), *ta(·)ŋwï'χaru-p·ïγai(y)-aq·ᴀ* circled around it (406, 40) *taŋwïγaru-q·a-ŋu-* plur. mom.: *taŋwï'xaru-q·(w)q̨-u-mpa-ŋa-raŋᴡᴀ* let us (incl.) round him up

TAP·AC·I- to be stunned: *tᴀʻpa'c·ɪ-pïγ* lay senseless (373, 3)

tap·ac·i-q·ai- res.: *tᴀʻpa'c·-k̭ai-nɪ* I was senseless; in comp. vb. *nï' tᴀʻpa'c·ɪ-k̭ai-a(·)viʻ* I have been lying senseless

TAP·IT·CA- to tie: *tᴀʻpi't·ca-iʻ* ties, *nį̈' tᴀ^{x}pι't·cι-yï-aŋᴀ* I tie him

tap·it·ca-q·a- plur.: *tᴀʻpi't·cᴀ-qa-iʻ* several tie

tat·ap·it·ca- iter.: *tᴀʻta'p·ɪʻtca-iʻ* ties several times; plur. *tᴀʻta'p·ɪʻtca-q·ᴀ-pïγaʻ* (they) all tied (them) (474, 9)

tap·it·ca-q·ai- res.: *tᴀʻpι't·cᴀ^{x}-qaʻ* to be tied; distr. *ta·'p·ɪ'^{s}tca-q·ai-p·ïγaʻ* (they) were tied (474, 8)

TAP·ƆRU'- to pound with a stone (probably with instr. pref. *ta-* with a stone): *tᴀʻpï'ru-p·ïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* hammered them (inan.) up with a stone (394, 19)

tat·ap·ɔru'- iter.: *tᴀʻta'p·ɔrɔ'-p·ïγaʻ* pounded, hammered with a stone (394, 9)

TAVA- sun, day; to be day: *ta'φᴀ* sun, day, *tava'-tcuq·ᴡᴀ* sun-under, during the day, *sʋ·'yuc·ᴜ ta(^{a})va'-mᴀ* one day-at, for one day (314, 8); *tava'-iʻ*, *ta(·)va'-iʻ* (it) is day, *ɔ(·)nɔ'-t·a(·)va-iʻ* (it) is early in the day

-tava- in comp. n.: *wa·i'-t·a(·)va-ma-nιʻ* for two days, *man·ι'γιyu-t·ava-m·a-n·ι'a-mï* for five days . . . they (474, 24); *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-t·ava-iʻ* (obj.) midday; *tᴀʻcι'p·ᴀ-tava-iʻ* dusk-day, afternoon; *ι·'tcᴜ^{x}qu-t·ava-iʻ* morning-day, forenoon

tava- incor.: *tava'(i)-yauq·wιʻ* sun sets; *tava'-'maŋwïc·iʻ* sun rises, *tava'-'maŋwïc·ï-n·a-ruq·ᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ* sun-rising-under-toward, to the east

TAVA'A- chipmunk:

tava'a-tsi- abs.: *tava''ats aŋᴀ* the chipmunk (408, 33)

in comp. n.: *ɔγɔ'-ntava'ats·* fir chipmunk

TAVAI- to burn brush: *tava·'iʻ* sets fire to piles of brush or weeds

tavai-q·a- plur.: *tava'ɪ-k̭a-iʻ* several set fire to piles of brush or weeds, *ta(·)va'ɪ^{x}-k̭a-q·ai-n·a-φï* their own having-been-set-afire, brush-fires that they had made (383, 1); *ta(·)va'ɪ^{x}-k̭a-p·ιʻ* brush-fires (obj.) made (by them) (382, 11)

tavai-ŋqï-t·u'a- to burn brush with others: *ta(·)va'.i-ŋqï-t·u'α-p·ïγaʻ* helped to burn brush (in order to scare up rabbits) (454, 35)

TAVAŊWAI-^{n} fox:

tavaŋwai-mpi-tsi- abs.: *ta(·)va'ŋwai-mpιts·* fox

TAVAC·U- to dry: *tava'c·ï-i'* (it) is drying

tavac·u-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *tava'c·u-p·ï* dried up, dry (334, 7), *tava'c·ᴜ-pï-a(·)q·ᴀ* it (is) dry; distr. *tᴀ'ta'φᴀcu-p·ï* all dry

-tavac·u-p·ï- in comp. n.: *yïv^{w}ι'-ntavac·ᴜ-pï'* dried up pine tree (obj.) (422, 30)

TAVARÏŊQWI- chipmunk (cf. *tava'a-*)

tavarïŋqwi-tsi- abs.: *tava'rïŋqwι-ts·* chipmunk, *tava'rιŋqwι-tc aŋᴀ* the chipmunk (408, 31)

TAVATSI-^{s} leg bone:

tavatsi-vï- abs.: *tava'tsι-vï* leg bone (Song 176)

TAVI- sun (cf. *tava-*; apparently used only in certain forms):

tavi- incor.: *tavι'-avi-x̭a'* while lying in the sun; *ta·vι'-ïrïγι'-tcaai'* there are spots of sunlight (Song 183)

tavi-ŋ(')wa- pos.: *ta(·)vι'-ŋwa(·)-χa-ntï* sun-having, canyon wall (or mountain slope) that gets the sunlight; in comp. n. *mɔγwa'-t·avι-ŋ'wa-ntsι-ŋwï* cedar-bark sun-slope people, Uncompahgre Utes (now at Ouray)

tavi-n·'i-q·ai- sun is shining: *ta·vi·'-n·'ι-k̭·a·-k·ᴜ* while the sun is shining (Song 176)

TAVI- to hit by throwing: *ta'φɪ* to throw, *nį' ta(·)vι'-aq·ᴀ* I hit it by throwing, *ta(·)vι'-tsι-tca∸ŋa-nɪ* having hit me . . . he, *ta(·)vι'-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* he hit by throwing (mud) at (398, 1); impers. *tavι'-t·ua'a-mɪ* somebody hit you by throwing

tat·avi- iter.: *tᴀ'ta'φɪ-k̭ai-n·a-nι* which I strike several times (Song 205)

na-ravi-q·a- to throw at one another: *tïimp^{w}ι'mᴀ na(·)-ra'φɪ-k̭a-p·ïγa'* with rocks (they) bethrew one another, (they) threw rocks at one another (440, 28)

with incor. instr. n.: pas. ptc. *nïa'-t·avι-p·ï*, *nïa'-t·ai-p·ï* wind-spotted (man's name)

tavi-n·ïmpï- hitting instrument, axe: *ta(·)vi'-n·ïmpï* axe

tavi-n·ïmpï-rua-tsi- axe-child, little axe, hatchet: *ta(·)vi'-n·ïmpï-rua-ts·* tomahawk (of iron), *ta(·)vι'-n·ïmpu-rua-ts·* tomahawk (of iron), *ta(·)vι'-n·ïmpu-rua-tsι-nɪ* my hatchet, *ta(·)vι'-n·ïmpu-rua-tsa∸mï-φï* their own hatchets (obj.) (474, 16)

TAVI-^{s} to light (in flying): *tavι'-p·ïγa'* (he) lit (474, 22)

tat·ap·i- iter.: *tᴀ'ta'p·ι-χ̭a'* having lit several times

TAVIN'NA·- to put out one's breast pigeon-fashion: *tavι'n'na'* to put out one's breast

taravin'na·- iter.: *tara'vιn'na·(a)-i'* keeps putting out (his) breast

(408, 17), *tara'vιn'naᴀ-pïγa'ai-mï* they kept putting out their breasts, kept strutting pigeon-fashion (408, 18)

TAVITSI·- weasel:

tavitsi·-tsi- abs.: *ta(·)vι'tsi·*^{i}*-ts·* weasel

TAVU- cotton-tailed rabbit:

tavu-tsi- abs.: *tavu'-ts·*, *ta(·)vu'-ts·* cotton-tailed rabbit (394, 4)

tavu- in comp. n.: *ta(·)vu'-m·uru'*^{i} cotton-tailed rabbit blanket

tavu-mpïtsi- abs.: *ta(·)vu'-mputs·* cotton-tailed rabbit (song word) (Song 160); in comp. n. *yona·'-ra·vumputsι* gravel cotton-tailed rabbit (Song 160)

TAVU-^{s} heart beats:

tavu-v'u- heart beats: *ta(·*^{a}*)vu'-v*^{w}*'i'* (my heart) beats, *ta(·*^{a}*)vu'-v*^{w}*'u-x·ᴜ* while beating (404, 12)

tavu-γw'ai- heart beats: *piyï'nɪ ta(·*^{a}*)vu'-xw'ai'* my heart beats

TAQ·A·-^{s} flat:

taq·a·-γai- to be flat: ptc. *tᴀ*^{x}*qa·'-γa-ntï*, *tᴀ*^{x}*qa·'-χa-ntï* flat (country), spread out flat

taq·a·-vi- abs.: *tᴀ*^{x}*qa·'-φɪ* flat country, table-land

-taq·a·-, *-taq·a·-vi-* in comp. n.: *qa'iva-raq·a·-φɪ* mountain plateau (Song 193); *qa'iva-raq·a·-x·ɪ* through a mountain plateau

-taq·a·-γa-ntï- in comp. n.: *ᴀ'ta'-ʀᴀ*^{x}*qa·-γa-ntï* sand-flat

TA·Q·INA·- stocking (< Eng. *stocking*): *ta·'q·ιna'* stocking, *ta·'q·ιna·-nɪ* my stockings

TAQ·IU- to reduce to small pieces:

taq·iu-γi-ŋqï- dur.: plur. *tᴀ*^{x}*qι'u-γι-ŋqï-qa-p·ïγa'* (they) chipped (it) into small pieces (468, 20)

taq·iu-q·i-ŋqï- mom.: *tᴀ'qι'ᴜ*^{x}*-q(w)ι-ŋqï-pïγai-ᴀ*^{x}*qa(·)-'mï* they hit it so that it went to pieces (424, 9)

TAγAP·ÏA-^{s} servant: *taγa'p·ïa-nɪ* my servant

taγap·ïa-vi- abs.: *taγa'p·ïa-φɪ* one who serves another

TAγAVAYA·- between the legs, crotch: *taχa'vaya·-va·-ntï-a-φï* from between her legs, crotch (452, 4)

TAγU-^{g} thirst:

incor.: *ta(·)γυ(·'*^{u}*)-y'ai-yï-aŋᴀ* he thirst-dies, he is thirsty, *taχυ(·'i)-ya'ι-yï-nɪ* I am thirsty, plur. *ta(·)γυ(·'*^{u}*)-yai-k̫·a(i)-yï-αmï* they are thirsty, caus. *ta(·)γυ(·'*^{u}*)-yai-t'·ui-yï-αŋα-nɪ* he makes me thirsty, I make him thirsty, *nï̜' ta(·)γυ(·'*^{u}*)-yai-t'·ui-yï-αmï* I make them thirsty; *ta(·)γu'-p·ᴀ*^{x}*qa-i'* is thirst-sore, is thirsty (402, 8), *taγu'-p·ᴀ*^{x}*qa-va·n·ιa-ŋᴀ* he will be thirsty; *ta(·)γυ(·')-ιtcup·i'* (they) are all thirsty, *ta(·)γυ(·')-ιtcup·ɪ-pïγa'* (they) were all thirsty (400, 35); *ta(·)γυ(·'^{u})-t·ᴜ'cuŋ'wι-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he makes me thirsty by exercising supernatural power, *ta(·)γυ(·'^{u})-t·ᴜ'cuŋ'-wι-p·ïγa'ai-mï* he caused them to be thirsty by exercising supernatural power (400, 34); *ta(·)γu'-q·ani·'^{i}* to hang around as though waiting for someone to give water

TAγU- sun-dance:
in comp. n.: *ta(·)χu'-wιaφï* sun-dance singing, sun-dance (not a Paiute ceremony)

TAQ·WAIA- to stiffen: *tᴀ'qwa'ï'* Stiffen-(penis) (woman's nickname)
in comp. vb.: *tᴀ'qwa'ia-muc·u'ι-q·wᴀ* try to stiffen it (inv., penis)

TAQ·WI-(N)TCUMPA-, -TAQ·O'-MA^{x}Q·AI- to assemble:
na-raq·wi-(n)tcumpa- (refl.) to gather together: *nara'q·wιntcumpa-i'* (they) assemble together, *nara'q·witcumpᴀ-pïγa'*, *nara'q·wüntcumpᴀ-pïγa'* gathered together (346, 1; 377, 4), *nara'q·wιtcumpa(i)-yï-amï* they assemble together
na-raq·wi-ntcumpa-ŋu- mom.: *na(·)ra'q·wιntcumpa-ŋu-mïι-tc 'ɔqi'* after (they) were assembled together (346, 2)
na-raq·o'-ma^{x}q·ai- to be gathered together: *nara'q̇·om'^{x}qai-yï-amï* they are gathered together, *n·ara'q̇·om'qa·-yu-c·ᴜ* as (they) were still gathered (378, 5)

TAQ·WI·'U- roasting basket-tray: *tᴀ^{x}qwι·''^{o}* roasting tray, *tᴀ^{x}qwι·''u-nɪ* my basket-tray

TAγWA-^{s} to smoke: *ta(·)χwa'-i'* smokes, ptc. *ta(·)γwa'-ʀï* smoking
taγwa-ŋu- mom.: *ta(·)γwa'-ŋu-ntca-nɪ* I smoked, *ta(·)γwa'-ŋu-ntca-r'ɔa-nɪ* did I smoke?
with incor. obj.: *qɔ'a'-t·aγwa-i'* smokes tobacco

TAS·I-P·Ï- flint, knife: *tᴀ'sι'-p·ï*, *tᴀ'cι'-p·ï* flint, knife
incor.: plur. *tᴀ'sι'p·u-φᴜ'caxai-k̯·ᴀ* several look for flint (468, 18)

TAC·Ï-^{n} cactus (sp.): *ta'c·ɪ*, *ta(·'^{a})c·ɪ* small cactus about one foot high with curving spines, "barrel cactus" (?)
tac·ï-mpï- cactus-plant: *tᴀ'cι'-mpï* clump of cactuses
tac·ï- in comp. n.: *tᴀ'cι'-m·^{w}anaφɪ* cactus spines

TAC·ÏA-^{s} red ant:
tac·ïa-vi- abs.: *tᴀ'cι'a-φɪ* red ant, obj. *tᴀ'cï'a-vι aŋᴀ* (404, 23)
-tac·ïa-vi- in comp. n.: *tuγwa'-ʀᴀ'cιaφɪ* dark-ant, big black ant
tac·ïa- in comp. n.: obj. *tᴀ'cι'a-χa(·)nιvï'* ant-hill (331, 12)

TAC·ÏA-^{n} to dawn (probably contains *ta-* sun):
tac·ïa-ntï- ptc.: *tᴀ'ci'a-ntï* early morning, before sunrise, obj. *tᴀ'cï'a-ntï' tιγ̰a'ix·ᴜ* when dawn appears (382, 7), *tᴀ'cι'a-ntï uru'-q·wᴀ* dawn under-it, just before daylight (331, 12)

tac·ïa-ŋqw'ai- to dawn off: *tᴀʽci'a-ŋqwa'ai-x̯·ᴜ* when dawn was approaching (474, 30)

tac·ïa- in comp. n.: *tᴀʽci'ᴀ-tuγwanᴜ* dawn-night, from midnight to morning twilight

ɔn·ɔ-t·ac·ïa- to be early dawn: *ɔ̨(·)nɔ'-t·ᴀʽcïa-ŋqᴜ* when it was early dawn, early in the morning (308, 3); ptc. *ɔ(·)nɔ'-t·ᴀʽcïa-rï-m·an-tux·ᴡᴀ* up to break of day, dawn (428, 6)

TAC·ÏN'I- to play cup and ball (see CÏ'NI- to stick through)

TAC·ÏP·A-^{s,n} to be early evening, dusk (probably contains *ta-* sun; cf. *tac·ïa-*^{n} to be dawn): *tᴀʽci'p·a(u)-x·ᴜ* when it was early evening, in the evening (315, 1), *tᴀʽcɩ'p·a-va·*^{a}*nɩa-'q·ᴡᴀ* it (inv.) will be evening

tac·ïp·a-ntï- ptc.: *tᴀʽci'p·a-ntï* at sundown, dusk, early evening

tac·ïp·a-ŋqw'ai- to be dusk off: *tᴀʽcï'ṗ·a-ŋqwai'ɩ-x̯·ᴜ* as evening commenced (352, 6)

tac·ïp·a- in comp. n.: *tᴀʽci'p·ᴀ-tava-iʽ* (obj.) dusk-day, afternoon

TARAI'NA·- to strut pigeon-fashion: *tara'i'naʽ* to strut pigeon-fashion, breast out and head back (Song 156)

TARAŊQ̇O·- Durango (< Eng. *Durango*): *taraŋq̇o·'-va·-nt aʀï* the (thing) from Durango, Col. (Song 150)

TARU'I- to be hot weather (*ta-* sun, heat, cf. *ta-c·ïa-*^{n}; *-ru'i-*, cf. *cï-t·u'i-* to be cold weather): *ta(·)ro''ɩʽ* (it) is hot weather

TATCA-^{g} summer: *ta(·)'tcᴀ* summer

tatca-t·'ui- to turn summer: *ta(·)tca'-t̓·uɩ-ntï* turning summer, summer

TAT·SIQ·WA·- to peep out: *tᴀʽtsɩ'q·waʽ* to peep out, to appear like peeping

tat·siq·wa-γa- dur.: *tatsɩ'q·wa-γa-iʽ* peeps out while walking along (Song 193)

-TAT·CÏQ·WÏ'I- to play the arrow-game:
recip.: *na-ra't·cɪqwï'ɩ-p·ɪ* arrow-game

TAT·CO·P·A- to fall down (of animals):
tat·co·p·a-ŋu- mom.: *tᴀʽtcu'ʽpa-ŋᴜ* to fall down (of animals), *tᴀʽtcu'ʽ-pa-ŋu-mṗï-ŋwα'*^{α} perhaps he (inv.) fell, *tᴀʽtcu'ʽpa-ŋu-mṗa·-mṗu-ŋwa'*^{a} perhaps he (inv.) will fall; plur. *tᴀʽtcu'ʽpa-q·a-ŋu-mṗa·-mṗï·-mï'*^{ï} perhaps they (inv.) will fall

TIYÏ·γI-NÏMPÏ- oesophagus (see *yï'ïγi-* to swallow)

TÏ-^{n} stone (see *tïmpi-*; *tï-ŋqani-*)

TÏ-^{s} game, deer (probably contracted from *tïγia-*):
incor.: *tï-v*^{w}*α'q·a-va·n·ɩa-nɪ* I shall kill game

TÏ-C·AMPA- = *ïtˑï-cˑampa-* always (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

TÏ·-^{n} well, heartily (adv. pref.): *tï·′-ntɔγɔq·*^{x}*wɪ-pïγaʻ*, *tï′-ntɔγɔq·wɪ-pïγaʻ* was on a dead run (328, 12; 396, 9); *tï′-ŋqᴀ*^{x}*qaʀï* to run away on a dead run, plur. *tï′-ŋqᴀ*^{x}*qarï-q·ᴀ*; *tï′-ntɪ*^{x}*qa-iʻ* eats well, eats a grand feast, *tï′-ntɪ*^{x}*qa-p·ïγaʻ* ate well (384, 1); *tï′-'iviʻ* has a good drink; *tï′(*^{i}*)-s·i'iʻ* urinates well (after keeping back long); *tï′-n·a*^{i}*γa-iʻ* has a good copulation; *tï′-'ʻampaγa-iʻ* has a good talk; *tï·′-ŋwa'aŋɩ-ɩʻ* gives a good shout; *tï′-'ᴀʻpïɩʻ* sleeps well, has a good sleep

TÏ·-^{n}, **TÏI-**^{n} up; **TÏ-NAŊQWA-** coming up (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TÏA-^{s} service-berry:

tïa-vï- abs.: *tïa′-φï* service-berry, obj. *tɩa′-vïʻ* service-berry bush (315, 3)

TÏ'AŊWA·-^{s} mountain range:

tï'aŋwa·-γai- to be a mountain range: ptc. *tï'a′ŋwa·-χa-ntï* mountain range

TÏNTÏAγA·-^{s} (red.) end of camp-wall: *tïntï′axa·-m·a-'q·wᴀ* on its (inv.) camp-end (464, 26)

tïntïaγa·-vi- abs.: *tïntï′axa·-φɪ* end of camp-wall (e. g. tent cover at either side of entrance)

TÏ'AC·Ï- to freeze (cf. *cï-* cold): *tï′'αci-yï-nɪ* I am very cold, freezing with incor. n.: *naŋqa′va-rï'aci-yï-nɪ* my ears are cold

-TÏITCU- to gnaw:

qï-t·ïitcu- to gnaw: *qïʻ-tï′itcu-iʻ* gnaws to pieces

qï-t·ïitcu-q·u- inc.: *qïʻ-tï′itcu-q·ᴜ* to begin to gnaw to pieces, *qïʻ-tï′itcu-q·ᴜ-pïγaʻ* gnawed to pieces (406, 28)

TÏ'MA- to roast under ashes: *tï'm*^{w}*a′-iʻ* roasts under ashes, *tï'mα′-p·ïγaʻ* buried in ashes to roast (456, 7), *tï'mα′-p·ïγa'ai-ŋwᴀ* roasted him (inv.) in ashes (400, 29); plur. *tï'mα′-q·a(·)-γu-c·ampa-n·ïmɪ* though we (excl.) roast (him) under ashes (468, 13); usit. *tï'm*^{w}*α′-m·i-nïm-pïγai(y)-amï* always roasted them in ashes (448, 27)

with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *qïtca′-rï'mα-t·ïv*^{w}*ɩtcᴜ-q(w)ai-n·α-nɪ* blood-roast that I have asked for (468, 12)

-tï'ma-p·i- roasted: in comp. n. *tɔʻtsɩ′-t·ï'm*^{w}*α-p·ɪ* roasted bread; *qam·ï′-rï'ma-p·ɪ* roasted jack-rabbit; *para′ŋwara-ntï'm*^{w}*αp·ɪ* roasted pumpkin

TÏ'MA- to bury (same as *tï'ma-* to roast under ashes?):

with incor. obj.: *qwɩtca′-t·ï'ma-iʻ* buries excrement

TÏMPA-^{s} mouth: *tïï′mpᴀ* mouth

tïmpa-vi- abs.: *tïïmpa′-φɪ* mouth

tïmpa-γai- to have a mouth: *tümpa'-γaʻ* to have a mouth (316, 4)

in comp. n.: *tümpa'-x·ᴜsɩφï* lip; *tümpa'-ïγap·ï* mouth-entered, bit and bridle; *tümpa·'γap·u-ru'aʻ* bridle-strings, reins

incor.: caus. *tümpa'-ïγa-t'·ui-yï-aŋa-nɪ* I cause him to mouth-enter, I bridle him

-TÏMPA'YA·- mouth of canyon (cf. *tïmpa-*):

in comp. n.: *s·qu'-rumpa'yaʻ* rabbit-bush canyon-mouth (place name); *ɔa'i-t·ümpa'yaʻ* salt canyon-mouth (place name)

TÏMPI-ᵍ stone, rock; iron: *tü'mp*(ᴡ)ɪ stone, *tümp ᴀʀï* the rock (430, 29)

tïmpi-ŋ'wa- pos.: *tümpʷi'-ŋ'wa·ŋ· ᴀʀï* his rock (422, 8)

tïmpi-tsi- dim.: *tümpʷi'-ts·* small stone

tïmpi-q·ai- to be a rock: *tümpʷi'-k̯·ai-nɪ* I am a rock

tïmpi-q·ai- to have a rock: *tümpʷi'-k̯·aʻ* to have a rock, *tümpʷi'-k̯·ai-nɪ* I have a rock

tïmpi-q·a- to get a rock: *tümpʷi'-k̯·a-va·n·ɩa-nɪ* I shall get a rock

tïmpi-aγai- to be rocky: *tümpʷi'-aχai-aq·ᴀ* it is rocky

tïmpi-a-t'·ui- to cause to be rocky: *tümpʷɩ'-ᴀ-t'ïi-p·ïγaʻ* caused (it) to have stones

tïmpi-t·u- to make a rock: *tümpʷi'-t·u-vʷa·ᵃnɩʻ* will make a rock

tïmpi- in comp. n.: *tümpʷɩ'-p·aia-i 'uraʻ* cliff-side (obj.) toward, towards the side of the cliff (456, 15); *tɩmpɩ'-t·ɩna·-iʻ* rock-bottom (obj.) (394, 4); *tümpʷɩ'-k̯·anɪ* stone house; *tümpʷi'-k̯·avaʻ* stone horse; *tümpʷɩ'-m·ɔ'ɔ* stone hand; *tümpʷɩ'-atcɪ* stone bow; *tümpʷɩ'-m·a·ᵃvï-a·ŋᴀ* his stone-clothes (obj.), his iron clothes (406, 29); *tümpʷɩ'(y)-uʻ* iron-arrow, gun, *tümpʷɩ'(y)-u-a·ŋᴀ* his gun (obj.) (406, 30); *tümpʷɩ'(y)-u-ruαts·* iron-arrow-child, little gun, pistol; *tümpʷɩ'-tcɔx·ᴜ* small weed with round, wide leaves that are cooked and taste like dandelions; *tümpʷɩ'-t·aiyaŋ* (personal name) (Song 173)

incor.: *tümpʷɩ'-n·arɔ'-ŋq(w)a-nt aŋᴀ* the stone-clothes-having, Iron-clothes (396, 3); *tümpʷɩ'-k·ɩε-hɔγɔ-ts·* rock-laugher, sparrow (sp.?), *tümpʷɩ'-t·on·oi-p·ɪ* gulch (cutting through rocks); *tümpʷɩ'-s·ɩvavai-tcï* cliff, precipice

-tïmpi- in comp. n.: *sï-va·-rï'mbɩ-ma·haiyo·* from squaw-bush-spring-rock (Song 183); *pa-rɔ'-ntümp*(ᴡ)ɪ water-gravel-stone, gravel, dim. *pa-rɔ'-n'tä·mbɩ-ndzɩn* gravel-stone (Song 118)

TÏN·A-ˢ to pursue: *tïna'(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* chases him

ma-rïn·a- to pursue (q. v.)

na-ntïn·a- to follow a track, to track: *na-ntï'na-iʻ* follows in the track, *na-ntï'na(i)-yï-αmï* follows their tracks, tracks them;

na-ntï'na-γwa'ai-p·ïγai(y)-amï went and tracked them 2 (452, 2); plur. comp. vb. *na(·)-ntï'na-vuʀᴜ-q(w)ɔ-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* they (plur.) tracked him back and forth (387, 7)

pï-t·ïna- to follow with one's eyes: *pï'-tï'na(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* follows him with his eye; distr. *pï'pï'-t·ιna(i)-ya·ŋᴀ* watch him go! (379, 12), *pï'-t·ιna-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* followed him with (their) eyes (379, 12)

with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *wantsι'-t·ïna-vuru-χu-nɪ* while I was chasing antelopes around (394, 12)

ᴛÏɴ·ᴀ-ˢ stump (cf. *-tïrïn·a-*)

tïn·a-vï- abs.: *tïna'-φï* stump (Song 63)

-tïn·a-vï- in comp. n.: *qwι'ya-rïna-φï* oak stump (Song 63)

ᴛÏɴ·ᴀ·- to hunt: plur. ptc. *tïn·a'ᴀˣ-qa-rï-mï* hunters; plur. usit. *tïn·a'ᴀˣ-qa-m·i-nïm-pïγa'* (they) used to hunt (432, 2)

tïn·a·-γw'ai- to go hunting: *tïna·'ᵃ-χwa'ᵃ* go hunting (335, 2), *tïna·'-χwa'ai-tcï* one who goes out to hunt (from the house)

in comp. vb.: *tïn·a'ᴀ-tïγa·-ʀï* hunting leader; *tïna'ᴀ-tuγwa-n'ni-ntcï* one out on a hunting trip (when all are camped in the mountains during the hunting season), plur. *tïna'ᴀ-tux·ᴡᴀ-qa-n'ι-ntcï-mʷï'* those out on a hunting trip (obj.) (472, 24)

ᴛÏɴ·ᴀ·-ˢ bottom, base: *tιna·'-i'* basin, bottom (obj.) (394, 3), *tιna·'(a)q·ᴀ* bottom of it

tïn·a·-vi- abs.: *tιna·'-φɪ* bottom (of anything)

-tïn·a·- in comp. n.: *tιmpι-t·ιna·'-i'* rock-bottom (obj.) (394, 4), *tümpʷι-t·ïn·a·'-va.(i)ʏᴜ* at the base of a cliff (432, 23)

ᴛÏɴ·ɪᴀ-ˢ to tell, to tell on: *tïnι'a-i'* tells, *tïnι'α-'q·ᴡᴀ* tell it (inv.), *tïnι'ᴀ-pïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* told it (inv.) (410, 31); neg. fut. *qatcun tïni'a-va·ᵃ-ŋwa'ai-nɪ* shall not tell on me (348, 9); plur. *tïnι'ᴀˣ-qa-i'* several tell; ptc. *tïni'a-ʀï* telling, plur. *tïnι'ᴀ-qa-rï-mï* several telling

tïn·ia-vi- ag.: *tïnι'a-φɪ* teller

tïn·ia-ntsi- ag.: *tïnι'a-nts·* one who always tells

tïn·ia-p·i- what is told: *tïnι'a-p·ɪ* something told

tïntïn'nia- iter.: *tïntï'n'ia-i'* tells several times

tïnia-ŋqï- to tell to: *tïnι'a-ŋqï-va·-c·'u-mɪ* let me tell you again

tïntïn·ia- to tell on: *tïntï'niα-nɪ* to tell on me; fut. ptc. *nï' tïntï'nia-va·-ntï-aŋᴀ* I shall tell on him

tïntïn·ia-ŋqï- to tell to: impers. *tïntï'n·ιa-ŋqï-tua-tsa-n·oa-nɪ* somebody has told me something, *tïntï'n·ιa-ŋqï-tua-tsa(·)-m·ι-n·oᴀ* someone has told you news (450, 23)

na-rïntïn·ia- recip.: *na-rï'ntïnia(i)-yï-αmï* they tell on each other

-TÏŊQA- to create:

ma-rïŋqa- to create: *ma-rï'ŋqa(i)-yï-aq·ᴀ* creates it (e. g. this earth) (442, 35)

TÏŊQANI-^{s} cave (= *tï-ŋqani-* rock-house): *tɩŋqa'nɪ* cave, *tïŋqa'nɩ-nɪ* my cave

tïŋqani-ntsi- dim.: *tɩŋqa'nɩ-ntsiʻ* little cave (obj.) (330, 8)

tïŋqani-vï-a- cave owned: *tïŋqa'nɩ-vï-a-nɪ* cave that I own; dim. *tɩŋqa'nɩ-vï-a-tsi-α-φï* his own little cave (obj.) (331, 9)

tïŋqani- in comp. n.: *tɩŋqa'nɩ-vä·ts·* cave spring (place name)

-tïŋqani-, -tïŋqani-vï- in comp. n.: *a·'p·ɔ(·)-rüŋqanɩʻ* cave (obj.) (319, 5); *pᴜʻ-tï'ŋqanɩ-φï* eye-cave, brow-ridge

TÏŊQWITCA'A- rabbit-skin:

tïŋqwitca'a-vï- rabbit-skin blanket: *tïŋqwɩ'tca'a-φï* rabbit-skin blanket

TÏŊWA- to close: *tïŋwa'-iʻ* locks up, *tïŋwa'-y'ï-q·ᴡᴀ* closes it (inv.)

with instr. pref.: *tɔʻ-tï'ŋwa-iʻ* closes up (e. g. a hole) by pushing a fist against (it); *pɪʻ-tï'ŋwa-iʻ* closes by pushing with the buttocks; *tᴀʻ-tï'ŋwa-y'ï-q·ᴡᴀ* closes it (inv.) by pushing with the foot; *ma-rï'ŋwa·-ŋq^{x}ɪ-pïγaʻ* shut with (their) hands (402, 6)

with incor. n.: *qwɩi(·)'-t·ïŋwα-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* locked him up in smoke (444, 32); *qa(·)n·ɩ'-t·ïŋwa(į)-ʏï* house-closes, shuts the door, *qanɩ'-ntcįwą-'nïmpï* house-closing-instrument, door

TÏŊWA-^{n} service-berry (cf. *tïa-*):

tïŋwa-mpi- abs.: *tɩŋwα'-mpɪ* service-berry

tïŋwa-mpi-vï- service-berry bush: *tɩŋwα'-mpɩ-φï* service-berry bush

TÏŊWAVA-γA- to make a noise (dur. intr.): *tɩŋwα'va-xa-iʻ* sounds, makes a noise, *tïŋwa'va-x·ᴀ* to make a noise (e. g. of gun that is fired off)

tïŋwava-γa-n'ni- cont.: *tïŋwα'va-xa-n'nɩ-p·ïγaʻ* made a noise (while bumping around trying to find his way out) (422, 32)

with incor. n.: *nampa'-rïŋwαva-xa-iʻ* sounds like footsteps

in comp. vb.: *mʋ(·)mpa'-t·ɩŋwava-xa-iʻ* sounds like rolling; *ampa'-rɩŋwαva-xa-iʻ* sounds like talking; *pitci'-t·ïŋwava-χa-p·ïγaʻ* made a noise as (he) arrived (450, 1); *ᴀʻpɔ'n·ai-t·ïŋwava-xa-ŋkɩ-χ̱u-aŋᴀ* as there was heard the noise of hoofs coming . . . he (476, 13); plur. *qa·'-t·ɩŋwαva-xa-q·a-iʻ* sounds like many singing; with incor. obj. *nïv^{w}a'-ʀᴀʻtɔn'ɴɪʻ-tïŋwava-x·ᴀ-pïγaʻ* made a noise of shaking off snow from (his) feet (450, 1)

-TÏŊWIP·A- to push in:

ma-rïŋwip·a- to push in with the hand: *ma-rï'ŋᴡɪpa-va·-nɪ* shall push me in (410, 27)

TÏŊWIYAI-γA- to pant (probably *tïŋwï-ya'i-* to die of haste): *tï'ŋwιyai-χa(i)-yï-n·ι‘* pants (e. g. of a hard-run horse)

TÏŊWÏ-^{s} hurriedly:

tïŋwï- . . . *-n·ia-* quickly: *tïŋwi'-nia-* in a hurry (315, 5), *tï'ŋwι-nι‘ payι'ŋ^{x}ᴜpïγa‘* hurriedly returned (319, 2), *tïŋwi'-nia'^{a}* hurry! *tïŋwι-ni(y)a∸mï tɪ‘qa'q·amι‘* they are wont to eat quickly

tïŋwï- (. . . *-n·ia-*) as vb. pref.: *tïŋwu-v^{w}aχ(a)i-ŋk̯ai-n·ι‘* while quickly-journeying, while hurrying; *tï'ŋwï-ʀɪqa-mι(y)α-nɪ* I am wont to eat quickly; *tï'ŋwï-na·vai-p·ïγai-n·ι'aq·ᴡᴀ* was gathering them (inv. inan.) up quickly (396, 33); *tι'ŋwu-χa·-yï-n·ι‘* sings fast, dim. *tι'ŋwu-χa·-ts·-qα-n·i‘* is singing fast; *tι'ŋwu-manι-miα-n·i‘* is wont to hurriedly-do, hurries along, dim. *tï'ŋwu-m·anι-mints·-k̯ai-n·ι‘* while hurrying along (357, 1); *tuŋwu'-c·αmp̔ïa(i)-'yai‘* haste-dies, is in a hurry, *tuŋu'-c·αmp̔ïa-i'ai-χ̯ai-n·ι‘* like haste-dying, as though being in a hurry (420, 10), *nï̜' tïŋwu'-c·umpa(i)-'^{y}(^{i})ai-ʏï* I am in a hurry

TÏŊWÏ'I- to fall off (probably *tï·-* high + *wï'ï-* to fall, q. v.): *tï̜ŋwu''ι-va‘* will fall down (e. g. from a horse), *tïŋwï''ι-vä·-nɪ* I shall fall off (456, 30)

TÏP·A-, TÏVI- to emerge (cf. *tup·a-*):

tïp·a-q·i- mom. sing.: *tï‘pa'-k·ɪ-k̯a∸ŋᴀ* when he emerged

tïvi-tcai-ŋu- mom. plur.: *tïv^{w}ι'-tcai-ŋᴜ-q(w)a∸mï* when they came out, emerged (422, 9)

TÏVA- wolf, powerful one (as mythological being):

tïva-tsi- abs.: *tïva'-ts·*, *tïv^{w}a'-ts·* Wolf, powerful one (308, 1)

tïva-tsi- in comp. n.: *tïv^{w}a'tsι-navavι-ŋwï* wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote) (308, 1)

TÏVA-^{g} pine-nut: *tï'(u)φᴀ* pine-nuts

tïva-tsi- pine-nut: *tïv^{w}α'-ts·* pine-nut (said to be Shoshone; Song 200)

tïva-p·ï- piñon: *tïv^{w}a'-p·ï*, *tïv^{w}α'-p·ï* piñon, pine from which nuts are obtained

tïva- in comp. n.: *tiv^{w}a'-c·ιap·ï* piñon sapling; *tïv^{w}a'-q·aɔφï* piñon cone

TÏVAI-^{g} down, west (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TÏVI-^{g} earth, ground, country:

tïvi-p·ï- abs.: *tïv^{w}ι'-p·ï* earth, *tïv^{w}i'-p·ï* Earth (man's name)

-tïvi-p·ï- in comp. n.: *sivi·'^{i}-ntïv^{w}ιp·ï-v^{w}a·-nɪ* at the Sibit Paiute country . . . I (478, 6)

tïvi-q·a-: *tïv^{w}i'-k̯·ᴀ* dirty ground mixed with sticks clinging to a brush (woman's name)

tïvi- in comp. n.: *tιvʷι′-nᴀˣqwιtcuts·* earthworm
incor.: *tï′vʷι-k·ïcara·-q·ai-p·ïγa‘* (his) mouth was filled with earth (404, 20)

TÏVI- to ask:
tïvi-ŋu- to ask: *tιvʷi′-ŋu-yï-a(·)ŋa-nɪ* he asks me, *tïvʷι′-ŋˣᴜ-pïγa‘* asked; plur. *tιvwi′-ŋᴜ-q(w)a-i‘*, *tïvʷi′-ŋᴜ-q(w)a-i‘* several ask
na-rïvi-ŋu- recip.: *na-rï′vʷι-ŋu-p·ïγa’ai-mï* they 2 asked each other (472, 29); plur. *na-rï′vʷi-ŋu-q·(w)a-χa‘* while asking one another (371, 2)
tïvi-tcu- to ask for: *tïvʷι′-tcu-i‘* begs, requests
-tïvi-tcu- in comp. vb.: *ampa′x·ᴀ-tïvʷιtcu-i‘* asks (one) to talk (for himself); *tïχwι·′n·a-t·ïvʷιtcu-χwai’ι-ŋwᴀ* go anda sk him (inv.) for a story (446, 25); *qïtca′-rï’mα-t·ïvʷιtcᴜ-q(w)ai-n·α-nɪ* blood-roast that I have asked for (468, 12); *cïï′-x·ᴀ‘-tïvʷιtcu-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* asked him to get squaw-bush twigs (456, 22); *nanta′-x·ᴀ-tïvʷιtcu-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* asked him to get "yant"

TÏVI- very, really:
tïvi-tsi- very; *tïvi-tsi-n·ia-* greatly; *tïvi-tsi-s·ampa-* really, of course, surely! (adv. and interj.; Gram., § § 60, 2, c; 61, 2)
tïvi-c·u-, *ti·vi-c·ampa-* sure enough (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

TÏVIC·Ï’A- to pay (Sibit Paiute dialect): *tïvʷι′c·ι’ⁱ* to pay (454, 8), *tïvʷι′c·ι’ε-tca-ŋa-nɪ* he paid me

TÏVIC·ÏRA’AI- to tell a lie: *tïvʷι′c·ιra’ai‘* tells a lie; plur. *tïvʷι′c·ιra’ai-k̑·a-i‘* (they) tell lies
tït·ïvic·ïra’ai- iter.: *tɪ‘tï′φ(ᴡ)ɪcιr’a·i‘* tells lies one after another

TÏVITSIγA- to obey: *tïvʷι′tsιχ̑a-tsa-aŋa-raŋwᴀ* he obeyed us (incl.); plur. *tïvʷι′tsιχ̑a-q·a-ŋᴀ* several obey him; usit. *tïvʷι′tsιχ̑a-m·ι‘* always obeys

TÏVITCU’A- to learn how: *tïvʷι′tcu’a-i‘* learns how to (do things)
-tïvitcu’a- in comp. vb.: *paχ(a)′in’nι-t·ïvʷιtcuα-p·ïγa‘* learned how to walk (464, 21)

TÏVÏ·-ˢ skin (owned), hide:
tïvï·-vï- abs.: *tïvʷï·′-φï* hide owned, *tïvʷï·′-vʷï-nɪ* hide which I own
tïvï·-vï-γai- to have a hide: *tïvʷï·′ⁱ-vʷï-xai-va-q·ᴀ* will have the hide (458, 23)

-TÏVÏ’- to head off (cf. *tïvïn·aγa-*):
na-rïvï’- recip.: with incor. obj. *qam·ï′-n·a-rïvʷï’-p·ï* game in which each tries to head off jack-rabbits away from the rest

TÏVÏN·AγA- to lead away: *tïvu′naxa(i)-’yï-ŋwᴀ*, *tïvu′n·a-xa-i’ι-ŋwᴀ* leads him (inv.) along, away *tïvïn·aγa-γw'ai-* to lead away: *tïvï'n·axa-xwa'*^{a} to lead away (362, 4)

tït·ïp·ïn·aq·a- iter.: *tïʽtï'p·unaq·a-iʽ* leads away several times; plur. *tïʽtï'p·unaq·ᴀ-qa-iʽ* several lead away several times, *tïʽtï'p·unaq·ᴀ*^{x}*-qa-p·ïγaʽ* (they) led (them) off one by one (474, 8)

ᴛÏᴠÏᴄ·Ïʀᴀ- moth:

tïvïc·ïra-tsi- abs.: *tɩv*^{w}*ï'c·ɩrα-ts·* moth

ᴛÏǫ·ᴀ-^{s} to eat: *tɪʽqa'(i)-yï-nɪ* I eat, *tɪqa'-ïi-ru'a-ŋᴀ* is he eating?, *tïʽqa'-p·ïγa'ai-k·ᴡᴀ* "ate it (inv.)," enjoyed the sexual act (446, 33); impers. *tɪʽqa'-t·u'*^{a} some one eating; ptc. *tïʽqa'-ʀï*, *tɪʽqa'-ʀï* eating, one who eats; usit. *tïʽqa'-m·ɪ-pïγaʽ* always ate (448, 29); plur. *tɪʽqa'-q·a-va·nɩa-nïm(ᴡ)ɪ* we all (excl.) will eat, usit. *tɪʽqa'-q·a-mɩʽ* (they) always eat (377, 9)

tïq·a-ŋu- mom.: dim. *tɪʽqa'-ŋu-nts·-qα-nɪ* I am ready to eat

tït·ïq·a- inc., mom.: *tɪʽtɩ'q·ᴀ* to start to eat, *tïʽtï'q·ᴀ-pïγaʽ* ate (it) up (464, 1)

tït·ïq·a- iter.: *tɪʽtɩ'q·a-iʽ* eats several times

tïq·a-γi- to come in order to eat: *tɪʽqa'-χiʽ* comes in order to eat

tïq·a-q·w'ai- to eat off: *tɪʽqa'-q·w'ɔi-vä·-nɪ* I shall keep on eating

tïq·a-t̓·ui- caus.: *tɪʽqa'-t̓·ui-y'ï-ŋᴡᴀ* makes him eat

tïq·a-t·ïa- eating-place: *tɪʽqa'-t·ïᴀ* eating-place, plur. *tɪʽqa'-t·ïrïᴀ* eating-places

na-rïq·a- refl.: *na(·)-rɩ'k̯·a-iʽ* (moon) eats (it)self (said when the moon is surrounded by a ring)

tï·-ntïq·a- to eat well: *tï'-ntɪ*^{x}*qa-iʽ* eats good stuff, eats a grand feast, *tï'-ntɪ*^{x}*qa-p·ïγaʽ* ate well (384, 1)

with incor. obj.: *wara'-ʀïqa-iʽ* eats grass-seeds (see *wara-*); *paγï'u-rïq·a-iʽ* eats fish; *qɔ'i'nɩ-ntcïqa-iʽ* eats corn; *qɔ'a'-t·ɪʽqa-iʽ* tobacco-eats, smokes, *qw*^{ɔ}*'α'-t·ɪʽqa-q·w*^{ɔ}*'aiʽ* keeps on smoking; *kwi·'mυ·*^{u}*rα-ntɩk·a-mɩa-γaʽ* while (they) were going in order to eat people up (370, 5); *navɩ''*^{a}*-t·ïq·a-iʽ* eats tabooed game, boy eats first game he has killed contrary to taboo

-tïq·a- in comp. vb.: usit. *sa·'*^{a}*-ntïq·a(·)-m·ɩ-p·ïγaʽ* always ate (him) raw (462, 37)

tïq·a- in comp. vb.: *tɪʽqa'-q·arï-iʽ* eat-sits, keeps on eating, eats while sitting; *tɪʽqa'-c·ua-ŋᴜ-pïγaʽ* finished eating, ate (it) up (394, 36); *tɪʽqa'-m'maq·ᴜ* to be through eating; *tɪʽqa'-m·au'p·ᴀ* to be through eating, to stop eating, *tɪʽqa'-mau'p·u-tca-r'a-ŋᴀ* did he finish eating?, *tɪʽqa'-m·au'p·u-tsï-'q·ᴡᴀ* having finished eating it (inv.) (373, 7); *tɪʽqa-'mpaγa-iʽ* eat-talks, prays before eating, says grace; *tɪʽqa'-p·ïni-n'niʽ* looks around for something to eat;

tɪʻqa′-vuru-iʻ walks back and forth eating, plur. *tɪʻqa′-vuru-q·(w)a-iʻ*; *tɪʻqa′-p·aγ(a)iʻ* eats while traveling; *tɪʻqa′-m·ιa-iʻ* several eat while traveling; *tɪʻqa′-yuχwιʻ* several eat while sitting; *tɪʻqa′-avιʻ* eats while lying, plur. *tɪʻqa′-avι-k̯·a-iʻ*; *tɪʻqa′-q·a·-χaʻ* while eat-singing, eating while singing; *tɪʻqa′-ŋwïnï-iʻ* eats while standing; *tɪʻqa′-ŋwaŋwιʻ* several eat while standing

TÏK·IA·-^{s} shaded:

tïk·ia·-γai- to be shaded: ptc. *tɪʻkι′a·-χa-ntï* shaded slope (of a mountain, where the sun does not reach and the snow stays long)

TÏγA- to beat out seeds: *tïγa′-iʻ*, *tïχa′-iʻ* beats out (seeds), harvests, collects (seeds)

with incor. n.: *wara′-rïγa-iʻ* picks grass-seeds (see *wara-*)

tïγa-n·ïmpï- seed-beating instrument: *tïγa′-n·ïmpï* seed-beater, *tïγa′-n’nïmpï-’mα-mɪ* with your seed-beater (398, 27), *tïγa′-n·ïmpï-q·a-ma-mï* with their (plur.) seed-beater

TÏγA·- to measure; to practice, to imitate: *tïγa·′-iʻ*, *tιχa·′-iʻ*, *tιχa′a-iʻ* measures, imitates (an action)

tïγa·-n’ni- cont.: *tιχa·′-n·’iʻ* keeps measuring

-t·ïγa·- in comp. v.: *wï’ι′-t·ïγa·-iʻ* practices dancing; *pɔ’ɔ′-t·ïγa·-iʻ* practices writing; *pɔ′ʏᴀ-tïγa·-iʻ* practices running; *pɪʻpι′t·a’nι-t·ιγa·(a)-iʻ* pretends to vomit, imitates vomiting; plur. *qᴜʻqwι′-t·ιγaᴀ^{x}-qa-vaʻ* all shall practice shooting (402, 32); cont. *a(·)vι′-t·ιγa·-n·ι’-p·ïγaʻ* tried to lie down, practiced lying down (354, 1); *qa·′-t·ιγa·-n·’iʻ* tries to sing, practices singing

TÏγA·- to bring about (caus. of *tïγai-*, q. v.?): *tïγa·′-iʻ* brings about

-tïγa·- in comp. v.: *ya(a)′i-t·ïγa·-iʻ* causes to hunt, makes hunt; *tɪʻqa′-t·ιχa·^{a}-χaʻ* calling (people) to eat; *tïn·a′ᴀ-tïγa·-ʀï* causing hunting to take place, hunting leader; usit. *ki(y)a′-t·ïχa-m·i-p·ïγaʻ* always commanded a round dance to take place (430, 11); *pᴀ^{x}qa′-xw’ɔi-tcιχa·^{a}-χaʻ* as (you) are talking of going to kill (him) (366, 3), *pᴀ^{x}qa′-xw’ɔi-tcιχa·^{a}-χai-nɪ* saying that (he) is going to kill me

tïntïγa·-ŋqï- to bring about a contest with: *tïntï′γa·-ŋqï-pïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* caused (him) to engage in a contest with him (456, 16)

TÏγAI-^{s}, TÏQ·A-ŋ’WI- to happen, to take place:

tïγai- dur.: *tïγa′ɪ-pïγaʻ* took place (384, 2), *tιγ̯a′i-x̯·ᴜ* when (it) appears (382, 7)

tït·ïγai- distr.: *tɪʻtï′χa(a)i-x̯·ᴜ* when (they) got (396, 7); mom. *tïʻtï′γai-ŋᴜ-pïγaʻ* (they) came to be (438, 22)

tïγai-q·ai- res.: *tïγa′ɪ-k̯aʻ* to continue; in comp. vb. *tïγ̯a′ɪ^{x}-k̯’ai-p·ax·ɪ-pïγaʻ* (it) continued while (they) were journeying (321, 12) *tïγai-q·w'ai-* to happen off: *tïγa'(i)ɪ-kwai'i·-go·-n'* when (it) has started (Song 182)

tïγai-γi- to take place hither: *tᴀ'cï'antï' tïγa'.i-χι-ηqᴜ* when dawn (obj.) came (406, 34)

tïγai-ťui- caus.: *tïγa'ɪ-ťui-yï-'q·ᴡᴀ* to bring it (inv.) about

tïγai- with incor. n.: mom. *sɔ(·)n·ι'aηwa-rïχai-ηᴜ-pïγa'* (they) became the Dipper

qatcu-t·ïγai- to become not: *qatcu'-t·ιγai-yï-nɪ* I am giving out (386, 12), *qatcu'-t·ιγai-'yï-a(·)mï* they (du.) are nearly tired out (394, 22); plur. *qatcu'-t·ιγaɪ-ka-ï'* (they) give out

-tïγa-n·ia-, -tɔγɔ-n·ia- in adverbs (Gram., § 60, 2, b)

tïq·aη'wi- mom.: with incor. n. *tümpʷi'-t·ɪ'qaη'wι-ntca-ηᴀ* he turned into stone; *nιηwï'-ʀïqaη'ᴡɪ* to become a man; *nια·'ᵃrι-ntï'-qaη'ᴡɪ* to become a chief

tïq·aη'wi-ťui-q·w'ai- to cause to become (mom.) off: *tɪ'qa'η'ᴡɪ-ťui-q·wᵓ'ai-p·ïγa'* caused (them) to turn away

-tïq·aη'wi- in comp. v.: *ųnι'-t·ɪ'qaη'ᴡɪ* to become doing, to do so again (406, 5)

TÏγAN·I- to cut up meat: *tïγa'nɪ-pïγa'ai-ηᴡᴀ* (he) butchered her (body) (312, 11); in comp. v. *tïᵞa'n·ι-ma'q·u-tsι-aηᴀ* after finishing butchering her (458, 32)

in comp. n.: *tïᵞa'n·ι-ηwïits·* butchering knife (for deer), cow-puncher's pocket knife

-TÏγI-:

cua-rïγi- to miss: *nï' cu(w)a'-rιγ'ι-ηᴡᴀ* I commence to miss him (inv.); plur. *cu(w)a'-rιγι-k·ᴀ-pïγa'ai-ηᴡᴀ* (they) commenced to miss him (inv.) (349, 9)

cua-rïγi-q·u- inc.: *nï' cu(w)a'-rιγι-k·u-ηᴡᴀ* I commence to miss him (inv.)

TÏγIA-ˢ deer: *tïγi'ᴀ* deer, obj. *tïγι'a-ï'* (310, 6); plur. *tïγi'a-ηwï*

tïγia- in comp. n.: *tïγι'a-vι'* deer-mother, doe; *tïγι'a-ru(w)α-ts aηᴀ* the little deer (428, 3); *tïγι'a-xanι-φï* deer-tepee, tepee with deer-hide cover; *tïγι'a-χunaφï* deer sack; *tïγι'ᴀ-cam'αp·ï* deer-cover, deer-robe; *tïγι'a-naap·u-ηwï* deer old-man; *tï·'ia-ʀɪquaφɪ* deer-meat; *tïγι'a-vïïφï* deer-hide

tïγia-vï-, tïa-vï- deer-hide: *tïγι'a-φï* tanned deer-hide; in comp. n. *tïa'vï-ra'ᶦ* deerskin shirt; *tïγι'avu-ru-vʷa·ᵃnι'* will make a deer-hide

pa-rïia- water-deer, elk (q. v.)

tï-ˢ game (q. v.)

TÏγÏ- (TÏγI-) hunger:

incor.: *tïγï′(i)-ya′ai*‘, *tïγï′(ⁱ)-ya′ai*‘ hunger-dies, is hungry, *tιγï(·)′-ya′ι-yï-nɪ* I am hungry, *tïχï′(ⁱ)-ya′ᵃⁱ-p·ïγa*‘ was hungry (474, 28); plur. *tïγï′i-tcup·i*‘ (they) are all hungry; *tïγι′-p·į̈n·i-n′nι-a-ro′ᵃ* are you looking for something to eat?, *tïγι′-p·ïn·ι-k̯·arï-xai-m·į̈′ⁱ* while sitting looking for something to eat (436, 2)

TÏγÏVÏ-ˢ friend: *tïγï′vʷï-nɪ* my friend, *tïγï′vï-ramɪ* you and I who are friends

tïγïvï-tsi- dim.: plur. *tïγï′vu-tsι-ŋwų-nιa-nɪ* my friends (373, 5)

tït·ïγïvï-vi- distr. abs.: *tɪ*‘*tï′χιvï-φɪ* anyone's friends

na-rïγïvï-ŋwï- du. recip.: *na-rï′χιvu-ŋᴡï*, *na(·)-rι′χïvʷï-ŋᴡï* two friends to each other; distr. recip. *nana′-rιγιvʷu-ŋᴡï*, *nana′-rιχιvʷï-ŋᴡï* friends to one another

incor.: *tïγï′vʷï-tca′ai*‘ friend-grasps, grasps (his) hand as friendly greeting

TÏγÏC·I- friend (song form; cf. *tïγïvï-*): *tïgị̈′c·ι-n am* friend of mine (Song 178)

TÏγWI·N·A- to tell a story:

tïγwi·n·a-ŋqï- to tell a story to: *tïγwι·′n·a-ŋqï-r′ua-ŋa-′mɪ* did he tell you a story? (446, 29)

in comp. vb.: *tïχwι·′n·a-t·ïvʷιtcu-χwai′ι-ŋᴡᴀ* go and ask him (inv.) for a story (446, 25), *tïχwι·′n·a-t·ïvʷιtcᴜ-pïχai′ι-ŋᴡᴀ* asked her (inv.) to tell a story (446, 24)

tïγwi·n·a-p·i- what is told: *tïχwι·′n·a-p·ɪ* story

TÏγWI·N·AN·AŊWA- possessed of great power: *nį̈′ tιχwi·′n·anaŋᴡᴀ* I have great power, am great, *tïγwi·′n·anα̨wa-i*‘ (obj.) having great power (362, 10)

TÏC·A-ˢ rope:

tïc·a-vï- abs.: *tɪ*‘*ca′-φï* rope, *tï*‘*ca′-vï*‘ ropes (obj.) (474, 10)

-tïc·a-vï- in comp. n.: *wï′ι′-t·ɪ*‘*caφï* milkweed rope

TÏ·C·IVA- floating dust: *tï′c·ιφᴀ* dust floating about in the air, *tï·c·ιvai a·ro·x·ᴡᴀ* to the dust in the air (Song 118)

TÏC·U′AI- (generally with neg. suf.) to pay attention: *tᴜ*‘*cu′ai*‘ minds, *tï*‘*cu′′ai-n·q̨(·)′ᵃ* to pay no attention

with pron. pref. (Gram., § 18, 2, c; § 50, 4, 29): *qatcu′aŋ nï-ru′c·u′ai-n·q̨(·)′ᵃ* he pays no attention to me, *qatcu nï-ru′c·uai-n·ιι(y)-a′ap·ᴀ* do not mind me, *aŋa′-ʀïcu′ai-n·q̨(·)′ᵃ* to pay no attention to him, *qa′tc ųŋwa′-ʀᴜcuȧi-m′mιa-va·-ŋwα̨′* shall not mind him (inv.) as (you) go along (454, 31); plur. *qa′tc am·u′-ʀᴜcu′ai-k̯·a-n·ι′-p·ïa′ᵃ* (they) paid no attention to them (462, 28); in comp. vb. *aŋa'-ʀïcu'ai-avι-ŋwa'ᵃ* to lie (sing.) and pay no attention to him, *aŋa'-ʀïcu'ai-k·wɔ(a)vι-p·ï'a'ᵃ* (they) lay down without paying any attention to him (436, 7)

TÏ'RA-ˢ desert, open expanse; bare: *tï'ra-va'* out in the open (388, 14), *tï'ra-va·ntux·ᴡᴀ* to the ground (404, 6)

tïra-vi- abs.: *tι'ra-φɪ, tïra'-φɪ* desert, prairie, plain

tïra- in comp. n.: *tï'ra(i)-yua·-x·ɪ* through the open plain (418, 19); *tï'ra-va·n·'ɔaγantï* plain valley surrounded by mountains; *tι'ra-ŋ'wιntsi'ι-ts·* desert-bird, horned lark; *tï'ra(i)-yoχovʷï-ts·* desert-coyote, coyote; *tï'ʀᴀʽ-cin'avι-χai-va·-ntï* destined to be a desert-dog, coyote (464, 17); *tï'ra-γava·-ŋwï-nι* desert horses (Song 174)

tïra- bare: *tïra'-nιŋᴡï* desert-person, person without home or clothes; *tï'ra-uq·wι-vï-nɪ* my bare-arrow, my unfeathered arrow, *tï'ra-uq·wι-vï-α-φï* his own unfeathered arrow (obj.) (400, 23)

-tïra- in comp. n.: *pa-rï'ira-va'* water-desert-at, out in the rain (389, 2)

TÏRAŊWANTCÏ- to step:

in comp. vb.: *tïra'ŋwantcι-p·aγ(ᵋ)ι-mpa'* shall step as (you) go along (448, 18)

TÏRAVI- to throw (cf. *tavi-*): *navι'mɪtuγwa t·ιraφɪ* to throw in back of oneself

TÏRAγUA-ᵍ middle, center: *tιra'χɔa-va·-ntï* in the middle, *tɔ'tsï'vι tιraχɔa-va·-ntï* in the middle of the head, *tïrα'xua-vα·-'mï* in the midst of them (448, 14)

tɔγɔi-t·ïraγua- the very middle: *tɔγɔ'-t·ιraχɔa-va·-ntï* right in the center, *tɔχᵓι'-t·ïrαχua-va·-'q·ᴡᴀ* right at its (inv.) middle (458, 3), *tɔγɔ'-t·ιraχ(w)-ɔa-va·ntuχwa-q·ᴀ* right in the middle of it (360, 8)

-tïraγua- in comp. n. (Gram., § 50, 4, 28): *qanι-ntcιra'χɔa-va·-ntï* in the middle of the house; *niŋwï'-rïraxuɔ-p·a'* right among the people

tïraγua-p·i- abs.: *tιra'χwa-p·ι'* it is between, the center (refers to position of the gambling bones in the hand game, the two unmarked bones falling between the two marked ones)

TÏRA·S·I- potatoes (< Eng. *taters*): *tι'ra·s·ɪ* potatoes

tïra·s·i-n'ni- pos.: *tι'ra·s·ι-n'ι-nɪ* my potatoes

TÏRAC·ÏQ·WA- to come to a halt: *tïrα'c·ιk·ᴡᴀ, tιra'c·ιq·ᴡᴀ* to come to a halt, to stop walking (410, 1), *tïrα'c·ɪqwa-'ᵃ, tιra'c·kwa-'ᵃ* stop!, *tïrα'c·ɪqwa-tca-nɪ* I came to a standstill, *tïrα'c·qwα-ts·* having come to a standstill (410, 1), *tιra'c·kwɔ-p·ïγai-c·ᴜ* stopped again (370, 3); plur. *tιra'c·qwa-q·ᴀ* several stop

tït·ïrac·ïq·wa- iter.: *tɪ'tι'ʀᴀcιq·wa-i'* stops several times

-TÏRÏN·A-^{s} butt (cf. *tïn·a-*):

in comp. n.: *ɔγɔ-ntïrï'na-va'* fir-butt-spring (place name); *yïv^{w}ι-ndï'rana·-γai-p·ï* long-leaved pine stump that used to be (Song 63)

TÏTSAŊ'WA- to take away from: *tï(^{i})tca'ŋWA* to take away from

na-rïtsaŋ'wa- recip.: *na-rï'tsaŋ'wa-p·ïγai(y)-aŋ'a-mï* they 2 tried to jerk her away from each other (366, 11); plur. *na-rï'tsaŋ'wa-q·a(i)-yï-aŋA* (they) try to jerk her away from one another

with incor. obj.: *nï-mpι'ŋwa-rut·saŋwa-p·ι-ŋwa-xa.i'* has as (his) own somebody else's wife whom (he) has taken away (436, 8)

-TÏTSI-N'A- to join together:

na-rïtsi-n'a- recip.: *na-rι'tsι-n'a-i'* joins two things together, *na-rι'tsι-n'a-q·ai-nA* joined together, cane-joint

-TÏYA- middle, between (only with postpos.)

na-rïya- recip.: *na-rï'^{i}ya-va·-'mï* between them 2 (428, 8), *na(·^{a})-rï'-(i)ya-va·-nïmɪ* between us (excl.); *tana'c·ιχ̯a(i)ya·ŋA na-rï'ya-vantux·WA* to between his hoofs (404, 11)

-n·a-rïya-, distr. *-n·an·a-rïya-* in comp. n. (Gram., § 50, 4, 21): *-n·a-rïya-va·-* between, *-n·an·a-rïya-va·-* among (Gram., § 50, 4, 38); *-n·a-rïya-p·a·-* between (Gram., § 50, 4, 38); *-n·a-rïya-γi-* in between (Gram., § 50, 4, 5); *-n·a-rïya-n·a-* between on (Gram., § 50, 4, 21); *-n·a-rïya-va·ntuγwa-* to between (Gram., § 50, 4, 38)

TƆ-^{g} with the fist (instr. pref.; cf. *tɔn·a-* to punch): Gram., § 21, 7

TƆ'Ɔ-^{g},^{n} hole:

tɔ'ɔ-p·i- abs.: *tɔ'ɔ'-p·ɪ* hole, orifice

-tɔ'ɔ-mpi- in comp. n.: *mov^{w}ι'-t̓·ɔ-mpɪ* nose-hole, nostril

-TƆ'Ɔ-^{n}:

pi-t·ɔ'ɔ-mpi- rear-fat (?): *pɪ'-tɔ''ɔ-mpɪ* thick fat over hips next to skin

-TƆ'AI-:

taŋa-rɔ'ai- to kneel: in comp. vb. *taŋ'a'-rɔai-χ̯arι(·)-ι'* is kneeling; *taŋa'-rɔai-maŋwaφA-pïγa'* crawled on (his) knees (458, 24)

TƆ·AΓA·- to watch (only compounded with verbs of sitting):

tɔ·aγa·- in comp. vb.: *tɔɔ(·)'aγax·-qaRÏ-pïγa'ai-mï* they 2 sat watching (402, 13); *tɔɔ(·)'aχa·(i)-yιχwι'* several sit watching

-TƆARƆ-^{n} to hang loose:

ma-rɔarɔ- in comp. vb.: caus. *ma(·)'-rɔarɔ-mpA'tca'ai-t̓·ui'* causes to nearly hang, causes to be attached loosely

ma-rɔarɔ-mpo·-t̓·ui- to cause to hang loose: pas. plur. *ma(·)'-rɔarɔ-mpu-t̓·ui-t·ïi-k·A-pïγa'* (they) were caused to hang loose (after being gnawed) (406, 28); pas. *ma(·)′-rɔarɔ-mpʋ·-t·ï·-iʿ* is almost hanging as though ready to fall

TƆ'ƆI-^{s} bulrush:

tɔ'ɔi-vï- abs.: *tɔ'ɔ′i-φï* bulrush, obj. *tɔ'ɔ′i-vïʿ* (396, 25)

TƆIA-^{n} gravel:

tɔia-mpï- abs.: *tɔiα′-mpï* gravel, rocks big and small

tɔia- in comp. n.: *tɔi-'ɔ′ip·ɪ* (= *tɔia-* + *o′i-p·ɪ* canyon) gravel-canyon, creek running through a rocky bed, San Juan river; *tɔï'ɔ′ip·ι-tcʅ-wï* gravel-canyon people, Paiute Indians of San Juan river, Arizona (band living in Navaho country)

TƆM·I-^{n} acorn (?):

tɔm·i-ntsi-: *tɔ(·)mι′-nts·* Acorn (?) (man's name) (cf. Ute *tö'mι′-mp*, acorn, *tö'mι′-nts* man's name)

TƆM·Ɔ-^{s} winter: *tɔ′mɔ, tɔ′mᴀ* winter, year

tɔmɔ-r'ui- to turn winter: ptc. *tɔmɔ′-r'ui-ntï* commencing winter

-tɔmɔ- in comp. n.: *cʋ·′i-t·ɔ(·)mu-mᴀ* at one winter, for one year; *wa·′-t·ɔma-mᴀ* at two winters, for two years

-TƆMPAT·CA-^{s} swelling (?):

ta-t·ɔmpat·ca- foot-swelling (?), ankle: *tᴀʿ-tɔ′mpᴀʿtca-m·a-ŋqo-amï* on their ankles (434, 30)

ta-t·ɔmpat·ca-vi- abs.: *tᴀʿ-tɔ′mpᴀʿtca-φɪ, tᴀʿ-tɔ′mpïʿtca-φɪ* ankle

TƆMPÏN'NA·- to double up one's legs: *tɔ(·)mpu′n'naʿ* to double up one's legs, *tɔ(^{ɔ})mpï′n'a·-p·ïγaʿ* doubled up (his) legs (that were stretched out) (334, 12)

TƆMP'Ɔ′Q·I-^{s} feathers (?):

tɔmp'ɔq·i-vï- abs.: *tɔmpɔ′q·(ɔ)i-φï* "feathers (?)," pubic hair, copulation (myth-word; sexual euphemism)

TƆN·A-^{s}, TƆN'NA- (mom.) to strike, to hit: *tɔ′nᴀ* to strike, to hit, *tɔnq′-iʿ* stabs, *tɔna′-va·n·ιa-ŋa-'ŋᴀ* he will punch him; pas. *tɔna′-t·ï·^{i}-tcα-nɪ* I have been hit

tɔntɔn'na- iter.: *tɔntɔ′n'na-iʿ* stabs several times; plur. *tɔntɔ′n'ᴀ^{x}-qa-iʿ* several stab

tɔna-γi- to come to hit: *tɔna′-xï-yï-aŋᴀ* he comes to punch

with instr. pref.: *mu-rɔ′nᴀ* to strike with one's nose; *pɪʿ-tɔ′nᴀ* to push with one's buttocks

with incor. instr. n.: *mov^{w}ι′-t·ɔnᴀ* to strike with one's nose; *'a·′-t·ɔn'ɴᴀ* to hook with the horns, *'a·′-t·ɔn·a-p·ïγaʿ* struck at with (his) horns (430, 28); *wιi′-t·ɔn·a-p·ïγaʿ* stabbed with a knife (430, 1); *tsιγi′-t·ɔnɔ* to stab with a stick; *siχι′-t·ɔnᴀ* to pierce, hit with a stick *tɔn·a-* in comp. vb.: *tɔna'-va(i)yï-iʻ* punch-returns, has been punching

na-rɔn'na-ŋqï- (recip.) to have a fist-fight with: *nï'aŋA na-rɔ'n'na-ŋqï-iʻ* I have a fist-fight with him; plur. *na(·)-ru'n'na-ŋqï-q·a÷ŋA* all have a fist-fight with him (446, 18); distr. *nï'ntca·ŋA nana'-rɔn'na-ŋqï* I just had a fist-fight with him

TƆN·Ɔ-ˢ greasewood: *tɔ'nɔ* greasewood

tɔn·ɔ- in comp. n.: *tɔnɔ'-va·ts·* greasewood spring (place name)

-TƆN'NI-, -TƆN'NƆI- to shake:

ta- off the feet: *tAʻ-tɔ'n'nɔ.iʻ* shakes (dust, snow) from the feet; with incor. obj. *nïvʷa'-RAʻ-tɔn'NIʻ-tï-'a-ŋWA* his (inv.) place (obj.) of shaking off snow from the feet, in comp. vb. *nïvʷa'-RAʻ-tɔn'NIʻ-tïŋwavax·A-pïγaʻ* made a noise of shaking off snow from the feet (450, 1)

wï-t·ɔn'ni-, *wï-t·ɔn'nɔi-* to shake out: *WIʻ-tɔ'n'ι-yï-aq·A* shakes them (inan.) out, *WIʻ-tɔ'n'Iˣ-pïγa'ai-k·WA* shook them (inan. inv.) out (326, 12); *WIʻ-tɔ'n'nɔ.iʻ* shakes (e. g. a blanket); distr. *wïwï'-t·ɔn'i÷ⁱ-k·WA* shakes them (inan. inv.) out

na-ŋwï-t·ɔn'nɔi- refl.: iter. *nana'-ŋWÏ-tɔn·ɔi-k̭·a-mI* while you shake yourself

TƆŊQWA·- (bow) snaps: *tɔŋqwa'ʻ* to snap (sing., e. g. a bow), *tɔŋqwa·'-va·n·ιʻ* (it) will snap

TƆŊWAQ·I- to shoot:

tɔŋwaq·i-ŋu- mom.: *tɔŋwa'q·ι-ŋu-mpaʻ* will shoot (at them)

TƆP·A-, TƆP·I-, TƆVI- to come loose (intr.), to pull out (tr.):

tɔp·a-q·i- one standing object comes loose (mom.): *tɔʻpa'-q·I* one (tooth, tree, standing object that has roots) comes out, comes loose

tɔvi-tcai- several come loose: *tɔvι'-tcaiʻ* several come loose, (feathers) come out

tɔt·ɔp·i-n'na- (*tut·up·i-n'na-*) to pull out one (mom.): *tɔʻtɔ'ṗ·ι-n'NA*, *tɔʻtɔ'ṗ·i-n'NA*, *tɔʻto'p·i-n'NA* to pull out one, to pluck out one (feather), *tɔʻtɔ'ṗ·i-na-p·ïγaʻ*, *tUʻtu'p·i-'na-p·ïγaʻ* pulled out one (of her arms), pulled (it) out (of the ground) (365, 3; 404, 3)

tɔt·ɔvi-tca- to pull out several: *tɔʻtɔ'vι-tca-iʻ*, *tɔʻtɔ'vi-tca-iʻ*, *tɔʻto'vι-tca-iʻ* pulls out several, plucks out (feathers)

TƆP·AQ·A-, TƆP·A'A- to patch:

tɔp·a'a- to patch: *tɔʻpa''a-iʻ* patches; *tɔʻpa''a-ts·* patcher (personal name)

tɔt·ɔp·aq·a·-ŋqï- to patch several for: *tɔʻtɔ'p·Aʻqa·-ŋqï-p·ïγai(y)-aq̇·a-ŋA* (she) patched them (inan.) for him (394, 14)

TƆVI'-, -TƆP·I'- short:

tɔvi'-p·i- abs.: *tɔvɩ''-p·ɪ* short; in comp. n. *tɔ(·)vɩ''p·ɩ-atcï* short-bow, pistol (term used by Sibit Paiutes)

-tɔp·i'-tsi- in comp. n.: *w'a'-p·ɪʻ-tɔ̓p·i-ts·* penis-rear-short, short penised (336, 10)

tɔvɩ'i-tsi- for a short distance (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TƆQ·WA·'- to patch: *tɔʻqwa''a-iʻ* patches (one)

tɔt·ɔq·wa·'- to patch several: *tɔʻtɔ'q·wa·'a-iʻ* patches (several), *tɔ'q·wa·'-p·ïγaʻ* (she) patched (his moccasins) (394, 38), *tɔʻtɔ'q·ɔa·-p·ïγai-aq·ᴀ* patched it together (404, 22), *tɔʻtɔ'q·wa·'a-va·n·ɩa-ᴀˣqa-nɪ* I shall patch them (inan.)

tɔt·ɔq·wa·'-ŋqï- to patch: *tɔʻtɔ'q·wȧ-ŋqï* to patch (them) (394, 11)

TƆΓI- just, right (adv. pref.):

in v.: *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-t·ɪʻqa-iʻ* is right in eating, is about half through eating; *tɔγɔ'-mᴜqunta-ŋqw'ai-p·ïγaʻ* went on straight ahead (394, 16), *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-mᴜʻquntᴀ* straight ahead, ptc. *paï'-ntɔγ(ɔ)ⁱ-mᴜʻqunta-ʀï* perfectly straight; ptc. obj. *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-q·ᴡᴀci-rïʻ* just ripe (394, 7); ptc. *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-p·a'a-ntï* just high enough

in num.: *tɔγɔ'-m·ᴀʻcüŋwɩ-ʏᴜ* just-ten, ten (Gram., § 59, 1); *cu(w)a'-rɔγɔ-mᴀʻcüŋwɩ-ʏᴜ* nearly-ten, nine

in n.: *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-t·ava-iʻ* (obj.) midday; *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-t·uχwa-nᴜ* midnight; *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-ŋqwɩyu-mpa·-ŋqu-nɪ* right in the center of my head (398, 26); *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-mᴜˣtaq·a-ŋ'wï-ŋqu-nɪ* right on my forehead; *tɔγɔ'-t·ɩraχɔa-va·-ntï* (being) right in the center

with pron. and post.: *tɔγʷɩ'-aŋa-ruq·ᴡᴀ* right under him (404, 9); *tɔγ(ɔ)'y-aŋa-vai-t·ï-mʷï-n·ɩʻ* (being) equal to him; *tɔγ(ɔ)'y-am·ï-vai-t·ï-mʷï-n·ɩʻ* equal to them; *tɔγɔ'-n·ʸï-vʷaɪʻ-tï-mʷï-n·ɩʻ* equal to me in strength (422, 26); *tɔγɔ'-n·ʸ-op·a' tɪʻqa'ʀï* just-me-like eating, one equal to me in eating; *tɔγ(ᵓ)i'-m·a(·)-va'anᴀ* right above that (388, 5); *tɔγ(ᵓ)'i-a-ruq·wa·x·ɪ* right under it; *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-a-vaŋᴡɪ-tïʻ* being (obj.) right in it; *tɔγ(ɔ)'i-u-vʷa'a·x·ɪ* right over it (inv.)

TƆΓƆ-ˢ grandfather: *tɔχɔ'-nɪ, tɔ(·)γɔ'-nɪ* my grandfather (paternal or maternal); *tɔγɔ'-nɪ* "my grandfather," stick used in scoring in cup-and-ball game

tɔγɔ-tsi- dim.: *tɔχɔ'-tsɩ-nɪ, tɔ(·)γɔ'-tsɩ-nɪ* my (male's) grandchild (male or female); plur. *tɔγɔ'-tsɩ-ŋwï-nɪ* my dear grandfathers (476, 17)

tɔγɔ-vi- abs.: *tɔγɔ'-φɪ* "grandfather," stick used in scoring in cup-and-ball game

-TƆγƆ-^{n}:

pa’a-t·ɔγɔ- long (cf. *pa’a-*^{n} high): ptc. *pa’a′-t·ɔγɔ-nt ’ʊraro′’*^{a} it is long (446, 21)

TƆγƆA-^{s} rattlesnake:

tɔγɔa-vi- abs.: *tɔγɔ′a-φɪ, tɔχɔ′α-φɪ* rattlesnake (*Crotalus atrox*); plur. *tɔγɔ′a-vɪ-ŋᴡï* rattlesnakes

-tɔγɔa-vi- in comp. n.: *pa-rɔ′xɔaφɪ, pa(·)-rɔ′χɔαφɪ* water-snake

tɔγɔa- in comp. n.: *tɔχɔ′a-ruᴀ-tsɪ-ŋw αmï* the rattlesnake-children (448, 2)

TƆγƆ-Q·I- to run (mom.): *nï̹’ tɔγɔ′q·(ᴡ)ɪ* I run, *tɔγɔ′q·(ᴡ)ɪ* to run off, to start to run, *tɔγɔ′q·(w)ï-va·*^{a}*-rɔ’ɔ-nɪ* shall I run away?

tɔt·ɔγɔq·i-, tɔrɔγɔq·(w)i- iter.: *tɔ‘tɔ′x·q(w)ɪ‘* runs often; *tɔrɔ′x·q(w)i‘* runs several times

tɔγɔq·i-t̓·ui- caus.: *tɔγɔ′q·(ᴡ)ɪ-t̓ui-ŋᴡᴀ* to cause him (inv.) to run

tɔγɔq·i-ŋu- inc.: *tɔγɔ′q·(w)ɪ-ŋu-i‘* starts to run, gets ready to run

tɔγɔq·i-q·w’ai- to run off: *tɔγɔ′q·(ᴡ)ɪ-qwa’ai-yï-aŋᴀ* he runs off, *tɔγɔ′-q̇·wɔi-vä‘* shall run away

tï·-ntɔγɔq·i- to run hard: *tï′-ntɔγɔq·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγa‘, tï·′-ntɔq·*^{x}*(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγa‘* ran away hard, was on a dead run (396, 10; 328, 12)

TƆγƆTSI-’A- to cover a standing object: *tɔγɔ′tsɪ-ȧ-i‘* covers something on top, covers something that stands

tɔγɔtsi-’a-t̓·ui- caus.: *nï̹’ tɔ‘tsi′anɪ̹ tɔγɔ′tsɪ-ȧ-t̓·ui‘* I cover my head (with a handkerchief, e. g., not a hat), *tɔγɔ′tsi-’a-t̓·ʊ-k̂·ai-k̂·a‘* (he) had evidently been having (it) to cover (a cactus) (452, 15)

-TƆγWA·- to order loudly:

in comp. vb.: *ampa′-rɔγwα‘-pïγa(a)i-c·ᴜ* commanded out long again (430, 13), *ampa′-rɔxɔa-i‘* (stands up on a height and) yells out orders

TƆ·γWA·-^{s} purple:

tɔ·γwa·-γa- to be purple: ptc. *tɔ·′χwa·*^{a}*-γa-ʀï* purple

tɔ·γwa·- in comp. vb.: *tɔ·′χwa·*^{a}*-χwɪc·ᴀ* to flash purple (446, 27)

TƆC·A-^{g},^{s} (TUC·A-) white: *tɔ′s·ᴀ* white (personal name)

tɔc·a-γa- to be white: ptc. *tɔ‘ca′-χa-ʀï* white

tɔc·a-^{g} in comp. n.: *tɔ‘ca′-q·anɪ* white house; *tɔ‘ca(·)′-’ɔvan’naŋqᴀ* white goose; *tɔ‘cα′-q·aiφᴀ* white-mountain, White Cliffs (place name), *tɔ‘ca′-q·aiva÷χa-ntï* (country) having a white mountain; *tɔ‘ca′(i)-yua·-γaɪ-pïγai-n·ɪ‘* (it) seemed like a plain dotted with white (474, 4); *tɔ‘ca′-p·a(i)ya-mpa-ts·, t‘hω′-p·aiα-mpa-tc‘* white-breasted, gull; name of horse (361, 6), obj. *thω′-p·a(i)ya-mpa-tsi aŋᴀ* (360, 13); *tɔ‘ca′-q·wi·*^{i}*-ts·* white-left-handed (personal name);

tɔʿca′-q·ava·-tc a·ŋa· the white-horsed, name of Ute chief (Song 202); *tɔha′-t·ümpι ʿaiʿ* the white stone (obj.) (402, 32); *tɔʿsa′-p·ᴀˣqɔ·rα-mputs·* white-faced, bald-faced (not in ordinary use; Song 75), *tɔ′s·a-mɔ′p·aqɔ·′rα-mputsn̥* white-faced (Song 75); dim. *tɔʿsa-q·arïrï-nι′ŋwï-ntsι-tsι-gaiʿ* be a white-peaked-person (Song 115); *tɔca′-q·wιaγantï-m·a·matsι* white-grizzly-bear-woman (Song 158); *tɔʿca′-q·ᴜʿtcu-mpuŋqu-ŋᴡï* white cattle (Song 161)

tɔc·a-ᵍ in comp. vb.: ptc. *tɔʿca′-c·ιa-q·a-ʀï* white-pink, very light pink; *tɔ′s·ᴀˣ-qarï-gï-na·nι* (he) is coming to sit down white (Song 194)

-tuc·a- in comp. n.: *pa-ru′c·ᴀ* water-white, Virgin river

ᴛɔᴛ·ᴄᴀ-ŋǫï-’ᴀ- to have a pointed object stuck at the top: *tɔʿtca′-ŋqï-’a-iʿ* causes (arrow or other point) to stick to something, has stuck on his head

tɔt·ca-ŋqï-’a-q·ai- res.: *tɔʿtca′-ŋqï-a-q·ai-p·ïγaʿ* (arrow) was stuck to (it) at the head; distr. *tɔʿtɔ′t·ca-ŋqï-a-q·aɪ-pïγaʿ* each had one on (its) point (452, 17)

ᴛɔᴛ·sɪ-ˢ head: *tɔ′ts·* head

tɔt·si-vi- abs.: *tɔʿtsι′-φɪ* head; distr. *tɔʿtɔ′t·sι-φɪ* heads

tɔt·si-γai- to have a head: *tɔʿtsι′-γai-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall have a head

-tɔt·si- in comp. n.: *qarï′n·ïmpɔ-ʀɔtsi-dʿ* saddle-head, saddle horn; *pɪʿk̂a′-rɔ(ᵓ)ts·* sore-headed; *moo′-ntɔʿtsι-va·ts·* humming bird-head spring (place name)

tɔt·si- in comp. n.: *tɔʿtsι′-vïa·-φɪ* head-hair; *tɔʿtsi′-χwιyu-nɪ* center, crown of my head

tɔt·si-a-: *tɔʿtsi′-a-γai-nɪ*, *tɔʿtsι′-a-χεi-nɪ* head-having, name of old Kaibab Paiute woman (Song 140, Song 204); *tɔʿtsi′-a-ts·* dit. (shortened form of name)

ᴛɔʏᴀ-ˢ mountain (used only in songs; apparently borrowed from Shoshone):

tɔya-vi- abs.: *tɔya′-φɪ* mountain (Song 154, Song 200)

tɔya- in comp. n.: *tu′ya-nιŋwï* mountain-person (Song 154)

ᴛᴏ·-ᵍ black:

to·-q·a- to be black: ptc. *to·′-q·(w)a-ʀï* black

to·-q·a-ŋu- to become black: *to·′-q·(w)a-ŋᴜ* to become black; plur. *to·′-q·(ᴡ)ᴀ-qa-ŋᴜ* all become black

to·-t·u’a-ŋu- to turn black: *tυ·′-t̓·uα-ŋᴜ-pïγaʿ* turned black (446, 1)

to·- in comp. n.: *to·′-niŋᴡï* black person; *tυ·′-marιk·a·-ts·* black-American, negro, plur. *tυ·′-marιk·a·-tsι-ŋᴡï* negroes; *to·′-niχ̬ι* black-nigger, negro (Song 161); dim. *to·-sari·′-m·a·m·’atsι-tsι-gaiʿ* when (she) is a little black dog-woman (Song 181); *tʊ·'-sari·ts·* black dog; *to·'-q·ava'* black horse; *to·'-p·uŋqu-χ(ʷ)ai-va·-ntï* destined to have a black horse (462, 21); *tɔ·'-'ɔvan'naŋqᴀ* black goose; *to·'-q·(w)anɪ* black house; *tʊ·-'ɔra·'-ɸï* black pole; *tʊ·'-'uŋwa-p·ui-k̂·a-ntï* black-rain-cloud-having, black-clouded, black clouds (388, 5); *to·'-p·u'ⁱ*, *to·'-p̓·ui-ɸï*, *tʊ·'-p̓·u(w)ɩ-ɸï* black-seed (see *pu'i-vï-* seed); *to·'-c·ïu-ɸ(ᴡ)ɪ* black-squaw-bush (see *cïï-* squaw-bush); *tʊ·'-p·a-χarï-ʀï* black water-sitting, black lake (place name)

to·- in comp. vb.: ptc. *to·'-p̓·a·n·ɔa-γa-nt aʀï* the being-black-hollowed (396, 24); ptc. *tɔ·'ᵓ-p·ɔ'tɔn'ɪˣ-k̂α-ntï-n·ɩ'* being like a black spherical thing (460, 21); *tʊ·'-m'unuq·wa·-p·ïγai-n·ɩ'* became like black and round (402, 38), ptc. *tʊ·'-m'unuq·wɩ-tcï* black and round; ptc. *tʊ·'-c·aγwa-γa-ʀï* being black-blue, dark blue; *tʊ·'-c·ɩa-q·a-ʀï* being black-pink, brown

to·-q·a-rï- in comp. n.: *to'-q·(w)a-rɩ-ɴᴜ'q(w)ɩ-ntɪ* black-stream (because of many black rocks in its canyon), Ashe creek

with incor. n.: *paγɩna-tʊ·'-p·aya-montsï'montsï''montsï'n* cloud-black-flank-mountains, mountains whose flanks are black with clouds (Song 76)

ᴛᴜᴀ-ᵍ child, son; to give birth to:

tua-t·si- (dim.) son: *tu(w)a'-ts·* son; plur. *tu(w)α'-t·sɩ-ŋwï-c·'u-ŋᴡᴀ* only her (inv.) sons (308, 11)

tua-t·si-γai- to have a son: *tu(w)a'-t·sɩ-χ̰aɪ'-pïγa'* had a son (462, 7), *tu(w)a'-t·sɩ-γ̰aɪ'-pïγa'ai-mï* they 2 had a son (448, 23)

-tua-t·si- child, young of: *na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-t·sɩ-nɪ*, *-ru(w)a-t·-n̥ɪ* my first-born son; *qamï'-ru(w)a-t·s·* jack-rabbit son, little jack-rabbit; *tïγɩ'a-ru(w)α-t·s aŋᴀ* the deer-child, fawn (428, 3); *na(·)xa'-ru(w)a-t·s aŋᴀ* the young mountain-sheep (426, 25); plur. *tɔχɔ'a-ruᴀ-tsɩ-ŋw αmï* the rattlesnake children (448, 2); *sari·'ⁱ-tcu(w)a-t·s·* little dog; *iyɔ'vɩ-tcua-t·c aŋᴀ* the mourning-dove son (402, 1), plur. *yö'vɩ-tcuᴀ'-tsɩ-ŋw αmï* the little doves (402, 14); *piχ̰ɩ'-tcu(w)a-t·s·* little pig

-tua-t·si- small: *nɩŋwï'-ru(w)a-t·s· ta(·)vi'n·ïmpï-rua-t·s·* axe-son, iron tomahawk; *tüimpʷɩ'(y)u-ruα-t·s·* gun-son, pistol; *qan·ɩ'-ntcua-t·s·* house-son, little house; *qa'ipa-ro(w)a-t·s·* mountain-son, Kaiparowitz Peak

tua- to give birth to: *tu(w)a'(i)-ʏï* gives birth to (a child); plur. *tu(w)a'-q·a-i'* several give birth; in comp. vb. *tu(w)a'-m·ɩa-p·ïγa'* (each) gave birth to a child while on (their) way (438, 13)

tut·u'a- iter.: *tᴜ'tu''a-i'* gives birth several times, one after another
tua- in comp. n.: *to(w)a'-q·anɪ* parturition hut
nï-ntua-ŋqï- to give birth to a human being, child: *nï-ntu'a-ŋqï-i'*, *nɪ-ntua'-ŋqï-i'* gives birth to a child, *nï-ntu'a-ŋqï-va·n·ɪa-ŋᴀ* she will give birth to a child; mom. *nï-ntu'a-ŋqï-ŋu-ts·* having given birth to a child (375, 7)

-RUA-(RU'A-N·IA-), -NTCUA-, -NTUA- (mod. enc.) like (Gram., § 19, 2, g)

-RU'A-, -TCU'A-, -NTCU'A- inter. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, f)

TO·'AI- to refuse a suitor: usit. ptc. *tʋ·'^{u}'ai-m·i-ntï* always rejecting (suitors)

-TUARU- to jump after (?):
ma-ruaru- to jump reaching for: *ma(·)-ru'aru-p·ïγa'* jumped reaching for (him) (312, 9)

-TU'I- (perhaps really suffix *-tu'i-*; Gram., § 26, 1, g):
cï-t·u'i- to be cold weather (see *cï-*^{g})
ta-ro'i- to be hot weather: *ta(·)-ro''ɩ'* (it) is hot weather

TU'UM·A- to take several objects: *nï'aq·ᴀ t'u'u'mᴀ* I take them (inan.), *tu'u'mᴀ-pïγa'* picked up (many), *tu'u'mᴀ-pïγai'ɩ-k·ᴡᴀ* picked them (inan. inv.) up (315, 5), *tu'u'm·α-ts·* having taken up (bow and arrows) (389, 4)
tut·u'um·a- iter.: *tᴜ'tʋ·''ma--yïaq·ᴀ* takes them (inan.) several times
tu'um·a-q·w'ai- to go and take: *tu'u'mᴀ*^{x}*-qwɔi'-p·ïγa'* went and took (402, 18)
with incor. obj.: *pa(·)-ru''umᴀ* to take water

-TU'UM·I- to peel off:
ma-ru'um·i-ŋu- to peel off with the hand (mom.): *ma(·*^{a}*)-ru''*^{u}*mi-ŋ*^{x}*ᴜ-pïγai'ɩ-k·ᴡᴀ*, *ma(·*^{a}*)-ru·'*^{u}*m'ɩ-* pulled it (inv.) off of (arrow sticks) (315, 6)

TO·M'MU- to make a big noise:
to·m'mu-γa- dur.: *tʋ·'m'mu-χa(i)-yï-n·ɩ'* sounds like a heavy object (e. g. of wood, rock) moving or being hit
to·m'mu-ŋu- mom.: *to·m'mʋ(·)'-ŋ·u-n·ɩ'*, *tʋ·'mʋ(·)-ŋ·u'-n·ɩ'* to make a noise, to sound like a heavy body falling (390, 8; 426, 18)

-TUN'NA- to brace up:
tsi-t·un'na- with a stick: *ts·-tu'n'na-i'* braces (house, tree) with a pole, stick

TU'UN'NIQ·A- to dance the scalp dance:
tu'un'niq·a-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *tuu'n'ɴɪ*^{x}*qap·ï* scalp dance, war dance
in comp. n.: *tu'u'n'ɴɪ*^{x}*qa-uʋ*^{w}*iaφɪ* scalp-dance song

TUN·U- to drill a hole: *tun·ų(·)'-i*ʿ drills a hole, twirls

qu-t·un·u- to drill for fire: *qᴜʿ-tu'n·u-į*ʿ drills for fire

TON·OI-^{g} canyon, "gutter" (cf. *oi-*^{g}, *-n·oi-*^{g}):

ton·oi-p·i- abs.: *ton·o'i-p·ɪ* "wash," "gutter"

-ton·oi-p·i- in comp. n.: *tümp*^{w}*ɩ'-t·on·oi-p·ɪ* rock-wash, gulch cutting through rocks; *pa(·)γa'-ntunoi-p·ɪ* cane-wash, canyon in which cane grows

TUN·OγWI-^{s} grass (sp.):

tun·o·γwi-vï- abs.: *tuno·'χwɩ-φï* grass bunched together to a considerable height, growing on sand hills

TƆN·ƆQ·I-^{s}, TUN·UQ·I-^{s} a hill rises: ptc. *tɔn·ɔ'q·(w)ɩ-tcï, tun·u'q·(w)ɩ-tcï* knoll, swell in the ground

in comp. n.: ptc. *ɔγɔ'-ntɔn·ɔq·(w)ɩ-tcï*ʿ (obj.) little island overgrown with firs (468, 2); *ɔγɔ'-ntunuq·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïγa*ʿ there was a fir-knoll (474, 5)

TUŊQO·N·U-Q·I-: *tuŋqʋ·'n·u-q·(ᴡ)ɪ* name of Paiute Indian (Song 179)

TUŊQUT·'O·- to become numb:

tuŋqut·'o·-ŋu- mom.: *tuŋqu't·ʋ·-ŋu-yï-aŋᴀ* he gets numb, powerless

tuntuq·unto·-ŋu- distr.: *tuntu'q·untɔ·-ŋu-p·ïγai-n·ɩ*ʿ felt as though heavy lumps were all over (his) body (416, 35)

TO·ŊWAI- to pick up a cast-off object: *tų·'ŋwa-i*ʿ picks up something that someone else has rejected, thrown away

with incor. obj.: pas. ptc. *piŋwa'-rų·ŋwai-p·ï-nɪ* my picked-up wife, my wife formerly another's and rejected by him (363, 7)

TUP·A-, TUVA- to pull out (intr.), to emerge:

tup·a-q·i- sing. mom.: *tᴜʿpa'-q·ï* to pull out (intr.), *tᴜʿpa'-q·ᴜ-pïγa*ʿ, *tᴜʿp*^{w}*a'-q·ɪ-pïγa*ʿ pulled out, emerged (416, 28; 422, 31)

tup·a-q·i-q·i- to come right through: *tᴜʿpa'-q·ɪ*^{x}*-k̬ɩ-p·ïγaɪ-co-'mï* they 2 came right through again (474, 19)

tup·a-q·i-t·ui- caus.: *tᴜʿpa'-q·ᴜ-t·uiʿ* pulls out (tr.)

tuva-γi-tcai-ŋu- plur. mom.: *tuv*^{w}*a'-x(a)i-tcai-ŋᴜ* several pull out (intr.), *tuv*^{w}*a'-x(a)i-tcai-ŋu-q·ᴜ* as (they) were pulling out (intr.) (418, 29)

-TUP·A·-, -TUP·I- (makes plur. of vb. in *-ya'ai-*, q. v.):

-tup·a·-: *naŋa'-ntᴜʿpaᴀ-pïγa*ʿ (they) got angry (438, 4)

-tup·i-: *tïγï'i-tcup·i*ʿ (they) are all hungry; *ta(·)γʋ(·)'i-tcup·i*ʿ (they) are all thirsty, *ta(·)γʋ(·)'i-tcup·ɪʿ-pïγa*ʿ (they) were all thirsty (400, 35)

TUP·I- to be used up: *tᴜʿp*^{w}*i'-yï-aq·ᴀ* it is about gone (a little is still left), *tᴜʿpi'-x̬·ᴜ-cɩ-amï* when they were used up (387, 1) *tup·i-q·wi-* to be used up: *tᴜ'pʷι'-k·wι-yï-aq·ᴀ* it is about gone, *tᴜ'pʷι'-k·wι-tca-q·ᴀ* it has been used up, is all gone

tup·i-q·wi-t·ui- caus.: *nï' tᴜ'pʷι'-k·ᴡɪ-t̔ui-q·ᴡᴀ* I use them (inan. inv.) up

tup·i-q·u- mom.: *tᴜ'pʷi'-k·ᴜ-pïγa'* (arrows) were gone, used up (313, 9)

with adv. pref.: *cu(w)a'-ʀᴜpι-k·ᴜ-pïγa'* (berries) were nearly all gone (394, 18)

-tup·i-q·u- in comp. vb.: *na'a'i-t·ᴜ'pʷi-k·ᴜ-q(w)a'* (it) has burned up

TO·P·I- counter in hand game (?): *tʋ·'p·(ᴡ)ï, tʋ·'p·(ᴡ)ɪ* counter in hand game (?); man's name, voc. *tʋ·p·(w)ï·', tʋ·p·i·', tʋ·p·i'-n'*

TUP·UN'NI-ˢ, TUVUN'NI-ˢ to wake up (intr.):

tup·un'ni- mom.: *tᴜ'pu'n'ɴɪ* to wake up (at once), *tᴜ'pu'n'ι-'ⁱ* you wake up!

tuvun'ni- dur.: *tuvʷu'n'nι'* is waking up; with adv. pref. *ʔ(·)nɔ'-t·ɔvïn-'ni-χ̬a'* when just waking up (438, 10)

-TUVI-:

aγɔ-ruvi- to lick (see *aγɔ-ⁿ*): *axɔ'-rɔvʷi'* licks; plur. *axɔ'-rɔvʷι-k̬·a-xu-'q·wa-'mï, axɔ'-ruvʷι-* while they were licking it (inv.) (460, 11)

-TUVIN·A-:

wï-t·uvin·a-γi- wind passes quickly (?): *ᴡï'-to'vιna-x·ɪ* wind going quickly (through a tree) (?) (Song 139)

TUVIYUYU'- avocet (contains *tïvi-?*):

tuviyuyu'-tsi- abs.: *tuvʷι'yuyu'u-ts·* avocet

TUQ·U-ᵍ wildcat:

tuq·u-tsi- abs.: *tᴜˣqu'-ts·* wildcat

tuq·u-p·ïtsi- abs.: *tᴜˣqu'-p·ïts·, tᴜˣqu'-p·uts·* wildcat (466, 11)

tuq·u-m·um·u-tsi- panther: *tᴜ'qu'-mumu-ts·, tᴜ'qu'-m·um·u-ts aŋᴀ* panther (432, 17), *tᴜˣqu'-m·um·u-tsι-χ̬ain·ι'* panther indeed (466, 22)

tuq·u-p·ï- panther-skin: *tᴜ'qu'-p·ï* panther-skin; *tᴜ'qu'-p·ï-γai-nɪ* I have a panther-skin

tuq·u- in comp. n.: *tᴜ'qu'-q·aitcɔx·ᴜ* hat of wildcat skin; *tᴜ'qu'-m·uru'ι-χ̬ai-ŋu-mpa·-n·α-nɪ* what I shall get to possess as a panther-skin blanket

TUQ·UA-ˢ meat:

tuq·ua-vi- abs.: *tᴜˣqu'a-ϕɪ, tɪ'qo'a-ϕɪ* meat, obj. *tᴜ'qo'a-vi'* (430, 10)

incor.: *tᴜˣqu'a-xan·ⁱ'-ni·ⁱ'* hangs around waiting for (some one to give) meat

TUQ·WA- to be deep: *tUʻqwa′-iʻ* (it) is deep

-TUQ·WA-ᵍ under (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 31); ptc. *-tuq·wa-t·ï-* being under

-tuq·wa·-γi- moving under, ptc. *-tuq·wa·-γi-t·ï-*; *-tuq·wa·γi-yu-* acting while moving under; *-tuq·wai-p·a·-* under side of

-tuq·wa-naŋqwa- climbing

-tuq·wa-t·uγwa- towards under

-tuq·wa-yu- acting under

-TUγWA-ⁿ to, toward, to give to (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 30)

ptc.: *-tuγwa-ntï-*; *-tuγwa-ntï-m·a-yu-* from —wards

TO·Q·WI-, TO·Q·WA- to stretch:

to·q·wi- intr.: *to·′q·wι-yï-aq·A* it stretches

ma-ro·q·wa- to stretch with the hand: *ma(·)-ru′x·Uqwa(i)-'yï-q·WA*, *ma(·)-ro′ʻˣqwa(i)-y'ï-q·WA* stretches it (inv.)

ma-ro·q·wa·-ŋqï- to stretch a person, thing: *ma(·)-ru′x·Uqwa·-ŋqï-aŋA* stretches him, *ma(·)-ru′x·qwa·-ŋqï-p·ïγai(y)-aq·a-mï* they stretched (what was left of) it (408, 11)

tsi-t·o·q·wa- to stretch with a stick; *ts·-to′ʻˣqwa-iʻ* stretches with the end of a stick

na-ro·q·wa- refl.: *nï' na-ro′ʻˣqwa-iʻ* I stretch myself (once); iter. *nï' nana′-ro·q·wa-iʻ* I stretch myself several times; iter. comp. vb. *nan·a′-ro·q·WA-pax·I-pïγaʻ* stretched (him)self several times as (he) went along (408, 1)

TO·'Q·WA- to wager (a stake): *nï' to·′q·wa'-yï-q·WA* I am betting it (inv.), *to·′q̇·wa-p·ïγaʻ* bet (his coyote and his wife for stakes) (418, 13)

na-ro·'q·wa- refl.: *nï' na(·)-ro·′'q·wα-vaʻ* I shall bet myself, offer myself as stake (416, 15)

to·'q·wa-ŋqï- to bet against: *to·′'q·wα-ŋqï-y'ï-ŋWA* bets against him (inv.)

TUQ·WI- shame:

incor.: *tUʻqwι′-'ai-p·ïγaʻ* shame-died, was ashamed (see *-ya'ai-*, *-y'ai-*) (310, 8); *tUˣqwι′-'ai-ŋqï-iʻ* is ashamed of (him)

TUγU-ⁿ to be clear weather (probably identical with *tuγu-ⁿ* sky):

tuγu-ntu'i-ŋu- to turn clear weather: *tʊ(·)γu′-ntu'ι-ŋu-q·u-'q·wa-χa' ʻɔaiʻ* would that it (inv.) might clear up!

TUγU-ⁿ upper air, sky (cf. *tï·-*): *tuγu′-ntux·WA* up-toward, up into the air (378, 11)

tuγu-mpa- sky: *tuγu′-mpA* upper air, sky (not used alone); *tuγu′mpa-na·x·I* sky-in, in the sky

tuγu-mpaya-, *tuγu-mpaya·-vi-* sky-breast, sky-expanse: *tuγu′-mpa(i)ya·-φI* whole sky; *tuγu′-mpa(i)ya-ruq·WA* under the sky *tuγu-mpa-* in comp. n.: *tuγu′mpa-pa(i)ya·^{a}-va·ntux·WA* sky-breast-toward, along under the sky (373, 1), *tuγumpa-pa(i)ya·′-m·a(i)YU* from under the sky (378, 7); *toγu′mpa-yoa·-χα-ntï* being sky-plain, level sky (Song 157); *to·γu′mpa-yïruv^{w}i·′-xarïrï‘* sky-pine-knoll, pine-covered knoll in the sky (Song 157)

tuγu-ŋ’wi- to sky-fall: *tuγų′-ŋ’wι-p·ïγa‘* fell down (as though from the sky) (377, 3), *tuγų′-’wi-na∸q·A* what fell from the sky . . . it (378, 8); plur. *tuγų′(u)-ŋwι’^{i}-ḵ·a-q·a-i‘* (they) fell down from the sky one after another

TUγO·- to put food away in a cache: *tuγυ·′-i‘*, *tuγ(w)υ·′-i‘* caches (food)

tuγo·-t·ïa- caching place, cache: *tuγ(w)u′‘-tïA* cache, *tuγ(w)u′‘-tïα-nI* my cache, where I cache (food)

tuγo·-in’ni- cached (food) belonging to: *tuγ(w)υ·′-in’ni-nI* my cached things

tuγo·-p·i- cached: *tuγυ·′-p·I* cached

-*(tu)γo·-* in comp. ptc.: pas. ptc. *ιya′p·u-γu‘-pi-A* (obj.) dried (deer-meat) cached away

TUγWA-^{s} to be dark, to be night:

tuγwa- night: *tuγwa′-va-tcuq·WA* night-at-under, during the night, *tu(·)χwa′-va(i)YU* during the night (384, 10)

tuγwa- in comp. n.: *tuγwa′-RA‘cιαφI* night-ant, big black ant

tuγwa-r’ui- to turn dark: ptc. *tuγwa′-r^{u}’ι-ntï* turning dark, at night; mom. *tuγwa′-r’ι-ŋU-pïγa‘* (it) got dark (332, 5); *tuγwa′-r’uι-ŋqw’ai-x̬·U* when (it) turned dark off, commenced to get dark (474, 6)

-*tuγwa-n·u-* night: *tuxwa′-nU* night

-*tuγwa-n·u-* in comp. n.: *tɔγ(ɔ)′i-t·uγwanU* middle of the night; *cu(w)a′-rɔχ(wɔ)i-t·uγwan·u-m·a-ntux·WA* up to nearly in the middle of the night (428, 2); *cυ·′i-t·uγwanU* one night, *cυ·′-t·uχwanu-mA* one-night-at, for one night, *cυ·′i-t·ɔγwanu-ma-c·U* for just one night (410, 34); *pa′iyε-t·uγwan·u-mA* for three nights, in three nights; *man·ι′χ̬ι-yu-t·uχwan·ϙ‘* for five nights (and days); *cïa′p·ïa-ruγwanU* up to midnight: *tA‘ci′A‘-tuγwanU* from midnight to dawn

TO·γWA-^{n} to fight: ptc. *nų’ to·′γwα-ntï* I am a fighter; plur. *to·′γ^{w}a-ntï-mï*, *too′γ^{w}a-ntï-mï* fighters, Havasupai Indians

with incor. n.: *pa-ro·′^{o}γwa-ntI*, *pa(·)-ro·′^{u}χwα-ntï* water-fighter, water that fights, Parowan lake

TUγWA·-, TUγWI- fire goes out; *tuγwa-* to put out the fire:

tuγwa·- fire goes out (mom.): *tυ(·)γwa′‘-pïγa‘* fire went out (388, 11)

tuγwi- fire goes out (dur.): *tυ(·)γwι'ʻ* (one fire) goes out
tuγwi-navitcï- several fires go out: *tυ(·)γwι'-navιtcι*ʻ fires go out, *tυ(·)γwi'-navιtcɪ-pïγa*ʻ fires went out (383, 2)
tuγwa·-t̓·ui- to cause a fire to go out (mom.): *tυ(·)γwa'ʻ-t̓ui*ʻ puts out a fire
tut·uγwi-t̓·ui- distr. caus.: *tᴜʻtu'x·ᴡɪ-t̓ui*ʻ puts out fires
tuγwa- to put out a fire: *tuγwa∸'q·ᴀ* put it out!, *tuγwa'-ya∸q·ᴀ* you 2 put it out!

TUC·U- to grind seeds on the metate: *tᴜʻcu'-p·ïγa*ʻ was grinding (seeds) (404, 39); usit. *tᴜʻcu'-m·ιᴀ* is always grinding
with adv. pref.: *pïŋqa'-ʀᴜcu-p·ïγa*ʻ kept on grinding (406, 31)

TUC·Uŋ'WI- to constrain, to work one's will: *tᴜʻcu'ŋwï'ι*ʻ makes do, causes, compels, *tᴜʻcu'ŋ'wι-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he causes me to be as he wishes
with incor. n.: *ta(·)γυ(·'^{u})-t·ᴜʻcuŋ'wι-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he makes me thirsty (by intent, by exercising supernatural power); *ᴜʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ι-ŋᴡᴀ* to cause him (inv.) to go to sleep, *ᴜʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ι-p·ïγa*ʻ caused to go to sleep (416, 27), *ᴜʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ι-p·ïγai-aŋᴀ* made him go to sleep (354, 2)
in comp. vb.: *ya'a'i-t·ᴜʻcuŋ'wι-yï-aŋa-nɪ* he exercises power on me so as to make me die; *qa·'-t·ᴜʻcuŋwï'ι-ŋᴡᴀ* to make him (inv.) sing

TUT·UγUA-^{s} supernatural helper, manitou:
tut·uγua-vi- abs.: *tᴜʻtu'χua-φɪ* supernatural helper, guardian spirit

TO·RI·-^{n}: *to·ri·'-mba·-ntsιn* ?- little-spring (Song 194)

TURU'-, TURU'I- (?) to whirl:
in comp. n.: *turu'-n'nïαʀï* whirlwind
tsi-t·uru'i- to turn around with a stick(?): with incor. obj. *qa(·)nι'-nts·-turu'(w)ι-nïmpï* house-pole-revolving-instrument (?), flap poles of a tepee

TUTCUA- to make a sign: *tutcu'(w)a-i*ʻ makes a sign, sets a landmark
tut·utcua- distr.: pas. ptc. *tᴜʻtu'tcu(w)α-p·ï* sign made (by them) (396, 7)

TC (TS)

TCA-^{g} instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 15
-TCA-, -NTCA- temp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 1, a)
TCA·-^{s} wrinkled:
tca·- in comp. vb.: *tca·'^{a}-χwι'ɔq·ɪʻ-ḵa*ʻ to be wrinkled-hollow, to be wrinkled in a rounded depression (450, 28)
tca·- in comp. n.: *tca·'-χu(w)a-χai-nɪ* I have a wrinkled face; *tca·'-m·^{ɔ}'ɔ-x(w)a*ʻ to have wrinkled hands

-TCA·- to put out (one's hands):

ma-ntca·- to put out one's hands: *ma-ntca·'-iʻ* puts out (his) hands

ma-ntca·-q·ai- res.: *ma-ntca'A*^{x}*-qaʻ* to hold out one's hands

ma-ntca·-ŋqï- to reach for: *ma-ntca·'-ŋqï-p·ïγai(y)-aq·A* reached for it (394, 27)

with incor. obj.: *pa·'-m·a-ntcaA*^{x}*-qai-n·a-φï, paï'-* his own blood-hand-held out, his own bloody hands (460, 11)

ma-ntca·- in comp. vb.: *ma(·)-ntca'x·-qarï-iʻ* sits with arms spread out; *ma(·)-ntcą'ų-wųnï-iʻ* stands with arms spread out

tsi-t·sa·-q·ai- to hold out a long object (res.): *ni̯' ts·-tsa'ʻ-qaʻ* I hold (it) out, *ts·-tsa'ʻ-qa.iʻ* while holding out (arrows) (438, 24)

TCA'I- to catch: *tca(·)''AI* to catch, *tca'a'i-va·n·ιa-nI* I shall catch; pas. *tca'a'i-t̓·ιʻ-qaʻ* (he) has been caught

tca'i-q·ai- res.: *tca'a'i-k̯·aʻ* to hold in the hand, *tca'a'i-k̯·ai-'yι-q·WA* (she) is holding it (inv.) (396, 17)

tcatca'i- distr.: *tcatca'i'-p·ïγai-amï* they took hold of (373, 1)

-tca'i-q·ai- with instr. pref.: *qïʻ-tca''ι-k̯·aʻ* to hold by one's teeth; *tAʻ-tca''ι-k̯·aʻ* to hold in one's feet; *mu-ntca''ai-k̯·aʻ* to hold with one's nose

ma-t·ca'i-ŋqï- to reach for with the hand: *MAʻ-tca'i'a-ŋqï-q·a·ŋA* as he reached for (it) (394, 28), *MAʻ-tca'i'α-ŋqï-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* (he) reached for it (inv.) (313, 4); plur. *MAʻ-tca'i'a-ŋqï-q·a·q·A* several reach for it

-tca'i- with incor. n.: *'a·'-t·ca'*^{a} to catch on one's horns; *tïγï'v*^{w}*ï-tca'aiʻ* friend-grasps, grasps (his) hand as a mark of friendship, in comp. vb. *tïγïv*^{w}*ï-tca'a'i-ŋwïnï-ntsi·-vaʻ* about to stand grasping hands in friendship (Song 202)

with adv. pref.: *a·'-tca'AI* to catch quietly; *a·'-tca'ai-k̯·aʻ* to hold quietly, to keep (something) quiet

TCAIK·A·C·I- jackass (< Eng. *jackass*):

tcaik·a·c·i-tsi- abs.: *tca'ik·a·c·ι-ts·* jackass, donkey

-TCAM·I- (enc. pers. pron.) form of *-ram·i-* (q. v.)

-TCAM·UQ·U- tied around (?):

pi-t·cam·uq·u- tied around at the buttocks (?), belt: *pIʻ-tca'm·uq·U* buckskin belt

TCA'MAVI-^{g} yucca-like plant:

tca'mavi-p·ï- abs.: *tca'ma'vι-p·ï, tcą'ma'vι-p·ï* yucca-like plant (*Hesperoyucca Whipplei?*) whose stalk is roasted for food and root is used for food

tca'mavi- in comp. n.: *tca'ma'vι-'u(w)ιp·I* stalk of yucca (sp.)

-TCAN·IK·WA- to pull away:

qï-t·can·ik·wa- to pull away with the teeth: *qïʽ-tca'nɪkwa-.iʽ* jerks back, pulls away with the teeth

TCAŊA·- lizard (sp.): *tca(·)ŋa'ʽ* lizard (sp.; one foot long and of rough appearance; *Sceloprus*?)

TCAŊI- to stop rolling: *nï' tca'ŋɪ* I stop (when rolling down a slope)

-TSAŊKI'A- to carry (on a pole):

tsi-t·saŋki'a-m'mia- to carry along on a pole: *ts·-tsa'ŋki'a-m'mιą-iʽ* carries on a pole; plur. *ts·-tsa'ŋki'a-q·a(·)-m'mιą́-iʽ* several carry on poles, *ts·-tsaŋki'a-q·a'-m'mιa-xaʽ* while (they) carry (them) along on poles (476, 8)

tsi-t·saŋki'a-q·ai- res.: *ts·-tsa'ŋki'a-q·aʽ* to hold on a pole

-TCAŊWA- (enc. pers. pron.) form of *-raŋwa-* (q. v.)

-TCAŊ'WA- powder (cf. *qu-t·ca-p·ï-* ashes?):

qu-t·caŋ'wa- fire-powder, gunpowder: *qUʽtca'ŋ'WA* gunpowder, *qUʽtca'ŋʽwα-nI* my powder

-TSAŊWIN·A- to throw down in a pile:

ma-ntsaŋwin·a- to throw down in a pile: *ma(·)-ntsa'ŋwιna-p·ïγaʽ*, *ma-ntsa'ŋwιna-p·ïγaʽ* threw down (sticks) in a pile, threw along with (her) hands, threw (lice) with her hands (315, 4; 416, 34; 452, 5)

a·γa-m·a-ntsaŋwin·a- to throw objects in a place of hiding: *a·'χa-ma-ntsaŋwιna-p·ïγaʽ* threw away in a hiding-place (438, 26); distr. plur. *a·'χa-mama-ntcaŋwιn'NA*^{x}*-qa-p·ïγaʽ* (they) threw away (their bows and arrows) in order to hide (them) (438, 27)

TCAŊWÏQ·A·-, TCAŊWÏK·I- to die off, to disappear (= *tca-ŋwïq·a·-*; *-ŋwïq·a·-*, *-ŋwïk·i-* < Shoshonean **mek·a·-*, **mek·i-* to die?):

tcaŋwïq·a·- mom.: *tca(·)ŋwï'k̭·aʽ* to disappear, *tcaŋwï'k̭·a·-tsa-ŋWA* he (inv.) disappeared, *tca(·)ŋwï'k̭·a·*^{a}*-va·-ntï* destined to disappear, *tca'ŋwïq·a·-p·ïγaʽ* (he) disappeared (456, 9)

tcaŋwïk·i- dur.: *tcąwu'k·ιʽ* dies off, disappears (e. g. steam); usit. *tca'ŋwïk·i-nïm-pïγaʽ* (they) used to disappear

tcaŋwïk·i-q·w'ai- to die off: *tcąwu'k·*^{x}*-qwa'ι-χ̭aʽ* that (they) die off (345, 6)

-TCAVAI- to wave (*-tca·-* to put out one's hand + *-pai-* to call?):

ma-ntcavai- to wave one's hand: *ma-ntca'vaiʽ*, *ma(·)-ntca'va·iʽ* waves the hand

TCAQ·AI- younger brother:

tcaq·ai-tsi- dim.: *tcA*^{x}*qa'i-tsι-nI*, *tcA*^{x}*qa'.i-tcι-nI* my younger brother, *tcA*^{x}*qa'.i'-tsi-aŋA* his younger brother (472, 35)

na-ntcaq·ai-tsi-ŋwï- recip.: *na-ntca'q·ai-tsι-ŋWï* two brothers

TCAQ·AP·I- to make a click-like sound: *tcᴀˣqa'p·iʿ* makes a click-like sound (e. g. alveolar click, approximately *ts*, or further back, approximately *k*) in urging on a horse

-tcaq·ap·i- in comp. n.: *paγa'-ntcᴀˣqap·ɪ* blackbird (which makes a similar sound)

TCAQ·I- to stop rolling: *tca'q·ï* (wagon, anything rolling) stops, gets stuck, *tcᴀˣqï'-yï-aq·ᴀ* it stops (rolling), *tcᴀˣq(ï)'i-p·ïγaʿ* (shell) stopped, got stuck (331, 7)

TCAQ·IVU'I-ˢ testicles: *tcᴀˣqι'v'uι-nɪ, tcᴀˣq(ε)'iv'ui-nɪ* my testicles

tcaq·ivu'i-vi- abs.: *tcᴀˣq(ε)'iv'ui-ϕɪ, tcᴀˣqï'v'ui-ϕɪ* testicles

-TCAQ·ÏŊWA- (see *pa-tcaq·ïŋwa-* to water)

TCAQ·U- to pound meat with a small rock: *tcᴀˣqo'-iʿ* pounds dried meat with a small rock till it shreds

TCAQ·UARU-ⁿ wild-goose:

in comp. n.: *tcᴀˣqo'aru-mpa·ts·, tcᴀˣqɔ(·)'aru-mpa·tcʿ* wild-geese spring (place name)

-TCA'Q·UI-ˢ forearm:

ma-ntca'q·ui-vi- abs.: *ma-ntca'q·oi-ϕɪ* flesh from elbow to wrist

TCA·γA- to scrape (a hide):

tca·γa-'nïmpï- scraping instrument: *tca·'χa-'nïmpï* scraper (formerly of deer scapula, now of wood with an iron blade) for removing fat and blood-vessels from a hide

TCAγI-P·A- near (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TCA·γU-: *tca·'χu-ts·* personal name

-TCAQ·WA·-, -TCAQ·WI- (see *pa-tcaq·wa·-, pa-tcaq·wi-*)

-TCA'Q·WI- to touch an arrow in the walking arrow game:

wï-t·ca'q·wi- to touch an arrow: *ᴡɪʿ-tca''ᵃq·ᴡɪ* to touch an arrow shot off by the other side with one's own arrow

nan·a-tca'q·wi- distr. recip.: *na'-tcᴀʿqwι'ⁱ* to play the walking arrow game

TCAQ·WIYUI- to rinse a soaked hide: *tcᴀˣqwi'yuiʿ* rinses a soaked hide thrown over a stake by twisting with a stick

tcaq·wiyui-nïmpï- rinsing-instrument: *tcᴀˣqwi'yui-nïmpï* stick used for rinsing a soaked hide

TCAγWI- to dry in the sun: *tca(·)χwι'ʿ* dries in the sun

in comp. vb.: *tca(·)γwι'-k·ɔra-iʿ* puts out to dry in the sun

TCA·C·I-ˢ to menstruate:

tca·c·i-γa'a- to have menstrual courses: *tca·'c·ι-χ̰a'a-iʿ* has menstrual courses

tca·c·i- in comp. n.: *tca·'c·ι-χ̰anɪ* menstrual hut

TCA·RU'I- to wave, to shake: *tca·'ru'ι'* waves (hands) in the air

tɔ-t·ca·ru'i- to shake a fist: *tɔ'-tca·'rɔ'ι'* shakes a fist (at)

mu-ntca·ru'i- to move about the nose: *mu-ntca·'ru'ι'* holds up the nose in the air

TSI-^{g} with the point of a long object, stick (instr. pref.): Gram., § 21, 9

-TSI'A- to roast (on a spit):

qu-t·si'a- to roast on a spit over a fire (cf. *qu-t·sik·i-?*): *qU'-tsι''a-i'* roasts on a spit

TSI'A-MPI-^{s} wild-rose berry: *tsι'α'-mpI* wild-rose berry

tsi'a-mpi-vï- wild-rose bush: *tsι'α'mpι-φï* wild-rose bush, *tsι'α'mpι-vï-aηA* wild-rose bush . . . him (452, 20)

tsi'a-mpi- in comp. n.: *tsï'a'mpι-va·-ts·* wild-rose spring, Yellowjacket spring; *tsιά'mpι-yua·-t'u-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they 2 caused a wild-rose-bush plain to be (452, 19)

TSI'ANTAM·UA·- man's brother-in-law: *tsι'ε'ntan·o(w)a·-nI* my wife's brother, my (man's) sister's husband (?)

TSIM·ƆAYA-^{s} Chemehuevi (probably borrowed term): *tsimɔa'(i)yε-φ* Chemehuevi

-TSIN'NA-^{s} to make a joint:

na-ntsin'na- to haft with each other: *na-ntsι'n'na-i'* makes a joint, hafts, *na-ntsι'n'NA^{x}-qai-n·α-nI* my joint

na-ntsin'na·-ηqï- to join two objects together: *na-ntsι'n'na·-ηqï-αq·A* to joint them (inan.) together

with incor. obj.: *taηa'-tsι'na-φI* knee-joiner, bone from knee to foot

TCIŊKA-^{s} rough:

tciηka-γa- to be rough: ptc. *tcιηka'-xa-RÏ* rough

tciηka-r'ua-ηu- to become rough: *tcιηka'-r'ua-ηU* to get rough

-TSIŊKUŊQU'-^{n} to be destroyed, laid bare:

with adv. pref.: *pa·'-tsιηqoηqo'^{o}* entirely destroyed (as of a wheat-field trampled down by people) (Song 76)

with incor. n.: *qa'iva-tsιηkoηqu-η'qwιn'ιa'va* when the mountain has been deprived of trees (Song 76)

TSIP·I-^{n} to appear, to come out; to ride: *ts·pi'-yï-aηA* he is coming out

tsip·i-ηu- mom.: *ts·pi'-ηU* to be just out, *ts·pi'-ηU-pïγa'* came out (from a cave) (319, 13); *ts·pi'-ηu-aηA* get on him (horse), *ts·pi'-ηU-q(w)a aηa'vantux·WA* to have gotten on him, to be on him; usit. ptc. *ts·pi'-ηu-m·i-ntï'* (obj.) going out one by one (from inside) (444, 22)

tsip·i-'q·u- to ride: *ts·pi'-k̄·uu-ηWA* to ride him (inv.) while bucking, *ts·pi'-k̄·u-nI* ride me!

tsip·i-n'ni- to ride about: *ts·pi'-n·'ι'* is riding around

tsip·i-q·w'ai- to come out away: mom. *ts·pι'-k·w'ai-ŋᴜ-pïγa'ai-mï* they 2 went right through beyond (476, 3)

tsit·sip·i- iter.: *ts·tsι'p·i'* keeps coming out

tsit·sip·i-'ŋwa-ŋu- distr. mom.: *ts·tsι'p̓·u-ŋwa-ŋᴜ* many come out

tsip·i- in comp. vb.: *ts·pι'-m·aup·ʌ* to stop riding: *ts·pι'-mpa(i)yι-k̭·ai(y)-aŋa-nɪ* I have been riding him

with incor. n.: *pa·'-ts·pι-k̭·ai-nʌ* water-coming out, water-bubbling, Moccasin spring

-TCIVA-: *mumpα'-tciva-ts·* shinny-ball (cf. *mumpa-* to roll)

-TSIVI-^{s} to dart out (only with incor. obj.): *a'χɔ-tsιvι-x̭·ᴜ* while darting out (his) tongue (400, 16)

-TSIVÏ-^{s}, -TSI-'A- bone from elbow (knee) to wrist (foot):

ma-ntsivï- bone of foreleg: *ma-ntsï'φï* hair-scraper of bone of deer's foreleg

ma-ntsivï-vi-, ma-ntsi-'a- abs.: *ma-ntsi'vï-φɪ, ma-ntsi'-'a'* bone from elbow to wrist

TSIK·AN'NA·- to appear, to come to view: *ts·qa'n'na'* to come to view, to suddenly appear, *ts·ka'n·a·-tsι-m·ï* having appeared . . . they 2 (474, 18)

-TSIK·I- to build (a fire), to burn:

qu-t·sik·i-: *qᴜ'-tsι'k·i-yï-nɪ* I build a fire, *qᴜ'-tsι'k·i-va·-'m·ï* will burn them (inv.) (430, 4), *qᴜ'-tsι'k·ɪ-k̭ai-nʌ* (fire) built (by one); plur. *qᴜ'-tsι'k·ɪ-k̭a-p·ïγa'* (they) built a fire (387, 10), mom. *qᴜ'-tsι'k·^{x}-k̭a-ŋu-mï'-tsi-nɪ* after (they) had all burned me (462, 16)

with incor. n.: *sana'-q·ᴜtsιk·ι-ts·* gum-burner (man's name)

TCIK·IN·A·-^{s} chicken (< Eng. *chicken*):

tcik·in·a·-ntsi- abs.: *tcι'k·ιna·-nts·, tsι'k·ιna·-nts·* chicken

in comp. n.: *tcι'k·ιna·-γumʌ* chicken-male, rooster; *tcι'k·ιna·-vι'* chicken-mother, hen

TSIγAŊWA- to stand in a row:

tsiγ̭aŋwa-q·ai- res.: *tsιγa'ŋwʌ-qa'* to stand in a row (Song 75)

tsiγ̭aŋwa-m'mi-q·u- to stand up in a row: *tsιga·ŋwa''ha·-mε·^{i}-k·u* (they) stand up in a row (Song 75)

TSIγI-^{g} stick:

incor.: *tsιγ̭i'-t·ɔnɔ* to stab with a stick

-TSITSAI-^{s} to appear here and there:

with incor. n.: *ᴜ^{x}qu'mpu-tsιtsai'* dust appears in several places; *ᴜ^{x}qu'mpu-tcιtcai-χw'ai-p·ïγa'* went up in dust (456, 19), mom. *ᴜ^{x}qu'mpu-tsιtsa.i-χ̭w'ai-ŋu-ŋqu'* would turn into dust (364, 11)

-TCITCU-γI- to grind:
with instr. pref.: *qïʻ-tcι'tcu-χ(w)ιʻ* grinds, gnashes the teeth

TCÏQ·I- to be mixed with: *tcïʻqι'ʻ* is mixed up
tcïq·i-t'·ui- caus.: *nį̈' tcɪʻqι'-t'·ui-yï-aq·ᴀ* I mix them (inan.) up
with incor. pron.: *qïm·a'-ntcɪkι-va·-ŋwa'^{a}* shall not be other-mixed, mixed up with others' (434, 25)

TSÏ·Q·U-ŋ'WA- to scratch (the head):
na-ntsï·q·u-ŋ'wa- refl.: *na-ŋtsï'x·qu-ŋ'^{a}-pïγaʻ* scratched (his head) (375, 6)
tsï·q·u-ŋ'wa-n·ïmpï- head-scratching instrument: *tsï'q·ų-'wa-numpï* head-scratcher; *tsï'q·u-ŋ'wa-numpu-ʀᴜ-pïγaʻ* made a head-scratcher (375, 5)
with incor. obj.: *tɔʻtsï'-tsïq·ų-'wa-iʻ* pokes into the head with a head-scratcher

TCÏγA-^{s} duck: *tcï'x·ᴀ* duck; plur. *tcïγa'-mï* ducks
tcïγa-γai- to be a duck: *nï' tcïχa'-χaʻ* I am a duck
tcïγa-in'ni-γai- to have a duck: *nï' tcιχa'-'ιni-χ̯aʻ* I have a duck
-tcïγa- in comp. n.: *o·'-tcïx·ᴀ* large duck (sp.), mallard duck (?); *maa'-tcïx·ᴀ* brush-duck, duck living in swamps overgrown with bulrushes

TCÏγÏ'U-^{s} "bee-bird":
tcïγï'u-vi- abs.: *tcïγï''u-φɪ, tcïχï''u-φɪ* "bee-bird" (so called locally; *Tyrannus* ?); plur. *tcïγï''u-vι-ŋwï*

TCƆ-^{g} head:
instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 8
as n. pref.: *tcɔ^{x}-pι'k·ι-a-r'ɔ-nɪ* my brains (obj.)? (373, 9)

TSƆAVÏ-^{s} shoulder: *tsɔa'φï* shoulder
tsɔavï-vi- abs.: *tsɔa'vu-φɪ* shoulder

TCƆI-^{n} bead: *tcɔ'.iʻ, tcɔ(·)'iʻ* bead (used for any purpose), beads, *tcɔ'i-nɪ* my beads (Song 140)
in comp. n.: *tcɔ'i-ŋqa(·)x·ɪ* beaded necklace

TCƆ'IŋKI-^{s} bluejay (sp.): *tcɔɔ̀'iŋk̯^{x}, tcɔ'ɔ'iŋk̯^{x}* Arizona jay (long-tailed and uncrested; *Cyanocitta woodhousei*) (386, 1), obj. *tcɔ''iŋki aŋᴀ* the bluejay (386, 6); plur. *tcɔ̀'ɔiŋki-ŋwï* bluejays
tcɔ'iŋki-γai- to be a bluejay: fut. ptc. *tcɔɔ̀'iŋki-χ̯ai-va·-ntï* destined to be a bluejay (386, 9)

-TCƆγU-: in comp. n. *tümp^{w}ι'-t·cɔx·ᴜ* rock-?; small weed with round, wide leaves that are cooked and said to taste like dandelions

-TCƆγW'AI- to chew:
with instr. pref.: *qïʻ-tcɔ'χw'a.iʻ* chews

-TCO·- to squeeze:
with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcʊ·'-iʻ* squeezes (something) with the hand; *tAʻ-tcʊ·'-iʻ* squeezes with the feet; *qïʻ-tcʊ·'-iʻ* squeezes between the teeth

-TCU'A- inter. enc. (see *-ru'a-*)

-TCUM'MA·-, -TCUM'MI- to close (one's eyes) (see *u-*^{g})

-TCUN'NA-^{s} to scratch around:
with instr. pref.: *tAʻ-tcɔ'n'na-xaʻ* while scratching around with the claws (464, 18); plur. *tAʻ-tcu'n'NA*^{x}*-qa-iʻ* several scratch around

-TCUN·UP·A·-ŋQÏ- to shut (a sack):
with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcu'nUpa·-ŋqï* to shut (a sack), *ma(·)-ntcu'nUpa·-ŋqï-p·ïγa'ai-k·WA* (he) shut it (inv.) (357, 13)

TCUŋU-^{g} pipe:
in comp. n.: *tcuŋu'-p·aγïʻ* pipe-fish, sucker

-TCUQ·U-: in comp. n. *pa(·)-tcu'q·U* water-?, beaver; plur. *pa(·)-tcu'q·u-ŋWï* beavers

-TCUQ·WI-, -TCUγWI- to crush:
ma-ntcuq·wi-n'na- (mom.), *ma-ntcuγwi-n·a-* (dur.) to crush with the hand: *ma-ntcu'q·wi-n'NA* to crush (all at once), *ma-ntcu'q·wɪ-n'na-vaʻ* will crush with the hand; *ma-ntcu'γwɪ-na-iʻ* crushes
pi-t·cuq·wi-n'na- (mom.) to crush with the buttocks: *pɪʻ-tcu'q·wɪ-n'NA* to crush with the buttocks, by sitting on

-TCUγWA·-ŋQÏ- to fasten on (cf. *tcuγwi-*, *tcuγwa·-* to approach?):
with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcu'χwa·-ŋqï-pïγaʻ* fastened on, let stick (420, 28)

TCUγWI-, TCUγWA·- to approach:
tcuγwi- dur.: *tcuχwɪ'-va·n·ɪa-ramɪ* will approach us 2 (incl.); plur. *tcuχwɪ'-k̠·a-va·n·ɪa-ramɪ* (they) will approach us 2 (incl.)
tcuγwa·- mom.: with adv. pref. *ʻa·'*^{a}*-tcuγwa'-pïγai-n·ɪa-mï* gradually approached them, it seemed (452, 25)

U (o)

U-^{g} round object (see *ɔ-*^{g})

U-, ^{u}'U- that (inv.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)
u-n·i-, ^{u}*'u-n·i-* in that (inv.) way; to do in that (inv.) manner (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)

U-^{g} closed eyes, sleep (only in comp. vb.):
u-t·uc·uŋ'wi- to cause to go to sleep: *Uʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ɪ-ŋWA* to make him (inv.) go to sleep, *Uʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ɪ-p·ïγaʻ* caused to go to sleep (416, 27), *Uʻ-tu'c·uŋwï'ɪ-p·ïγai-aŋA* made him go to sleep (354, 2)

u-t·cum'ma·- (mom.), *u-t·cum'mi-* (dur.) to close one's eyes: *ᴜʿ-tcu')m'maʿ* to close one's eyes; plur. *ᴜʿ-tcu'm'ᴍɪʿ-k̯a-m·ι-mpaʿ* (usit.-(ye) will always close (your) eyes, *ᴜʿ-tcu'm'ᴍɪ^{x}-k̯a-m'mιa-vaʿ* (ye) will have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance (430, 12); res. *ᴜʿ-tcu'm'ɪʿ-k̯ai-nɪ* my eyes are closed, *ᴜʿ-tcu'm'ɪʿ-k̯a.iʿ* while having (his) eyes closed (452, 12); in comp. vb. *ᴜʿ-tcu'm'ɪ^{x}-qwavι-vaʿ* several shall lie with eyes closed (460, 25)

o' so, then, really (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

o·-^{s}, ᴜ-^{s} arrow: *o·ʿ* arrow

o·-tsi- dim.: *υ·'-ts·* little arrow (438, 24); usit. ptc. *o·'-tsι-χ̯ai-vä-tcï* being wont to have a little arrow

o·-γai- to have an arrow: *υ·'-χ(w)ai-nɪ* I have an arrow

-o·-, *-u-* in comp. n.: *uq·wi-o·-* arrow (q. v.); *pa(·)χa'-o(·)ʿ* cane arrow; *tümp^{w}ι'(y)-u-a·-ŋᴀ* (obj.) his stone-arrow, iron-arrow, gun (406, 30)

u- in comp. n.: *u-χu'n·ᴀ* arrow-sack, quiver

u-ru- to arrow-make, to feather an arrow: *u-ru'-iʿ* feathers an arrow; *u-ru'-q·(w)a-ntï* having been arrow-feathered, feathered arrow; mom. *u-ru'-q·ᴜ-pïγaʿ* (he) feathered arrows (316, 12)

o·-: in comp. n. *o·'-tcïx·ᴀ* large duck (sp.), mallard duck (?)

o·- to break wind: *o·'-t́sa-ŋᴡᴀ* he (inv.) has broken wind (412, 4)

o·-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *o·'-p·u-nɪ* my discharge of wind

-ᴜᴀ'ᴍɪ- in front of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 32)

ᴜᴀ'ᴀʏï- bullet (cf. *u-* arrow?): *o(w)a''a(i)ʏï* bullet, *o(^{w})a''a(i)yï-nɪ* my bullets, obj. *u(w)a''a(i)yɛ-(i)ʏ* (472, 32)

ᴜɪ-^{g} canyon, gully:

ui-p·i- abs.: *oi'-p·ɪ, o'(^{w})i-p·ɪ* canyon without water

ui-p·i-ntcu- to make a canyon: *o(w)i'-p·ι-ntcu-mpa·^{a}nιʿ* will make a canyon

ui-ŋwa- canyon: ptc. *u(w)ι'-ŋwa-γa-ntïʿ* (obj.) canyon (320, 1), *wι'-ŋwa-xa-ntï-mpaŋᴡɪ-tïʿ* (obj.) into a canyon (454, 15)

-ui-(p·i-) in comp. n.: *pa(·)'-oi-p·ɪ, pa-o'i-p·ɪ* water-canyon, canyon through which a creek flows, *pa-o'(ᴡ)ɪʿ-pa·ntux·ᴡᴀ* down to a creek-canyon (476, 11); *qana'rï-'o(^{w})i-p·ɪ* willow-canyon, Kanab creek; *pa(·)γa·'-'oi-p·ɪ* great-water-canyon, Colorado river canyon; *parι'ya-oi-p·ɪ* sand-wash, *parι'yɔ-o(ᴡ)ɪ-pa·ŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* going through a sand-wash; *parι's·ιŋwa-oi-p·ɪ* sand-gravel canyon; *maa(·)'-'oι-p·ι-mpa·ŋwιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* into a bush-canyon, into acanyon full of brush (Song 17); *tɔi-ɔ'i-p·ɪ* rocky-canyon, San Juan river (see *tɔia-*)

-ui-ŋwa-(γa-ntï-) in comp. n.: *pi'yavai-ʽo'ι-ŋwa-ro·'γʷa·* through a drowsy-canyon (Song 145); *qana'-uι-ŋwa-γa-nti-mpaŋwɪtux·wᴀ* through a willow-canyon, canyon fringed with willows (402, 29)

ui-t·ïa- canyon-place: *oι'-t·ïʽ* "end of canyon" (30 to 40 miles northwest of St. George)

ui-q·a- water flows down a gully: with incor. n. *pa-o'ɪʽ-k̭a-m·ι-mpaʽ* water shall always flow down a steep mountain side (Song 185), *nïva'-va-uɪʽ-k̭a-mι-mpaʽ* snow shall always flow melting down a gully (Song 185)

-UI-T·UγWA- moving in front of, before (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 32)

-UI-P·I- stalk:

in comp. n.: *nanta'-'u(w)ιp·ɪ* yant-stalk (see *nanta-*); *tca'ma'vι-'u(w)ιp·ɪ* stalk of yucca (sp.) (see *tca'mavi-*)

OIT·A-VÏ- any longer (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

O·MA·Iʽ yes! all right! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

UMʷARO'A- they are (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

UM·ʷÏ-, UM·U-C·U-, ᵘ'UM·ʷÏ- they, those (an. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

um·ʷïa-(c·u-), *ᵘ'um·ʷïa-* them, those (obj.; ibid.)

um·ï- they, them (an. inv. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 5)

UMPAI(A)-, *umpaia-c·ampa-* I don't care if, no matter (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

U'UMPʷIC·A-, *umpʷic·a-c·ampa-* only for fun (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

UMURU'A- they are (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

UMUYA· interj. of great fear (Gram., § 61, 1)

-UN·A-ⁿ (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 33); only compounded:

-un·a-ŋqwap·a- outside of, back behind

-un·a-ntuγwa- opposite to

-O·N·A·-P·Ï- behind (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 34)

-U'NAI- to scratch (cf. *-uŋ'wai-*)

with instr. pref.: *tcą'-ų'na-iʽ* scratches; *tą'-ų'na-iʽ* scratches with the foot

UN·IVITCÏ- to attack (= *un·i-* to do + *pitcï-* to arrive? cf. *pitcï-ŋqï-* to contend with): *nį̈'* *ųni'vitcι-'yï-mɪ* I attack you; pas. *ųni'vιtcι-t·ï-γaʽ* when about to be attacked (319, 4)

UNTUQ·U-ˢ strip of back muscle: *ųntu'q̇·u-ŋwᴀ* his (inv.) back flesh (310, 13), obj. *ųntu'q·u-a'a-ŋwᴀ* his (inv.) back flesh (310, 11)

untuq·u-vi- abs.: *ųntu'q·u-φɪ* muscles along two sides of the spinal column, obj. *ųntu'q·u-vιʽ* (310, 12)

UNTSIγ̯I-^{s} nape: *u̥ntsι'x̯·ɪ* nape

untsiγ̯i-vi- abs.: *u̥ntsι'χ̯ι-φɪ* nape

UN·UA- to thunder: *υ̥(·)nυ(·)'a-i'* (it) thunders, *υ̥(·)nυ(·)'a(i)-y'ï-q·WA* it (inv.) thunders

UŊURU'A- he is (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

UŊWA-^{s} to rain, to storm: *u̥ŋwa'-i̥'* (it) rains, *uŋwa'(i)-'yι-q·WA* it (inv.) rains, *u̥ŋwα'-va·n·i̥'* (it) will rain, *uŋwa'(u)-x·U* when (it) rains; ptc. *uŋwa'-RÏ* rain

uŋwa-ŋu- mom.: *uŋwa'-ŋu-mpa·n·ι'a-q·WA* it (inv.) is going to rain (388, 6), *uŋwa'-ŋu-q·u-'q·wa-χa' 'ɔai'* would that it (inv.) might rain!, *uŋwa'-ŋU-q̇(w)a(·)-q̇·wa-nɪ* if it (inv.) rains . . . I

uŋwa-t'·ui- caus.: plur. mom. *uŋwa'-t'·ι-k̯·a-ŋu-p·ïγa'* (they) caused (it) to rain (382, 12)

uŋwa-p·ui- to cloud up: *uŋwa'-p·ui-yï-aq·A* it is clouding up; pas. ptc. *uŋwa'-p·ui-p·ɪ* clouded-up, clouds

with incor. n.: *nïva(·)'-'uŋwa(i)-'yι-q·WA* it (inv.) snow-storms, it is snowing, *nïva(·)'-'uŋwa-va·n·ι'a-q·WA* it (inv.) will snow, caus. plur. *nïv^{w}a(·)'-'uŋwa-t'·ui-k̯·a(·^{a})-va·^{a}-raŋWA* let us (incl.) cause snow to fall (330, 7); *pa(a)'u-'uŋwa(i)-'yι-q·WA* it (inv.) hails

UŊWA-(C·U-), ^{u}'UŊWA- he, that one (an. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

uŋwaia-(c·u-), ^{u}'uŋwaia- him, that one (obj.; ibid.)

uŋwa-, 'uŋwa- he, him (an. inv. sing.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 4)

uŋwa- they, them (an. inv. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 5) = *um·ï-* (q. v.)

uŋwaia- him (an. inv. sing.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 4)

UŊWAI- to hang:

uŋwai- tr.: *uŋwa'.i'* hangs, *uŋwa'i-yï-aq·A* hangs it, *u̥ŋwa'ɪ-pïγa'* (he) hung (it) up (312, 12); plur. *uŋwa'ɪ^{x}-k̯a(i)-'yï-q·WA* (they) hang them (inan. inv.)

uŋwai-q·ai- res.: *u̥wa'ɪ-k̯a'* (a thing, person) hangs, *uŋwa'ɪ^{x}-k̯ai-yï-aq·A* it hangs

u'uŋwai- distr. tr.: *u'u'ŋwai-'yï-q·WA* hangs them (inan. inv.) all

u'uŋwai-q·ai- distr. res.: *u'u'ŋwai-k̯·a', uu̥'wa.i-k̯·a'* several (things, persons) are hanging

na-uŋwai- refl.: *na(·)-'u'ŋwa̧i', na(·)-u'ŋwa̧i'* hangs (him)self, *na(·)-'u'ŋwa.i-χ̯wa'ai-'^{i}* you go and hang yourself!, *na̧(·)'-u̥ŋwa.i-x̯wa'ai-c·U* to go and hang oneself again (314, 11)

-uŋwai- with instr. pref.: *ta(·)-u'ŋwa.i', ta-'u'ŋwa̧.i'* hangs with feet in the air; *qï-u'ŋwa̧i'* hangs by the teeth

ta-uŋwai-q·ai- to hang by the feet: *ta(·)-ųwa'ɪ*^{x}*-k̭ai-γwa'*^{a}, *tą-*^{a}*wa'i-*go and hang by the feet (314, 6)

-UŊ'WAI- to scratch (cf. *-u'nai-*):

with instr. pref.: *tcą'-ų'wa.iʽ* scratches with the hand; *tą(·)'-ų'wa.iʽ* scratches with the foot (like a dog)

-UŊWARA- to catch (?):

with incor. n.: *witsi''-ųwara-ts·*, *witsï''-uŋwara-ts aŋ.ɪ* bird-catcher (?), bird-hawk, Mexican goshawk (?) (362, 7)

UŊWARO'A- he is (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

UP·A- to untie: *Uʽpa'(i)-'yɩ-q·WA* unties it (inv.); plur. *Uʽpa'-q·a(i)-'yï-q·WA* several untie it (inv.)

up·a-ŋu- mom.: *Uʽpa'-ŋU-pïγaʽ* (he) untied (332, 4); *Uʽpa'-ŋu-mɩ'(y)a-q·U* to untie while moving along (mom.), to untie several times

up·a-n'ni- cont.: *Uʽpa'-n'ni·ʽ* is untying

u'up·a- iter.: *u'u'p·a-iʽ* unties several times

-UP·'A-^{n},^{g} through, by, in . . . direction, in . . . manner (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 35)

-up·'a-q·u- (obj.); *-up·'a- . . . n·ia-* (to act) like; *-up·'a- . . . c·u-* in the same way, direction as; *-up·'a-t·ï-* (ptc.) being through, among, around

-up·'a-ntuγwa- together with; *-up·'a-t·uγwa-* moving through, along, by means of

O'OP·I-^{s} red berry (sp.): *o'o'p·(W)ɪ* red berry growing on a little bush (like greasewood)

-o'op·i- in comp. n.: *pa'a-u'op·(W)ɪ* water-redberry, buffalo berry

-o'op·i-vï- red-berry bush: in comp. n. *pa'a-u'op·(w)ɩ-φï* buffalo-berry bush

UVA- then, now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

UVA-^{s} soup, broth:

uva-vï- abs.: *uv*^{w}*a'-φï* soup, broth of boiled deer-meat and fat

incor.: *ov*^{w}*a'-c·a'a-iʽ* boils meat; in comp. pas. ptc. *qamv·'(u)v*^{w}*a-c·'a-p·ɪ* jack-rabbit-broth-boiled, boiled jack-rabbit

O·VAʽ, O·VA' yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

UVA'A- to have the diarrhoea: *uv*^{w}*a''a(i)-yï-nɪ* I have the diarrhoea

UVAIʽ and, then, as to (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

UVAIYAUQ·U- then, thereupon (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

UVAγU'U-^{s} cactus (sp.):

uvaγu'u-vï- abs.: *uv*^{w}*a'xɔ'ɔ-φï*, *ova'xo'o-φï* very small cactus, growing 3 or 4 to a clump

UVIA-^{s}, UVI-^{g} song:

uvia-vi- abs.: *uv^{w}ι′(y)a-φɪ* song

-uvia- in comp. n.: *ťïv^{w}i′ťs at·ι-uv^{w}i′a-ia(u)-φï* (obj.) his own very good song (346, 8)

-uvia-vi-, *-uvia-vï-* in comp. n.: *ya(·)γa′-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* cry-song, song sung in a mourning ceremony; *ᴀ‘sι′(y)-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* roan-song (a type of mourning song); *wιtsï′’-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* bird-song (a second type of mourning song); *cį̈na′-’uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* coyote-song (a third type of mourning song); *na(·)χa′-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* mountain-sheep song (a fourth type of mourning song); *ta(·)χu′-v^{w}ιa-φï* sun-dance song; *na-ia′ŋwι-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* hand-game song, bone-gambling song; *pua′-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* supernatural-power song, medicine-man's song; *tu′u′n’-ɴɪ^{x}qa-uv^{w}ia-φɪ* scalp-dance song; *ma(u)ma′-q̇·ɔ·’mi-uv^{w}ιa-vï‘* (obj.) of the bear-dance song (350, 13); *tantï′v^{w}ai-uv^{w}ιa-φï* far-west songs, Mohave songs

-uvia-γa-ntï- song-having, singer (in comp. n.): *tantï′v^{w}ai-wιa-γa-ntï* far-west singer; *saŋwa′-wιa-γa-ntï-m·am·atsι·* sage-brush-singer-woman (Song 172)

uvi-t·u- to song-make, to sing a song: *uv^{w}ι′-t·u-i‘* sings a dance-song, *uv^{w}i′-t·ᴜ‘-pïγa‘* sang a (bear-dance) song (350, 10), *ov^{w}ι′-t·ᴜ‘-pïγa(a)i-c·ᴜ, o·′φ(ᴡ)ɪ-tu-p·ïγa(a)i-c·ᴜ* sang a song again (430, 21); plur. *uv^{w}i′-t·ᴜ^{x}-q(w)a-p·ïγa‘* (they) sang songs (346, 2); *uv^{w}i′-ť·u-’mιa-i‘* sings along; with incor. obj. *ma(·)m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mι-uφ(ᴡ)ɪ-ťu-i‘* sings bear-dance songs (472, 20), *ma(·)m·a′q̇·ɔ·’mι-uφ(ᴡ)ɪ-tu-ŋqï-va·-ŋumɪ* will sing a bear-dance song for you (plur.) (472, 8)

UQ·UMPU- (UQ·UMPA-?) dust: *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpᴜ, ᴜ^{x}qu′mpᴀ* dust (Song 118)

incor.: *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpa-ʀɪqaŋ’ᴡɪ* to become dust; *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpu-tcaq·a-i‘* (it) goes off in dust; *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpu-tsιtsai‘* dust appears in several places, *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpu-tcιtcai-χw’ai-p·ïγa‘* went up in dust, became leveled to dust (456, 19), mom. *ᴜ^{x}qu′mpu-tsιtsa.i-χ̰w’ai-ŋu-ŋqu‘* would turn into dust (364, 11)

UQ·UVITCA- carrion beetle (?):

uq·uvitca-tsi- abs.: *ᴜ^{x}qu′v^{w}ιtca-tcɪ* black bug (sp.) which discharges an offensive odor when disturbed (410, 33)

uq·uvitca-tsi- in comp. n.: *ᴜ^{x}qu′v^{w}ιtcα-tsι-nιŋwï-ntsι-ŋwï-ŋwα’^{α}* together with Carrion-beetle people (438, 33)

UQ·UC·IγI’A·- nock (cf. *u-* arrow, *-qus·i-^{s}* ?): *ᴜ‘qu′c·ιχ̰ι’a‘* nock

UQ·WA- (QUQ·WA-?) Mexican:

uq·wa-tsi- (*quq·wa-tsi-*?) abs.: plur. *ᴜ^{x}qwa′-tsι-ŋᴡï* (*qᴜ^{x}qwa′-*?) Mexicans

UQ·WA-^{n} spider:

uq·wa-mpi- abs.: *U*^{x}*qwa'-mpI* big black spider, tarantula (?); plur. *U*^{x}*qwa'-mpι-ŋWï*

uq·wa-t·sa·-tsi- spider (dim.): *U*^{x}*qwa'-t·sa·-ts·* small spider

UQ·WA- it, that (inan. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

uq·waia- it, that (obj.; ibid.)

uq·waia- it (inan. inv.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 9)

UQ·WAIA- syntactic particle (Gram., § 60, 3)

UQ·WI-^{s}, UQ·WI-O·-^{s} arrow (cf. *o·-*^{s}):

uq·wio·- arrow: *Uʽqwι'(y)uʽ* (feathered) arrow, *U*^{x}*qwι'(y)uuʽ* arrows (obj.) (316, 12), *U*^{x}*qwι'(y)u'ų-ŋWA* his (inv.) arrows, *U*^{x}*qwι'(y)u-α-φï* his own arrows (obj.) (313, 8), *U*^{x}*qwι'ų-nιʽ* like an arrow (315, 10)

uq·wio·-vi- somebody's arrow: *U*^{x}*qwι'o·-φ(W)I* somebody's arrow

uq·wio·-γai-p·ï- former arrow: *Uʽqwι'υ·-χ(w)ai-p·ï* once an arrow, discarded arrow

uq·wio·-tsi- dim.: usit. ptc. *cυ·'q·uc· Uʽqwι'(y)u-tsι-γai-vä-tcï* one who has always one little arrow (408, 23)

uq·wio·-γai- to have an arrow: *U*^{x}*qwι'(y)υ·-χ(w)ai-nI* I have an arrow

uq·wio·-ru- to make an arrow: *Uʽqwι'υ·-ru-iʽ* makes an arrow, *Uʽqwι'u-ru-v*^{w}*a·*^{u}*nιʽ* will make an arrow; *U*^{x}*qwι'(y)u-ru-ŋqu-p·ïγaʽ* made a bow and arrows for (464, 34)

-uq·wio·- in comp. n.: *pa(·)χa'-Uʽqwι(y)uʽ* cane arrow

uq·wio·- incor.: *υ*^{x}*qwι'(y)υ·-m·amaxa-ŋA* give him an arrow each (400, 22)

-uq·wi-vï- in comp. n.: *tï'ra-uq·wι-vï-nI* my unfeathered arrow, *tï'ra-uq·wι-vï-α-φï* his own unfeathered arrow (obj.) (400, 23)

UQ·WIYA- top: *U*^{x}*qwι'ya-q·A* the top of it

UγWI- to smell: *υ(·)χwι'ʽ* smells (tr.)

uγwi-ŋu- mom.: *uχwi'-ŋU* to smell at a point of time

u'uq·wi- iter.: *u'u'q·wιʽ* smells several times, sniffs around

uγwi- in comp. vb.: *uχwι'-m·untca·ru'ιʽ* (dog.) holds up (his) nose and scents

UγWI-^{s} grass:

uγwi-vï- abs.: *uγwι'-φï*, *oγwι'-φï*, *o(·)χwι'-φï*, *υ(·)χwι'-φï* grass

uγwi-vï-tsi- dim.: *uγwι'-vï-ts·* little grass, *uχwι'-vu-tsι-ma-ŋA* with a little grass-stalk . . . he (410, 21) *uγwi-aγai-*, *uγwi-vï-aγai-* to have grass, to be grassy: *oχwi'-aχai-aq·ᴀ* it is grassy; *ava''an o(·)χwι'-vï-aχa*ʽ to have much grass

-uγwi-vï- in comp. n.: *tuno·'χwι-φï* grass bunched together on sand hills

O·C·I-^{s} yucca fruit: *o·'c·ɪ*, *o'c·ɪ* fruit of *yucca baccata*

o·c·i-vï- yucca plant: *o·'c·ι-φï* yucca plant

o·c·i- in comp. n.: *o·'c·-ca'ap·ɪ* yucca mush

o·c·i-aγai- to be provided with yucca: *o·'c·ι-axa*ʽ (country) has much yucca in (it)

UC·U- emphasizing particle (Gram., § 60, 3)

UC·U-Q·I- to whistle: *ᴜʽcu'q·(w)ι*ʽ whistles; plur. *ᴜʽcu'q·(ᴡ)ɪ-k̭a-i*ʽ several whistle

uc·uq·i-ŋqï- to whistle to: *ᴜʽcu'q·(w)ι-ŋqï-i*ʽ whistles to (in order to call attention)

u'uc·uq·i- iter.: ^{u}*'u'c·ᴜq(w)ι*ʽ whistles several times

in comp. vb.: *ᴜʽcu'q·(w)ι-χ̭a·-p·ïγa*ʽ whistled and sang, whistled a tune (450, 15)

-'URAI-^{n} toward, after (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 36); *-'urai-ntï-* (ptc.) going toward

URARO'A- it is (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

URU-(C·U-), ^{u}'URÏ- it, that (inan. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39

urua-(c·u-), ^{u}*'urïa-* it, that (obj.; ibid.)

urï-, *uru-*, *'urï-* it (inan. inv.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 8)

URU-^{s} arrow stick (cf. *u-* arrow, *u-ru-* to feather an arrow):

uru-vï- abs.: *uru'-φï* arrow stick

uru-vï-γa- to get arrow sticks: *uru'-v*^{w}*ï-χa-p·ïγa*ʽ (he) got arrow sticks (315, 3)

URUA-C·U- otherwise (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

URU'A- to be (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

URU'A·-, -URU-^{n} carrying strap, string:

uru'a·- carrying strap: *uru''a*ʽ strap used for carrying

-uru'a·- in comp. n.: *nɔ·'-uru'a*ʽ strap used for carrying on one's back, tump-line; *qɔ(·)n·ɔ'-uru'a*ʽ cradle carrying-strap; *tümpa·'γap·u-ru'a*ʽ mouth-entering strap, reins

-uru- in comp. n.: *ɔʽtca'-ᴜʀᴜ* strap by which a burden basket (see *ɔt·ca-*) is carried; *tampι'n'n-ᴜʀᴜ*, *tampι'n·'-ᴜʀᴜ* moccasin string

-uru-mpï- in comp. n.: *qᴜʽca·'*^{a}*ru-mpï* rope, trousers string

URURU'A- it is (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

W

WA·- two (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

wa·-mac·ïŋwi- 20 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

WA'A-^{g} cedar:

wa'a-p·ï- abs.: *wa'a′-p·ï* cedar, *wa'a′-p·ï-mA* on a cedar (branch) (314, 7)

wa'a-p·ï-aγai- to be provided with cedars: ptc. *w^{a}'a′-p·ï-axa-ntïʿ* cedar-having (obj.), cedar-grove (452, 24)

wa'a- in comp. n., ptc.: *wa'a′-c·ιap·ï* cedar sapling; *wa'a′-p·a·-ts·* cedar spring (400, 37); *w'a′-q·arï-Rï* cedar-sitting, cedar knoll; *w'a′-q·arï-rï-mpaʿ* cedar-knoll spring, Yellowstone spring; *w'a′-q·ɔái-tcï* cedar-grove bend, semicircular cedar-grove

wa'a-mpi- cedar-berry: *wa'a(·)′-mpiʿ* (obj.) cedar-berries (383, 12); incor. *w'a(·)′-mpι-m·u(w)ara-χι-φI* cedar-berry crusher, spermophile (?); *wa'a(·)′-mpi-x·Uquq̇·wι-numpï* cedar-berry shooting-instrument, toy like a "bean-shooter"

ʿWAIA- it (see *ʿɔaia-*)

WAIγA- to deliberate in council: *wa′iχ̰a-iʿ* (they) have a council, *wa′ix̰·A-pïγaʿ*, *wa′ix̰-pïγaʿ* (they) were talking together, (they) had a council (464, 11; 345, 4); *wa′iχ̰a-n·a'a-mï* their talking together

waiγ̰a- in comp. vb.: *wa′iχ̰a(i)-yuχwι-χ̰u-αmï* while they were sitting and talking as in council (426, 24)

with incor. n.: *nια·′vι-ŋwaiχ̰a-p·I* chief-deliberation, council of headmen

WAIγIN·A·- wagon (< Eng. *wagon*): *wa′iχ̰ιnaʿ* wagon, *wa′iχ̰ιna·-nI* my wagon

WA'AI- grass seed (sp.): *wa(·)″AI* seeds of grass growing on sandy plains

in comp. n.: *wa'a′i-c·ï'ap·I* mush made of grass seeds

WAÏ- to roast in the ashes: *wa′i-YÏ*, *wa(·)′ï-YÏ* roasts in the ashes, *wa(·)′ï-yï-nI* I roast, *waï′-'^{ï}* roast!, *wa′ï-v^{w}a·n·ιa-A^{x}qa-nI* I shall roast it

WAN·A-^{s} milkweed net: *wa′nA* milkweed net for catching rabbits

wan·a-ru- to make a net: *wan·a′-RU* to make a milkweed net

incor.: *wan·a′-ŋwantcι-χw'ai-p·ïγaʿ* went to set (his) net for snaring rabbits (466, 15)

W'AN·A·Q·WI- screech-owl:

w'an·a·q·wi-tsi- abs.: *w'a′na·q·wι-ts·* screech-owl

WANTSI-^{s} antelope: *wa'nts·* antelope; plur. *wantsι'-ŋᴡï* antelopes

wantsi-tsi-, *wantsi-p·ïtsi-* abs.: *wa'ntsι-ts·*, *wantsι'-p·ïts·* antelope

wantsi-vuŋqu- antelope-pet, antelope owned (by one): *wantsι'-vuŋqo-aŋ aŋᴀ* his antelope-pet (402, 39)

wantsi-γa- to be antelope-colored: ptc. *wantsι'-χ̯a-ʀï* antelope-colored, light gray

WA'AŊI-^{s} to yell, to shout: *wa'a'ŋιʿ* yells; plur. *wa'a'ŋɪ-k̯a-iʿ* several shout; ptc. *wa'a'ŋi-ntcï* yeller

wa'aŋi-ŋu- mom.: *nï' w^{a}'a'ŋi-ŋᴜ* I yell out, *wa'a'ŋι-ŋo-'^{o}* shout (once)!, *wa'a'ŋι-ŋu-p·ïγaʿ* (he) yelled out (329, 8; 410, 3); plur. *taŋᴡᴀ wa'a'ŋɪ-k̯a-ŋᴜ* we (incl.) yell out; usit. *nį' wa'a'ŋι-ŋu-m^{w}ιʿ* I shout every once in a while

wa'aŋi-ŋqï- to yell to: *nį' wa'a'ŋι-ŋqï-yï-a(·)ŋᴀ* I shout to him; mom. *wa'a'ŋi-ŋqι-ŋu-aŋᴀ* to yell for him

wa'aŋi-γai- to be a yeller: ptc. *wa'a'ŋi-χ̯a-ntï* one who always yells

wa'wa'aŋi- iter.: *wåwa''ŋ·ιʿ*, *wa'wa''aŋιʿ* yells several times

wa'aŋi-γw'ai- to go and yell: *wa'a'ŋι-χ̯wa'aiʿ* yells as (he) goes to (some place)

wa'aŋi-q·w'ai- to yell going past: mom. *wa'a'ŋɪ-qwa'ai-ŋᴜ* to call out going past

wa'aŋi- in comp. vb.: *wa'a'ŋɪ-pax·ɪ-pïγaʿ* shouted as (he) went along (371, 7)

na-ŋwa'aŋi-ŋqï- (recip.) to shout at each other: plur. *na-ŋwa(·)''aŋι-ŋqï-qa-iʿ* (they) shout at one another

with adv. pref.: *pïŋqa'-ŋwa'aŋι-ιʿ* keeps shouting; *tï·'-ŋwa'aŋι-ιʿ* gives a good shout; ptc. *^{a}'a't·ι-wa'aŋi-ntcï* good shouter

WA'AŊWAC·ÏŊWI- eight (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)

WAŊWI- to stand (plur.): *ta'ŋᴡᴀ wa(·)ŋwį'ʿ* we (incl.) stand

wawaŋwi- inc.: *wawa'ŋᴡɪ* several stand up

waŋwi-t̓·ui- caus.: plur. *wa(·)ŋwι'-t̓·ι-k̯·a-iʿ* (they) cause (them) to stand up (472, 11); inc. *wa'(a^{u})ŋᴡɪ-t̓ui-p·ïγaʿ* caused (them) to stand (448, 34)

-waŋwi- in comp. vb.: *qa·'-ŋwaŋwιʿ* several stand and sing

WAVÏN'I- to get ready to shoot (an arrow): *wa(·)vu'n'ɪʿ-pïγaʿ* got ready to shoot, held (the bow) in position for a shot (476, 13), *wa(·^{a})vï'n'ɪ^{x}-pïγadi-mï* they 2 got ready to shoot, pulled the bow-string (408, 10)

wawavïn'i- distr.: plur. mom. *wawa'v'ųni-k̯·a-ŋᴜ* several get ready to shoot off arrows

WAQ·I- hither (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

WAγI- several enter:

wawaγi- distr.: *wawa'x·ɪ-pïγaʽ* (they) all dived in, entered (while racing)

tsi-ŋwaγi- to stick several in: *tsι-ŋwa'xï-*^{iʽ} sticks several in

tsitsi-ŋwaγi- several keep sticking in (iter. intr.): *tsι·'tsι-ŋwaχ(*^{a}*)i-p·ïγai-n·ιʽ* (they) all went in as though stuck (422, 29); usit. *tsitsι-ŋwax(a)'i-mɪ-pïγai-n·ιʽ* (they) all kept going in as though stuck (408, 19)

tsi-ŋwaγi-q·ai- several are stuck in (res.): *tsι-ŋwa'x·ɪ-k̬ai-yï-amï* they are stuck in

WA·γɔ·- frog (said to imitate the frog's croak: *wa·'χɔ·*^{ɔ} *wa·'χɔ·*^{ɔ})

wa·γɔ·-tsi- abs.: *wa·'χɔ·*^{ɔ}*-ts·* frog

WAC·Ï-T·U'A- object is hot (with *-tu'a-* cf. *ta-ru'a-?*): *wᴀʽcï'ť·u'a-iʽ* (an object) is hot

WARA-^{s} grass seed (sp.), pigweed seed (?): *wa'ʀᴀ* grass seeds roasted for food (probably pigweed)

wara- in comp. n.: *wara'-c·ï'ap·ɪ* mush made out of pigweed seeds

incor.: *wara'-rïγa-iʽ* picks grass seeds (with a beater); *wara'-ʀɪqa-iʽ* eats grass seeds; *wara'-x·ani·*$^{i'}$*-x̬wa'*^{a} to go to ask for grass seeds (308, 4), *wara'-x·ani·*$^{i'}$*-x̬wa'ai-x̬aʽ* while going to ask for grass seeds (308, 9)

WARAI-γI- to walk (song form): *wa'rai-χ̬i-na* walking (Song 112)

WARÏγI- to be in need of: *warï'x·ɪ-qwai-y'ï-q·wᴀ* is in need of it (inv.); neg. ptc. *qatc·ᴜ warï'χι-ŋwai-ť·ɪ* not being in need, plur. *warï'χι-ŋwai-ť·ï-mï* (several) not being in need of (384, 7)

-WARU'A-Q·AI- to be willing, ready (res.): with adv. pref. *ʽi·'*^{i}*-ŋwaru'*^{ax}*-qa-ntι-n·ιʽ* (ptc.) who is always willing, ready (400, 1)

WAT·SI'-: *wᴀʽtsι'*$^{'i}$ (personal name)

WA'ATSI- watch (< Eng. *watch*): *wa''ats·* watch, *wa''atsι-nɪ* my watch

WA'ATCI-γI- to whoop (cf. *wa'aŋi-*): plur. *wa'a'tcι-γι-k̬·a(i)-yï-ɑmï* they are whooping

wa'atci-γi-ŋu- mom.: *wa'a'tcι-γι-ŋᴜ-pïγaʽ*, *w'a'tcι-γι-ŋᴜ-pïγaʽ* whooped (385, 10; 474, 18)

wa'wa'atci-γi- iter.: *wa'wa''*^{a}*tcι-χιʽ* whoops several times

WATCÏ- to put, to set (one object): *watcï'ʽ* puts, *watcï'-yï-aŋᴀ* puts him, *watcï'-p·ïγaʽ* put (one object) down, *wa(·)tcι'-p·ïγa'ai-k·wᴀ* put it (inv.), set it down (464, 22)

watcï-ŋu- mom. *watcü'-ŋᴜ* to put (in); plur. *watcι'-q·a-ŋᴜ* several put (in)

watcï-m'mia- to put while moving: *wa(·)tcι'-m'mιa-p·ïγaʽ* (he) put as (he) went along (404, 4) *watcï-k·i-* to put hither: *watcɩ'-k·ɩ-χ̮ai-nɪ* having put me away and come off

wawatcï- distr.: *wawa'tci'* (they) put (472, 13)

with incor. obj.: *wan·a'-ŋwantcï-χw'ai-p·ïγa'* went to set (his) net (for snaring rabbits) (466, 20); *qa(·)nɩ'-vu-ŋwantcɩ'* puts up a tepee

'a·γa-wa(n)tcï- to put in a place of hiding (q. v.)

WAT·CÏ- to catch up with:

wat·cï-ŋu- mom.: *nɪ̨'* *WA'tcɩ'-ŋu(w)-aŋA* I caught up with him, *WA'tcɩ'-ŋU-pïγa'ai-mï* caught up with them (inv.), *WA'tcu'-ŋU-pïγa'ai-ŋWA* caught up with her (inv.) (354, 13)

with adv. pref.: *cu(w)a'-ŋWA'tcï-p·ïγa'ai-mï* nearly caught up with them (inv.) (322, 10); mom. *a·'-ŋWA'tsɩ-ŋ'u-mï* to gradually catch up with them (inv.)

WAT·CÏŊWI- four (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

wat·cïŋwi-mac·ïŋwi- 40 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

WA'AU-γI- to bark: *wa'a'u-x(w)ɩ'* barks (said of dog, coyote, wolf), fut. ptc. *wa'a'*^{u}*-x(wa)i-vä·-ntï* destined to bark

wa'au-γi-q·u- inc.: *w'a'u-x·(W)ɪ*^{x}*-ku-p·ïγa'* commenced to bark (464, 19)

WAWA-^{s} arrow-foreshaft:

wawa-vï- abs.: *wawa'-φï* wooden shaft fitted into cane arrow-shaft, *wawa'-vï-nɪ* my wooden foreshaft

incor.: *wawa(·)'-s·ɩvä-ts·* having whittled a foreshaft to a cane arrow (458, 18)

wawa-'ya·-vï- foreshaft: *wawa'(i)-'ya·-φï* foreshaft

WAYA·- to hang, to flow out: *waya''-pïγa'* hung, (blood) flowed out (454, 24)

WI-^{g} instr. pref. (see *wï-*^{g}): Gram., § 21, 10

WI·- awl: *wi'* awl

-wi·- in comp. n.: *a·'-ŋwi'*, *a·'-ŋwɩ'* bone awl, awl made of horn; *ɔvɩ'-ŋwɩ'* wooden awl; *tümp*^{w}*i'-ŋwi'* stone awl

WIA-^{s} mud:

wia-vï- abs.: *wɩa'-φï* mud, *wɩa'-vï-nɪ* my mud, *wɩa'-vu-m*^{w}*a-ntï'* out of (obj.) mud (396, 35)

-wia-vï- in comp. n.: *pa-ŋwɩ(·)'a-vu-m*^{w}*α-ntï'* some of (obj.) the water-mud, mud lying at the bottom of the water (420, 27)

wia- incor.: recip. *wɩε'-n·a-χuq·wɩ'* shoot mud at each other, there is a mud-battle; *wɩa'-m·a-vɔɔ*^{x}*tɔq·WA-qai-na-v o'mA* his-own-mud-rounded therewith, with the mud-ball that he had made (398, 1)

WIA-MPI-^{s} berry (sp.): *wɩa'-mpɪ* red berry of bush with holly-like leaves *wia-mpi-vï-* berry-bush: *wιa′-mpι-vï'* bush (sp.) with holly-like leaves (obj.) (394, 6)

wia-mpi- in comp. n.: *wi(y)α′-mpι-χ̰arïrï'* red-berry knoll (obj.) (Song 188)

-WI'AT·A-^{s} ankle:

ta-ŋwi'at·a-vi- abs.: *ta-ŋwę′'^{a}t·a-φɪ* ankle

WII-^{g} (WI·-^{g}), WÏI- knife (cf. *wi·-* awl?):

wii-tsi- abs.: *wιi′-ts·* knife

-wii-, wii-tsi- in comp. n.: *tümp^{w}ι′-ŋwι-ts·* stone knife; *tï^{γ}a′n·ι-ŋwïι-ts·* butchering knife (for deer), cow-puncher's pocket-knife; *paγa′-ŋwi·^{i}-tsι-ŋwï* cane-knife-people, Navaho Indians

-wii- incor.: *wιι(·)′-p·ᴜ'caγa.i'* looking for a knife (458, 17), *wi·′-p·ᴜ'caχai-va'* shall look for a knife (458, 8); *wιi′-t·ɔn·ɔ-p·ïγa'* (he) stabbed with a knife (430, 1); *wii′-ŋwᴀ'-paq·ι-n'ɴᴀ* to rip open with a knife

wïi- in comp. n.: *wï′ι-ŋ'wïnap·ɪ* knife arrow-head, (sharp) arrow-head

WINƆM'MI-, WIYUM'MI- to rear, to throw up one's buttocks: *wi(·)nɔ′-m'mι'*, *wi(·)′yum'mι'* (Ute) throws up (his) buttocks (in copulating)

wiyum'mu-q·i-ŋqï- to cause one to rear: *wi(·)yu′m'mᴜ^{x}-q(w)i-ŋqï-i'* lashes (a horse with a rope) on the buttocks so as to cause (him) to rear

WIQ·U-^{n} buzzard:

wiq·u-mpïtsi- abs.: *wɪ^{x}qu′-mpïts·* buzzard

WIγIVÏ-^{s} eagle tail-feather:

wiγivï-vi- abs.: *wiχ̰i′vï-φɪ* eagle tail-feather

WI·S·IK·I·- whiskey (< Eng. *whiskey*): *we·′s·ιk·ι·ɪ* whiskey (Song 150)

WIC·I- caterpillar:

wic·i-tsi- abs.: *wɪ'cι′-ts·* caterpillar

WIT·UVUA- to cover (a part of the body): *wɪ'tu′v^{w}ua-i'* covers over (part of himself)

wit·uvua-q·ai- res.: *wɪ'tu′v^{w}ua-q·ai-va'* shall have (your eyes) covered (320, 6)

with incor. obj.: *pu'ι′-ŋwɪ'tuv^{w}ɔa-i'* covers (his) eyes; *tɔ'tsι′-ŋwɪ'-tuv^{w}ɔa-i'* covers (his) head

WITCA-^{s} calf of the leg: *wι′tcᴀ* calf of the leg

witca-vi- abs.: *witca′-φɪ* calf of the leg

witca-vï-: *wιtca′-φï* calf of the leg (name of medicine-man)

witca- in comp. n.: *witca′-χuc·ᴀ* (buckskin) leggings; *ïna′p·u-wιtca-χuc·ᴜ* leggings of *ïna′p·ï*-bark (see *ïn·a-^{g}*)

WIT·CA-^{s} bee:

wit·ca-vi- abs.: *ᴡɪʻtca'-φɪ* bee

WIT·CA- to wrap around, to tie: *ᴡɪʻtca'-iʻ* ties

wit·ca-p·ï- pas. ptc.: *ᴡɪʻtca'-p·ï* tied around, band, ribbon

-wit·ca-p·ï- in comp. n.: *sᴀʻpï'-ŋ'ᴡɪʻtca-p·ï* belly-wrap, cinch; *qa'itcɔγ(w)ɔ-ŋ'ᴡɪʻtca-p·ï* hat-band

WIT·SI- great-grandmother, woman's great-grandchild: *ᴡɪʻtsι'-nɪ* my great-grandmother, my great-grandfather's sister

wit·si-t·si- dim.: *ᴡɪʻtsι'-t·-ŋ̥ɪ* my (woman's) great-grandchild, my (woman's) brother's great-grandchild, *ᴡɪʻtsι'-tsι-a-φï* her own great-grandson (obj.) (396, 13)

WITSI'- bird:

witsi'-tsi- abs.: *witsi''-ts·*, *witsï''-ts·* bird, *witsï''-tsi-α-tca÷ŋᴀ* he (shot) the bird (obj.); plur. *witsi''-tsι-ŋᴡï* birds

-witsi'-tsi- in comp. n.: *ɔa'-ŋwιntsi'ι-ts·* yellow-bird, warbler (?); *caγwa'-ŋ'wιntsi'ι-ts·* bluebird; *tι'ra-ŋ'wιntsi'ι-ts·* desert-bird, horned lark

witsi'- in comp. n.: *witsi''-ųwarats·*, *witsï''-uŋwarats aŋᴀ* bird-catcher, bird-hawk, Mexican goshawk (?) (362, 7); *wιtsï''-uv^{w}ιa-φɪ* bird-song (a type of mourning song)

WIT·CUN·A'A- "wild potatoe": *ᴡɪʻtcu'na'ᴀ* "wild potatoe"

WÏ-^{g} with the length of a long object, stick (instr. pref.): Gram., § 21, 10

WÏ·-^{g} to be long ago (?):

wï·-t·ï-c·u- (ptc.) long ago (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a): *wï·'-t·u-c·ᴜ* long ago (308, 7; 345, 2)

WÏ'Ï- to fall, to drop: *wï''ɪ* to fall, *wï'ï'-va·n·ιʻ* will fall out, will be born

wï'ï-q·u- inc.: *wï'ï'-k·ᴜ*, *wï'ï'-q·ᴜ* to start to fall, to drop down, *wï'ï'-k·ᴜ-pïγaʻ*, *wι'ï'-k·ᴜ-pïγaʻ* fell out, dropped down (375, 2; 313, 5), *wï'ï'(i)-k·u-v^{w}aʻ* will fall (456, 32)

with adv. pref.: *tï-ŋwï''ι-vä·-nɪ* I shall fall off (456, 30); *a·'-ŋwï'ι-k·ᴜ* to fall quietly and gradually

with incor. n.: *tuχu'-ŋ'wι-p·ïγaʻ* sky-fell, fell down as though from the sky (402, 5)

-wï'ï-ŋqï- (with instr. pref.) to cause one to fall: *ma(·)-ŋwï''ι-ŋqï* to knock down with the hand; *ta(·)-ŋwï''ι-ŋqï* to knock down with a rock; *tsι-ŋwï''ι-ŋqï* to knock down with a stick

-wï'ï-t·ui- (with instr. pref.) to cause to fall: in comp. vb. *tɔ-ŋwɔ'-t·ui-ŋqwιp·a-ŋᴡᴀ* to hit him (inv.) by causing to fall with the fist, to knock him (inv.) down with the fist

wï'ï- to dance (identical with *wï'ï-* to fall?): *wï'ï'-i'*, *wï'ï'-ʏï* dances

wïwï'ï- iter.: *wïwï''ï-i'* dances repeatedly

wï'ï-m'mia- to dance along *wï'ï'-m'ia-p·ïγa'* danced back and forth (350, 11); usit. *w'ɩ'-m'mɩa-m·ɩa'a-mï* they 2 keep dancing along

wï'ï-m'mia-q·u- to commence to dance along: *w'ɩ'-m'mɩa-q·ᴜ* to commence to dance; usit. *w'ɩ'-m'mɩa-q·u-m·ɩ'α-mï* they 2 commenced to dance along at intervals (472, 17)

wï'ï-vi- ag.: *wu'ɩ'-ϕɪ* dancer

wï'ï-p·i- act of dancing: *wu'ɩ'-p·ɪ* dancing

with adv. pref.: plur. *pim·ɩ'-ŋwï'ɩ-ḳ·a-i'* (they) dance back and forth (472, 15)

wï'ï- in comp. vb.: *wï'ï'-vuru-i'* dances around, from place to place; *wï'ɩ'-t·ïγa·-i'* practices dancing; distr. neg. *qatcᴜ wï'ɩ'-p·υ·tcu-tcuxwa-ŋwa'*^{a} (they) did not know how to dance (472, 17)

WÏ'A-^{g} penis: *wï''ᴀ* penis

wï'a-p·i- abs.: *wï'α'-p·ɪ* penis

wï'a-q·ai- to have a penis: *wï'a'-q·a'* to have a penis

wï'a- in comp. n.: *wï'a'-m·ɔ'cɔᴀ* man's pubic hair; *w'a'-p·ɪ'tɔp·i-ts·* penis-short, short-penised (336, 10)

incor.: pas. ptc. plur. *wï'a'-q·avaq·ɪ-pï-ŋᴡï* penis-broken, with a broken penis; *w'a'-n'ɴᴜ*^{x}*q*$(^{w})$*ɔ'ᴍɪ* bent-penis (personal name)

WÏ'I-^{s} milkweed:

wï'i-vï- abs.: *wï'ɩ'-ϕï* milkweed

wï'i- in comp. n.: *wï'ɩ'-t·ɪ'caϕï* milkweed rope

WÏ'IA-^{s} song sparrow:

wï'ia-tsi- abs.: *wï'i'α-ts·*, *wï'ɩ'a-ts·*, *w'ɩ'a-ts·* song sparrow (*Spizella*); plur. *wï'i'a-tsɩ-ŋw αmï* the song sparrows (404, 34)

na-ŋwï'ia-ru- to turn oneself into a song sparrow: plur. mom. *na-ŋwï'ɩa-ʀᴜ-q(w)a-ŋu-mpa'* (let us) all turn (our)selves into song sparrows (404, 31)

WÏ'NA-^{g} arrow-head:

wï'na-p·i- abs.: *wï'na'-p·ɪ* arrow-head

-wï'na-p·i- in comp. n.: *wï'ɩ-ŋ'wïna-p·ɪ* knife-arrow-head, cutting arrow-head

WÏN·AI- to throw down: *wų̈na'i-yï-aŋᴀ* throws him down, *wïn·a'i-nɪ* throw me!, *nį̈' wį̈na'i'ɩ-ŋᴡᴀ* I throw him (inv.) down, *wį̈*$(^{i})$*na'ɪ-pïγa'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* (he) threw her (inv.) down (335, 12), *wį̈na'i(ɩ)-k·ᴜ* while (he) threw (it) down (460, 28); plur. *wį̈na'ɪ*^{x}*-ḳa-'q·ᴡᴀ* (they) throw them (inan. inv.) down

wïwïn'nai- distr.: *wïwï'n'nai-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* (they) threw him (424, 21) *wïwïn'nai-* iter.: *wįwï''nai-yι-q·ᴡᴀ* throws it (inv.) down one time after another

wïn·ai-q·i- to throw and come: *wįna'ɪ^x-ḵι-'ŋᴡᴀ* threw him (inv.) down and came away (448, 11)

wïn·ai-ŋqï- to throw for: *wįna'i-ŋqï* throw for (me)! (460, 23)

nan·a-ŋwïn·ai- (distr. recip.) to throw one another down, to wrestle: *nana'-ŋ'wįnai'* (they) throw one another, wrestle; indir. *nį' nana'-ŋwįnai-ŋqï-yï-aŋᴀ* I wrestle with him

tsi-ŋwïn·ai- to throw down with a stick: *tsι-ŋwï'n·ai-va-ŋᴀ* will throw him in, *tsι-ŋwï'n'ai-va-'mɪ* will throw you with a stick (420, 14)

WÏ'NAIŋWAR'UA- to fall dead (cf. *wïn·ai-* to throw down?): *wï'na'.i-ŋwar'uα-p·ïγa'* (he) fell dead (408, 8); plur. *wï'na'iŋwar'uα-q·ᴀ* several fall dead

WÏ'NI- to penetrate, to go in: (cf. *'-niγi-?*)

wï'ni-q·u- mom.: *wï'nι'-k·ᴜ-pïγa'* (seed beater) went in (406, 7), *wï'nι'-k·ᴜ-q(w)ai-nᴀ* where (an arrow) had gone in (406, 7)

WÏN·Ï-^{s} to stand (sing.): *wïnï'-i'*, *wųnï'-i'* stands

wïwïn·i- mom., inc.: *wïwï'nï*, *wïwï'nɪ* to start to stand, to stand up, *nï' uv^{w}a(·)'n' wïwï'nɪ* I step on it; plur. *wïwï'nï-q·ᴀ* to stand up (plur.)

wïwïn'nï-q·u- iter. inc.: *wïwï'n'ɪ^x-qu-p·ïγa'* (he) stood stamping (374, 6), *wï'wï''ɴÏ^x-qw-ι'* stands several times

wïn·ï-t·ui- caus.: *wįnï'-t·ui-p·ïγa'* caused to stand (456, 17)

wïn·ï-γw'ai- to stand and go: *wįnï'-χw'ai-p·ïγa'* was stationed as (he) moved (418, 30)

wïn·ï-m'mia- to stand while moving: *wï(i)nï'-m'ya-p·ïγa'* stood traveling (ahead of them) (328, 13), *wįnï'-m'mιa-xa'* as (he) stood moving along (428, 8)

wïn·ï- in comp. vb.: *wįnι'-m·ιa-p·ïγa'* stood as (they) traveled; *wįnï'-χarï-χw'ai-p·ïγa'ai-mï* they 2 went to stand-sit, to be stationed (at certain positions) (432, 19)

with adv. pref.: *a·'-ŋwįnι'* stands quiet

with incor. n.: in comp. vb. *paγï'n·a-ŋwïnι-pa·'γ(ε)ι-ʏÏ* cloud-stand-walks, a cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

-wïn·ï- in comp. vb.: *tɪ'qa'-ŋwïnï-i'* eats while standing; *ivi'-ŋwįnï-i'* stands and drinks; *ampa'χa-ŋwįnï-i'* stands and talks; *kιa'ŋqï-ŋwįnï-i'* stands and laughs; *qa·'-ŋwįnï-i'* stands and sings; *qᴜ^{x}qwi'-ŋwįnï-i'* stands and shoots; *naŋqa't·sa-ŋwųnι-p·ïγa'* stood and listened; *ma(·)-ntcq'(ų)-wųnï-i'* stands with arms spread out;

na(·)χa·ʹ(^{u})-ŋwi̥nï-χai(y)-aq·a-mï while they stood with blankets on (452, 10); *pi̥nιʹ-ŋwi̥nι-p·ïγaʼai-ŋᴡᴀ* stood watching for her (inv.) (353, 14), *pi̥n·iʹ-ŋwïn·ι-χ̯aʼai-ŋᴡᴀ* while (he) stood looking at him (inv.) (466, 35), *pïnιʹ-ŋwïn·q̹-n·uq·(w)ι-χ̯wʼai-vaʼa-ŋᴡᴀ* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9)

WÏQ·AMʼMI- to put a cover over, to cover: *ᴡɪ̈ʽqaʹmʼᴍɪ* to cover (something that lies), *ᴡɪʽqaʹmʼιʽ* covers (with something), *ᴡɪʽqaʹmʼι(y)-aq·ᴀ* cover it!

wïq·amʼmi-ŋu- mom.: *ᴡɪ̈ʽqaʹmʼmι-ŋu-ntca÷ŋa-nɪ* I covered him

wïq·amʼmi-q·ai- res.: *ᴡɪ̈ʽqaʹmʼᴍɪʽ-k̯ai-p·ïγaʽ* (they) covered (388, 10)

na-ŋwïq·amʼmi- refl.: *na-ŋwïʹq·aʼmι-nι-p·ïγaʽ* covered (him)self

with incor. obj.: *nampaʹ-ŋᴡɪʽqamʼιʽ* covers the feet; *mɔʼɔʹ-ŋᴡɪʽqamʼιʽ* covers the hands; *puʼιʹ-ŋᴡɪ̈ʽqamʼmι-nïmpï* eye-covering-instrument, blinders (for a horse)

WÏQ·ƆN·UI-^{g} round, circular:

wïq·ɔn·ui-q·ai- to be circular: ptc. *ᴡɪ̈ʽqɔʹn·oi-q·α-ntï* circle-round; with adv. pref. *pa·ʹ-ŋᴡɪ̈ʽqɔn·oi-q·α-ntï* perfectly round

WÏQ·WINTA- to wrap around, to coil (cf. *wïq·ɔn·ui-* circular): *ᴡɪ̈ʽqwιʹnta(i)-yï-nɪ* I wrap (it) around

wïq·winta·-ŋqï- to coil around one: *ᴡɪ̈ʽqwιʹnta·-ŋqï-pïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* coiled around her, wrapped (him)self about her (446, 33)

wïq·winta-q·ai- res.: *ᴡɪ̈ʽqwιʹntᴀʽ-qa aɔʼaγιt·ux·ᴡᴀ* to be wrapped around it

with incor. obj.: *ta(·)mu̥ʹ-ŋʼᴡɪ̈ ʽqwιnta-iʽ* wraps sinew around

WÏΓA·-^{s} top edge, bank: *wïχa·ʹ-m·a÷q·ᴀ* at its bank (458, 4), *pampïʹn·iʽ wιχa·ʹ^{a}-va·-ntïʽ* on the edge (obj.) of the bucket (365, 12)

wïγa·-vi- abs.: *wïxa·ʹ^{a}-ϕɪ, wιχa·ʹ^{a}-ϕɪ* bank, edge of a precipice, summit; position in the hand-game in which the two marked bones are held in the centre

WÏΓÏ-^{n} vulva: *wïʹx·ï* vulva

wïγï-mpi- abs.: *wïχïʹ-mpɪ* vulva

wïwïγï- distr.: *wïwïʹxïʽ* vulvas (obj.) (462, 11)

wïγï-ŋqai- to have a vulva: *wïγïʹ-ŋqai-p·ïγaʽ* (she) had a vulva (462, 12), *wïγiʹ-ŋkaʽ* to have a vulva

wïγï- in comp. n.: *wïγɔʹ-ɔpaq·ï-nᴀ* vulva-hole, vagina

-wïγï- in comp. n.: *qᴜʽtcuʹ-nta-n·as·ιγ̯a-ŋwïx·ɪ* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulva, (girl) who has a vulva cleft like a buffalo-hoof

WÏC·ARA-^{n} bush cactus:

wïc·ara-mpï- abs.: *ᴡɪ̈ʽcεʹra-mpï, ᴡɪʽcaʹra-mpï* large, yellow-flowered, bush cactus, *ᴡɪ̈ʽcεʹra-mpï-a-xain·ιʽ* bush cactus (obj.) indeed (452, 15)

WÏC·IA-^{s}, WÏC·IA·-^{s} feather: *WI'cι′(y)a-nI* my feather, *WI'cι′a-ia·ηA* his feathers (obj.)

wïc·ia-vi- abs.: *WÏ'cι′a-φI, WI'cι′(y)a-φI* feather, obj. (^{x})*WI'cι′a-vι'* feather (315, 10)

wïc·ia·-γai- to be a feather: *WÏ'cι′a·-χai-k̬·ai-n·a·ηA* what had been his feathers (468, 29)

wïc·ia·-γai- to have feathers: *WÏ'cι′a·-xa'* to have feathers; distr. ptc. plur. *wïwι′c·'ya·-χα-ntï-mï* those with feathers (379, 6)

wïc·ia- in comp. n.: *WI'cι′(y)a-γaitcɔx·U* feather-hat; *WI'cι′(y)a-rɔts·* feather-head; *WI'cι′(y)a-'atcI* feather-bow; *WI'cι′(y)a-mɔ'ɔ* feather-hand

wïc·ia-, wïc·ia·- incor.: *WÏ'cι′A-sιva(i)-YÏ* scrapes a quill smooth; distr. *WÏ'cι′a-mamax·A-pïγai(y)-aηA* (they) each gave him feathers (371, 12)

WÏC·ÏγINTA-^{g} to have the eyes half-closed: *WÏ'cι′xιnta-i'* has the eyes only half-closed

wïwïc·ïγinta- iter.: *wuwu′c·ιxιnta-i'* repeatedly half-closes the eyes

in comp. vb.: *WÏ'cï′γιnta-p·ïn·i-n'ni'* looks out of half-closed eyelids; *WÏ·cï′γιnta-p·ïnι-m'mιa-p·ïγa'* peeped out of nearly closed eyelids as (he) moved along (430, 26); *WÏ'cι′xιnta-p·un·ι-aυι-p·ïγa'* lay with eyes only partly closed (460, 26)

WÏT·UQ·U- to protect against the wind (?):

in comp. pas. ptc.: *WI'tu′q·ɔ-nɔvi-p·ï, WI'tɔ′q·ɔ-nɔvi-p·ï* wind-protecting cover (?), windbreak used to sleep in when traveling

WÏT·CA- roadrunner: *wï′t·cA* roadrunner, *WI'tca′-i(y) aηA* roadrunner (obj.) (387, 6); plur. *WÏ'tca′-mï, WÏ'tca′-ηwï* roadrunners

WÏTCA'YA- to make a pretended movement: *nï'* *wï′tcα'yα-i'* I go through the motion (of hitting, e. g.)

wïwïtca'ya-ηqï- to make a feint toward (mom.): *wïwï′tca'yα-ηqï-xai(y)-aηA* while making a feint (of hitting) him (398, 29)

-W'ÏTCÏ-γI- to tap in time (cf. *wï'i-* to dance):

ta- with the foot: *ta-η'wï′tcι-γι'* keeps time (to music) by tapping with the foot

WÏYÏ-: *wïyï′-ts·, wïyι′-ts·* female personal name

Y

-YA- du.-plur. imp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, p)

-Y'A- quot. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, m)

YA·- to carry one object:

ya·-γw'ai- to go to get: *ya·′-xw'ai'* (one) goes to fetch (one object), *ya·′-χw′ai-va*‘ (he) will go to get (it), *ya·′-xw′ai-′ŋᴡᴀ* to go and fetch him (inv.) (448, 5)

ya·-q·w′ai- to carry off: *ya·′-q̇·wai*‘ carries away (one thing), *ya·′-q̇·wai-p·ïγa′ai-k·ᴡᴀ* (he) brought it (inv.) off (464, 32)

ya·-γi- to come to fetch: *ya·′-xι(y)-aq·ᴀ* come take it away!, *ya·′-χι-vä-ᴀ*^{x}*qa∸ŋᴀ* he will come to get it

ya·-q·i- to carry hither: *ya·′-q·ï(y)-aq·ᴀ* bring it back!

ya·-ŋqï-q·i- to bring to: *ya·′-ŋqï-k·*^{x}*ɪ* bring (it) to (me)! (312, 4); plur. *ya·′-ŋqï-qa-q·ɪ-pïγa*‘ (they) brought (it) to (him) (468, 24)

ya·- in comp. vb.: *ya·′-va(i)′yι-q·ᴡᴀ* to bring it (inv.) back, mom. *ya·′-va(i)yι-ŋᴜ-pïγa′ai-k·ᴡᴀ* (he) carried it (inv.) back (400, 30); *ya·′-vanax·ᴀ-pïγa*‘ (they) brought home (408, 30); *ya·′-m·ιa-i*‘ several go and fetch, *ya·′-m·ιa-va·′a-q·ᴡᴀ* shall go to get it (inv.) (380, 6; 380, 10); *ya·′-p·ιtcι-χwa′ai-p·ïγa*‘ arrived carrying (him) (468, 3), *ya·′-p·itcι-χw′ai-p·ïγai(y)-aq·ᴀ* arrived carrying it (404, 24)

with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *ɔvι′-ya·*^{a}*-va(i)yι-p·ïγa*‘ (he) brought back a stick (458, 31)

ʏᴀɪ-^{n} to hunt: *ya(a)′i-′yι-ŋᴡᴀ* he (inv.) is out hunting, fut. ptc. *ya(a)′i-va·-ntï* destined to hunt (454, 31); plur. *ya(a)′i-ḵ·a-i*‘ (they) are out hunting; usit. *ya(a)′i-mɪ-pïγa*‘ (394, 3), *ya(a)′i-nïm-pïγa*‘ (he) always hunted

yai-ŋqw′ai- to go hunting: *ya(a)′i-ŋqw′ɔi-va·n·ιa-nɪ* I shall go hunting; usit. *ya(a)′i-ŋqw′ai-nïm-pïγa*‘ (he) went hunting always (394, 2)

yai-ŋqï-t·u′a- to hunt along with others: *ya(a)′i-ŋqï-t‘ua-p·ïγa*‘ was along hunting with the rest (446, 7)

yai- in comp. n.: *ya(a)′i-ḵ·ava*‘ hunting horse

yai- in comp. vb.: *ya(a)′i-t·ïγa·-i*‘ causes to hunt, makes hunt

with incor. n.: *qwιya′tsι-yaai*‘ hunts grizzly bears; plur. *qa(·)mï′-yai-ḵ·a(i)-yï-amï* they hunt jack-rabbits, *qa(·)mï′-yai-ḵ·ᴀ-pïγa*‘ (they) hunted for jack-rabbits (377, 2)

ʏᴀ’ᴀɪ-^{s} to die: *ya′′ᴀ* to die, *yι′a′i-tca∸*^{a}*ŋᴀ* he has died, he is dead, *yι′a′i-ḵ·ai(y)-a(·)ŋ* ‘*ïγïr* ‘*ɔai*‘ he did die, *ya′a′i-′*^{i} die!, *ya′a′i-ya∸q·ᴀ* you 2 die!, *ya′a′i-χ̬v·-n·i-χ̬a′* ‘*ɔai*‘ would that I might die!; plur. *ya′a′i-ḵ·ᴀ* several die, *ya′a′i-ḵ·a(i)-ya∸q·ᴀ* you (plur.) die!, *ya′a′i-vïi-ŋwa-′*^{a} he (inv.) must be dead, maybe he is dead

ya′ai-ŋu- mom.: *yι′a′i-ŋu(i)-yï-aŋᴀ* he is dying

yaya′i- distr.: plur. *ya′ya′i-ḵ·a-i*‘ (people) die one after another

ya′ai-q·w′ai- to die off: ^{yi}*′a′i-q·w*^{ɔ}*′ai-vä*‘ let (him) die (321, 9) with adv. pref.: *na(·)m·ï'-^{i}'ai-p·ïγaʻ* died first (452, 26); *a·'^{a}-y^{a}'aiʻ* gradually dies; *cu(w)a'(i)-'y'ai-p·ïγaʻ* was nearly dead (402, 20)

-ya'ai- in comp. vb.: iter. *pᴀʻpa'q·a(i)-ya'ai-p·ïγaʻ* groaned with pain several times (468, 26); *qwarava-ya'ai-* to cry from pain (q. v.)

with incor. subj.: *m^{w}'a't·ɔγɔ-ï'aiʻ* moon-dies, the moon wanes

with incor. instr.: mom. *nï' ɔɔ'(i)-'^{yï}ai-ŋᴜ* I bone-die, get lean

tuq·wi-ya'ai- to shame-die, to be ashamed (q. v.)

naŋa-y'ai- to anger-die, to be angry (q. v.)

tïγï-ya'ai- to hunger-die, to be hungry (q. v.)

taγu-ya'ai- to thirst-die, to be thirsty (q. v.)

cïp·ï-ya'ai- to cold-die, to feel cold (q. v.)

tïŋwï-c·ampï'a-y'ai- to haste-die, to be in a hurry (q. v.)

YAMPA- mocking bird: *ya'mpᴀ* mocking bird (?); plur. *yampa'-ŋwï*

yampa-tsi- dit.: *yampa'-ts·* mocking bird (?)

YANTA- (cf. *nanta-* ?): in comp. n. *yantɔ'-'ɔc·ᴀ* carrying basket of openwork twined weave

YA·NU- here I am! present! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

-YAN·UN·UŊ'QI- to swing, dangle:

with instr. pref.: *ta-ya'nunuŋq̇ιʻ* has the feet dangling; *ma-ya'nunuŋq̇ιʻ* swings the arms about

YAŊA-^{n} ground-hog:

yaŋa-mpïtsi- abs.: *yą(·)a'-mpïts·* ground-hog

WI-'YAŊQÏ·-N'NA- to cut notches (*wi-* instr., with a knife ?): *wi'yα'ŋqï·-'na-va·n·ιʻ* will cut notches, *ųm^{w}α'ntïʻ wi'yα'ŋqï·-n'a-vaʻ* out of that (you) will cut notches, make a rasp (348, 11), perf. ptc. *wi'yα'ŋqï·-'nᴀ^{x}-qa-ntï* having notches cut into (it); plur. *wι'α'ŋqï-n·'ᴀ^{x}-qa-iʻ* (they) make rasps (472, 12)

wi'yaŋqï·-n'na-q·ai- res.: *wi'yα'ŋqï·-'nᴀ^{x}-qai-nι* I have notches cut on myself

YAŊWI- to carry: *ya(·)ŋwį'ʻ* carries (e. g. a person in arms, a log on the shoulder), *ya(·)ŋu'i-vaʻ* shall carry (311, 2)

yaŋwi-ŋu- mom.: *ya(·)ŋwι'-ŋᴜ* to start to carry along

yaŋwi-q·ai- res.: *nį' ya(·)ŋwι'-k̬·ai(y)-aq·ᴀ* I have it in my hand, hold it (while not walking)

yaŋwi-'q·u- inc.: *yaŋ'wι'-k̇·u-'q·ᴡᴀ* to start to carry it (inv.) away, to take it away

yaŋwi-γw'ai- to go carrying: *ya(·)ŋwι'-χwa'ai-p·ïγaʻ* (it) went carrying (331, 7)

yaŋwi-m'mia- to carry along: *yaŋwι'-m'mιa-p·ïγaʻ* (he) carried along (446, 10), *yaŋwι'-m'mιa-xay-aq·ᴀ* as (he) was carrying it (385, 13) *yaŋwi-m·i-q·u-* to begin to carry along: *yaŋwɩ′-mᴍɪ*^{x}*-qu-aq·ᴀ*, *yqwɩ′-mᴍɪ*ʽ*-qu-aq·ᴀ* to take and carry it along (386, 1; 387, 3)

yaŋwi- in comp. vb.: *yaŋwɩ′-ŋwi̯nɩ-χ̱a*ʽ while standing and holding (400, 24)

na-yaŋwi- refl. to "carry oneself," to have a hand-game: *na-ia′ŋwɩ*ʽ has a hand-game, *nï*' *na-ia′ŋwɩ-va·n·ɩa-n a′ŋwa*' I shall have a hand-game with him; indir. plur. *na-ia′ŋwɩ-ŋqï-q·a-nïmɪ* to play a hand-game with us (excl.) (383, 6), impers. plur. *na(i)-ya′ŋwɩ-ŋqï-t̓·uα-xa-va*ʽ (we) will have a hand-game with them (indef.) (382, 5), *na-ia′ŋwɩ-ŋqï-t̓·uα-q·*^{x}*ᴀ-pïγa*ʽ (they) had a hand-game with them (indef.) (384, 2); *na-ia′ŋwɩ-p·ɪ*, *na(i)-ya′ŋwɩ-p·ɪ* hand-game, *na-ia′ŋwɩ-p· aʀï* the hand-game (384, 1); *ma(i)-ya′ŋwɩ-numpɪ* hand-game playing instrument, gambling bones used in the hand-game; in comp. n. *na-ia′ŋwɩ-uv*^{w}*ɩaφɪ* hand-game song, gambling song for a hand-game

yaŋwïi- to carry several: neg. *yaŋwï′i-'(y)ap·ᴀ*, *yaŋwï′*^{i}*-'(y)ap·ᴀ* (do not) carry (them) (402, 15)

YAγA- to cry: *yaγa′-i*ʽ, *yaχa′-i*ʽ, *ya(·)χa′-i*ʽ cries, (horse) neighs, (owl) hoots

yaγa-q·w'ai- to cry off: *taŋwᴀ ya(·)χa′-q̇·wɔi*ʽ we (incl.) cry

yaγa-m·i-q·u- inc.: *ya(·)χa′-m·ɩ-k·ᴜ* to start to cry

yayaγa- inc.: *yaya′x·ᴀ* to begin crying, to burst into tears

ya'yaq·a- iter.: *ya(i)'ya′q·a-i*ʽ cries several times

yaγa-ŋqï-q·w'ai- to cry for: plur. *ya(·)γa′-ŋqï-q̇ɔi-k̥·a(·)-va÷(a)mï* let (us) cry for them (345, 8)

yaγa-p·ï- act of crying: *yaγa′-p·ï*, *ya(·)γa′-p·ï* cry, mourning ceremony

yaγa- in comp. n.: *ya(·)γa′-uv*^{w}*ɩaφɪ* cry-song, song sung in mourning ceremony; *yaγa′-p·u'ɩφɪ* cry-eye, tears (Song 63)

yaγa- in comp. vb.: *yaχa′-vuru-p·ïγa*ʽ went about crying (460, 30); *yaγa·′-γarï-tsɩ-k̥·ᴀ* (dim.) is sitting and crying (Song 160)

-yaγa-p·i- in comp. n.: *ïv*^{w}*i′-yaγa-p·ɪ* too bad! (444, 5)

YAγA·- edge, end: *yaγa·′-ma÷q·ᴀ* at the end of it; ptc. *yaγa·′*^{a}*-ma-ntï* being at the end, the end, *yaγa·′*^{a}*-ma-ntï-a(·)-'q·ᴡᴀ* at (obj.) its (inv.) end (320, 12)

-yaγa·-tsi- in comp. n.: *qa′iva-yaγa-ts·*, *qaiva-ya·′-tsï* mountain-edge (Song 109)

yaγa·-t·u'a- to end: *yaχa(·)′*ʽ*-to'*^{α} (mountains, woods) end

YA·C·A- several fly off: *ya·′c·-pïγa*ʽ (they) flew off (372, 11)

ya·c·a-ŋu- mom.: *ya·′c·ɩ-ŋᴜ* several fly off from a position of rest, *ya·′c·a-ŋu-p·ïγa*ʽ (they) flew off (404, 33)

YARU- hoarse (cf. *saru-*):

yaru-tsi- abs.: *yaru′-ts·* hoarse (personal name)

YAUQ·WI-^{n}, YAUγWI- (dur.), YAUQ·WA·- (mom.) to go in, (sun) sets; YAUQ·WA- to push in:

yauq·wi- to go in (dur. sing.): *ya(·)′^{u}q·wι‘* (it) goes in (into the flesh), *ya′uq·ᴡɪ-pïγa‘* went in (while running) (329, 4)

yauq·wi- to set (of the sun): *ya′uq·wi‘* (sun) sets; mom. dim. *ya′uq·wι-ŋu-ntsi-q·ᴀ* (it) is about to set; in comp. vb. *ya′uq·ᴡɪ-pïnι-mιa-i‘* (it) is nearly setting; *ta(·)va′i‘ ya(a)′uq·wi-nᴀ* sun's setting (380, 11)

yauγwi-tcai- to go in (dur. plur.): *ya′uχwι-tcai‘* many go in; mom. *ya′uγwι-tcai-ŋᴜ* several go into

yauq·wa·- to go in (mom.): *ya′uq·wa·-p·ïγa‘*, *ya′uq̇·wa·-p·ïγa‘* (it) went in, went down; plur. *ya′uq̇·wa·-q·ᴀ-pïγa‘* (they) went down

yayauq·wa′a- distr.: plur. mom. *yaya′ᴜ^{x}qwa′a-q·a-ŋᴜ* several go into

-yauq·wi-ŋqï- to push in one object: with instr. pref. *ma-ya′ᴜ^{x}qwι-ŋqï-i‘* pushes into

-yauγwi-tca- to push in several objects: with instr. pref. *tsi′-a(·)$^{u\gamma}$wι-tcᴀ-pïγa‘* (she) caused (them) to go in by pushing with a sharp end (450, 6) *tsι-^{y}a′uχwι-tca-i‘* pushes many in with a point

-yauq·wa- to push in one object (with instr. pref.): *tɔ-ya′ᴜ‘qwa-i‘* pushes in with the fist, by punching; *tsι-^{y}a′ᴜqwa-i‘* pushes in with a point; *ma-ya′ᴜ‘qwa-i‘*, *ma-ya′ᴜ^{x}qwa-i‘* puts in, pushes in with the hand

-yauq·wi-, *-yauq·wa·-* with incor. n.: *tava′(i)-yauq·wι‘* sun sets, *tava′(i)-ya·q̇·wι-ŋqᴜ* when the sun was setting (416, 12), *tava′(i)-yauq·wι-n a(·)ru′q·ᴡɪtux·ᴡᴀ* sun-setting towards-under-it, to the west; *tava(i)-ya′.uq·wa·-q·ᴀ* when the sun was going down (468, 11)

YI’AQ·A·-, YI’AγI- to go in:

yi’aq·a·- (sing.): *yι’α′q·a·-p·ïγa‘* (it) went in

yi’aγi-tcai- (plur.): *yι’a′χι-tcai-ŋᴜ* several go into

YI’U-γA- to move around: *yι’υ(·)′-χ(w)a-i‘* moves around

yi’u-γa-n’ni- cont.: *y’u′-x(w)a-nι·’^{i}-nᴀ* moving around (450, 25); *yu″-χ(w)a-nι-k̭·a‘* (bear) moved around (Song 158)

YÏÏ- doorway: *yïï′‘* doorway, *yï$^{\gamma}$ï′-va‘* at the doorway (362, 11)

-yïï- in comp. n.: *qanι′-yïï‘* house-doorway

YÏ’Ï-γI-, YÏ’Ï-Q·I- to swallow:

yï’ï-q·i- (sing.): *yï’ï′-k·ɪ* to swallow, *nï’ yï’ï′-k·i-q̇·ᴡᴀ* I am swallowing it (inv.), *yï’ï′-k·ɪ-pïγa’ai-ŋᴡᴀ* swallowed him (inv.) (374, 9)

yï’ï-γi-q·a- plur.: *yï’ï′-x·ɪ-k̭a-i‘* several swallow *yïyï'ï-q·i-* iter.: *yïyï'$^{\cdot i}$-k·i'* swallows several times

yï'ï-γi-n·ïmpï- swallowing-instrument: *yι'ï′-xι-nïmpï* throat; in comp. n. *ti-yï·′χι-nïmpï* oesophagus (= *tï-yï′'ïγi-n·ïmpï-* down-throat?)

YÏN·Ï-^{s} crown of the head:

yïn·ï-vi- abs.: *yïnï′-φι* crown of the head

yïn·ï-vïtsi-: *yïnï′-v^{w}ïts·* bald-headed (man's name)

yïn·ï-γai- to have a crown of the head: ptc. *yïnï′-χa-ntï* having a crown of the head (Song 193)

YÏŋÏ-^{n} porcupine:

yïŋï-mpïtsi- abs.: *yιŋï′-mpïts·*, *yïŋï′-mpuls·* porcupine (456, 24); plur. *yιŋι′-mpïtsι-ŋwï* porcupines

yïŋï- in comp. n.: *yïŋï′-ŋqwas·I* porcupine-tail

YÏVAN·A-^{g} autumn: *yïv^{w}a′nA*, *yï(^{u})v^{w}α′nA* fall

yïvan·a-t·u'i- to turn autumn: ptc. *yï(^{u})v^{w}a′nA-tui-ntï* fall

yïvan·a-ŋwai-^{n} to hunt in the fall: in comp. vb. *yïv^{w}a′na-ŋwai-mpayι-xa'* while (he) returns from the hunt in the fall; *yïv^{w}a′na-ŋwai-mpan·aχa-χa'* as (they) were returning from the hunt in the fall (472, 4)

YÏVI-^{n} long-leafed pine:

yïvi-mpï- abs.: *yïv^{w}ι′-mpï*, *yïv^{w}i′-mpï*, *yuvι′-mpï* long-leafed pine (*Pinus insignis?*)

yïvi-mpï-tsi- abs. anim.: *yïv^{w}ι′-mpu-ts·* pine-man (name of medicine-man of Escalante band) (Song 182)

yïvi-ntï·- canyon-mouth with pines: *yïv^{w}ι′-ntïï* mouth of canyon bordered by long-leafed pines; *yuv^{w}ι′-ntï^{i}-tsι-Wï* pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes

yïvi- in comp. n., ptc.: *yïv^{w}ι′-c·ιap·ï* long-leafed pine sapling; *yïv^{w}ι-ndï′rana·-γa′ip·ï* long-leafed pine stump that used to be (Song 63); *yïv^{w}ι′-mparïR* stream at which pines end, East Fork; *yïv^{w}ι′-m·unts·*, *yïvι′-munts·* pine-mountain, Shinarump Cliffs (Song 185); *yïv^{w}ι′-ŋk̂arïRï*, *yïvι′-ŋqarïRï*, *yuv^{w}ι′-ŋqarïRï* pine-peak, Mt. Trumbull; *yïv^{w}ι′-ntavac·pï'* dried-up pine (obj.) (422, 30)

-yïvi-, *-yïvi-mpï-* in comp. n.: *pa(i)-yï′v^{w}ι-mpï* water-pine, big long-leafed pine, obj. *pa′(i)-yïv^{w}ι-mpï'* (460, 8), *pa(i)-yï′φï'-sïa'p·u-tsι-mA* on a little pine-sapling growing by the water (458, 33); *aŋqa′-yïv^{w}ι-mp-aγarux·WA* through a red-pine (Song 139)

-yïruvi- in comp. n.: *to·γu′mpa-yïruv^{w}i·′-xarïï'* sky-pine-knoll (Song 157)

YÏ'U-^{s}, YU'U-^{s} leg: *nïni yo′'o* my leg, *yι'u′-nι*, *yu'u′-nι* my leg; *yï'u′-narïyaχï-aŋA* between his legs *yï'u-vi-* abs.: *yι'u'-φɪ, yo'o'-φɪ* leg

yï'u-γai- to have a leg: *nï' yι'u'-χ(w)q̣'* I have a leg; distr. *yυ(·)-yu''u-χ(w)aɪ-pïγa'* (they) all had a leg (468, 14), neg. *qa'tcᴜ yuyu'u(w)-ȧi-p·ï'a'* (they) had no legs (468, 15)

yï'u-γa- to get a leg: *yι'u'-χ(w)a(·^{a})-yι-' ǫ'nɪ* you get a leg thus, why don't you get a leg? (313, 6)

yï'u- incor.: *yu'ɔ'-x·ɔpɔ-q·(ᴡ)ɪ* to break one's leg; *yu'ɔ'-ʀᴀ^{x}-qɔp·ι-n'ɴᴀ* to break a leg by throwing, *yu'ɔ'-ʀᴀ^{x}-qɔp·ι-'na-q·ai-na-ŋaŋᴀ* the one whose leg had been broken (398, 9)

yï'u-ro·-^{s} marrow (q. v.)

YÏ'URO·-^{s} marrow (cf. *yï'u-^{s}* leg): *yι'u'rυ·-nɪ* my marrow

yï'uro·-vi- abs.: *yï'u'rυ·-φɪ, yι'u'rυ·-φï* marrow

YƆI-γA-^{n} to flutter, to shake rapidly: *yɔ(ɔ)'i-χ̬a-i'* (leaf) moves, (leaves) move, *yɔ'(ɔ)i-χ̬ᴀ-pïγa'* moved, fluttered, *yɔ(ɔ)'i-χ̬a-mpa·^{a}nι'* (it) will move

YƆ'Ɔ·VINI', YOO·VINI' hail! hurrah! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

YƆγƆ-^{s} to have sexual intercourse: ptc. *yɔγɔ'-ʀï* copulating; pas. *yɔγɔ'-t·ïi-yï-nɪ* I am copulated with

yɔγɔ-t·ui- caus.: *yɔγɔ'-t·u'^{i}* to cause to copulate

yɔyɔγɔ- mom.: *yɔyɔ'xɔ-'vα-mɪ* I shall copulate with you; pas. *yɔyɔ'x·ɔ-tï·(^{i})-tcα-nɪ* I was copulated with; caus. *yɔyɔ'x·ɔ-tu'^{i}* to cause to copulate

yɔγɔ-m'mia- to have sexual intercourse while moving: *yɔ(·)χɔ'-m'mιa-p·ïγa'ai-ŋᴡᴀ* kept copulating with her (inv.) (335, 13)

na-yɔγɔ- recip.: perf. ptc. *na-yɔ'x·ɔ-q(w)a-ntï* one who copulated

with incor. obj.: *kᴡɪ'tï'-ιɔγɔ-t·ï'* anus-copulating-place, passive pederast

YƆγƆ-VÏTSI-, YUγU-VÏTSI- coyote (< *yɔγɔ-^{s}* to have sexual intercourse?): *yɔγɔ'-v^{w}ïts·, yɔχɔ'-vïts·, yoχo'-v^{w}ïts·* coyote; plur. *yɔχɔ'-vïtsι-ŋᴡï* coyotes

-yuγu-vïtsi- in comp. n.: *tï'ra(i)-yoχo-v^{w}ïts·* desert-coyote, coyote

-YU- acting, from (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 49)

YU·- Ute (cf. *yu·t·a·-*):

yu·-tsi- abs.: plur. *yu·'-tsι-ŋwï̧'* Utes (obj.) (474, 15)

YUU-^{s} fat, grease: *yoo'-nɪ* my (own) fat; *yu(^{w})u'-ma-ntï-a'a-ŋᴡᴀ* from (obj.) her (inv.) juice; dim. *yu(^{w})u'-tsι-ma-ntι-a'a-ŋᴡᴀ* from (obj.) her (inv.) little juice, grease (euphemistic for: her vagina, sexual intercourse with her) (357, 2)

yuu-vi- abs.: *yoo'-φ(ᴡ)ɪ, yuu(·)'-φ(ᴡ)ɪ* fat, grease

-yuu-'a- fat belonging to: in comp. n. *tïγi'a-yoo-'^{a}* deer-fat

yuu-γai- to have fat, to be fat (adj.): ptc. *yuu(·)′-χ(w)a-ntï* fat (adj.)

yuu-ru'a- to get fat: *yuu(·)′-ru'*^{a} to get fat, *yuu(·)′-ru'a-p·ïγa*ʻ (he) got fat (322, 9)

YUA·-^{s} (YUAI-^{s}) level, plain:

yua·-vi- abs.: *yua·′-φɪ* desert

yua·-γai- to be level: *yu(·)'a·-x·a*ʻ to be level; ptc. *yua·′-χa-ntï* being level, desert, obj. *yu(w)a·′*^{a}*-χa-ntï*ʻ plain country (402, 3), *yua·′*^{a}*-γa-ntï-mpa*ʻ, *yua·′*^{a}*-γa-ntü-mpα*ʻ on a plain, desert (434, 1; 454, 1)

yuyua·-r'ua- to become level (distr.): *yu(·)yu(·)'a·-r'ʋ·-ŋqu*ʻ (mountains) would become level

-yua·-, -yua·-γa-ntï- in comp. n., ptc.: *tï′ra(i)-yua·-x·ɪ* through the open plain (418, 19); *toγumpa-yoa·′-χα-ntï* sky-level, level sky (Song 157); *pa'ï-yua·-χa-ntï* perfectly-level, level desert (with only sage-brush or no vegetation at all)

-yua·-γai- in comp. vb.: *paï′-yua·-x·a*ʻ to be smooth and level; *tɔʻca′(i)-yua·-γaɪʻ-pïγai-n·ι*ʻ (it) seemed like a plain dotted with white (474, 4)

yua·- in comp. n.: plur. *yu(w)a′-sarι′-tcι-ŋwï* dogs of the plain, coyotes (Song 174)

yuai-^{s} to be level: cont. *yoa'i(ι)-χwa'ai-n·ι'ι*ʻ keeps going level, is level (Song 157)

-YUAI- (-YUA·-?) to rub:

with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-yu′(w)a.i*ʻ rubs with the hand; *ta-yu′(w)a.i*ʻ rubs with the foot

YUA-Q·I- several fly down: *yu(w)a′-q·ι*ʻ several fly down, *yu(w)α′-k·ɪ-pïγa*ʻ (geese) fell down, flew (371, 11)

YU'A-^{s}, YU·'A-^{s} to carry several objects: *yu'(w)a′-i*ʻ, *yu·′'a-i*ʻ carries (several objects) away, carries (several objects) in one hand, *yʋ·'a′-p·ïγai-ʌqa(·)-'mï* they 2 carried them (inan.), ptc. *yu·′'a-rï-aq· aŋʌ* he who had carried them (inan.) away (396, 37); pas. ptc. *yʋ·′'*^{a}*-t·ïʻ-pï-a-ŋumɪ* your (plur.) having been brought (obj.), (from which) you have all been brought (468, 32)

yu'a-γw'ai- to go to bring: *yu'(*^{w}*)a′-x·wɔ'ai-vä*ʻ shall go to bring (them) (322, 4)

yu'a-γi- to come to take: *yu'(*^{w}*)a′-xι(y)-αmï* come to take them away (448, 26)

yu'a-m'mia- to carry along: *yu(·)'α′-m'mia-va*ʻ (you plur.) will carry along (402, 10) *yu'a-ŋqï-q·ai-* to hold for: impers. neg. *yu'α'-ŋqï-qaɪ'-ṫua-va·-ŋwa'* let not anyone hold (them inan.) for (me) (402, 24)

pa-yu'a- to carry water: *pa(i)-yu''ᴀ^{x}-qι'* brings water; indir. *pa(i)-yu'ȧ-ŋqï-q·ι-v'a-m^{w}ï-nɪ* (you) 2 will bring water for me (402, 2); *pa(i)-yu''a-q·wa'ai'* carries water away, goes off with water

yu'a- in comp. vb.: *^{yu}'(w)a'-va(i)yu-ŋ^{x}ᴜ-pïγai'ι-k·ᴡᴀ* (he) brought them (inan.) back (313, 8)

YU'ARA- to be warm (weather): *yu'(w)a'ra-i'* (it) is warm weather

YU'AVI-^{n} fruit of opuntia: *yu'a'φɪ* fruit of low, vine-like cactus (probably *Opuntia missouriensis*)

yu'avi-mpï- opuntia plant: *yu'a'vι-mpï* opuntia (?)

YU'MI-^{s} warm (used only of water):

yu'mi-γa- to be warm: ptc. *yu'mι'-χa-ʀï pa·'* warm water

YUM'MU- to move, to start (intr.); to poke, to nudge (tr.):

yum'mu-γa- dur. intr.: *qa'tcᴜ yu'mu'-x·(ᴡ)ᴀ-pïȧ'^{a}* (he) did not move (466, 39)

yum'mu-q·i- mom. intr.: *yu'mu'-q·(w)ι-tca-nɪ* I started (as when startled); *qatcᴜ yu'mu'-q·(ᴡ)ɪ-pïȧ'^{a}* (he) did not start, did not budge (408, 5)

yuyum'mu-q·i- iter. intr.: *yuyu'm'ᴍᴜ^{x}-q(w)i'* starts, suddenly moves several times

-yum'mu-γi- iter. tr. (with instr. pref.): *ma-yu'm'mu-χ(w)ι'* pokes with the finger; *tsi-yu'm'mu-χ(w)ι-yï-nɪ* is poking me (with a stick) (468, 6), *tsi-'i'm·u-χ(w)ι-p·ïγai(y)-aŋᴀ* kept poking him (466, 38); *ta-yu'm'mu-χ(w)ι'* keeps poking with the foot (in urging on a horse, e. g.), *ta-yu'm'mu-χ(w)ι-numpï* foot-poking-instrument, spurs

-yum'mu-q·i-ŋqï- mom. tr. (with instr. pref.): *ma-yu'm'ᴜ^{x}-k(w)i-ŋqï* to nudge with the finger; *tsi-'ι'm·ᴜ^{x}-q(w)i-ŋqï-aŋᴀ* to poke him (once) with a stick; *wi-yu'm'ᴍᴜ^{x}-q(w)ι-ŋqï* to hit slightly on the edge (as with a willow switch); *ta-yu'm'ᴍᴜ^{x}-q(w)ι-ŋqï*, *ta(·)-yu'm'ᴜ^{x}-k(w)i-ŋqï* to kick (once), to give a poke with the foot (as in urging on a horse)

YUN·A- to put down several objects: *yu(·)na'-i'* puts several, *yu(·)na'-p·ïγa'*, *yu(·)n·a'-p·ïχa'* (he) put several down, gave (mush) (396, 36; 410, 9), *yu(·)na'-n'na-q·wɔ-φï* his own putting them (inan. inv.), where he had put them (396, 32); plur. *yu̥na'-q·ᴀ-pïγa'* (they) put (them)

yun·a-ŋu- mom.: *yu̥n·a'-ŋᴜ* to put (more than 2 objects); plur. *yu̥na'-q·a-ŋᴜ* several put (more than 2 objects) *yun·a'i-* iter.: *yuna''ai-p·ïγa‘*, *yųna''^{i}-p·ïγa‘* (he) put (them) down in several places (322, 8)

YUN·A-^{s} loose stones, gravel:

yun·a-vï- abs.: *yona'-φï* rocks lying around loose

yun·a- in comp. n.: dim. *yona·'-xa·nι-ntsι-a-vï* his own gravel-house (obj.) (Song 160); *yona·'-ra·vu-mputsι* gravel-cotton-tail-rabbit (Song 160)

YUN·IA-^{s} several fall: *yųnι'ᴀ* several drop down, *yųnι'a-x·ᴜ* when (bullets) drop down (472, 32)

YUN'NI-^{s}, YUN·I-^{s} several run: *yu(·)ni'-ɪ* several run, *yυ(·)'n'nι-yï-αmï* they run

yun'ni-ŋu- mom.: *yo'n'nι-ŋᴜ*, *yo(·)'n'nι-ŋᴜ* several run off, start off running; fut. ger. *yo'n'nι-ŋu-mpa·-ts·-sampᴀ* (they) being as though about to run off (412, 5)

yun'ni-m'mia- several run along: *yon'nι'-m'mιą-i‘* several run along, *yυ(·)n·ι'-m'mιa(i)-yï-αmï* they keep running

yun·i- in comp. vb.: *yu(·)nι'-vuru-χ(w)a‘* while (they) were running about (387, 9)

YUNTAQ·A-γI- (iter.) to keep changing color: *tᴀ‘cι'ŋwι-yunta'q·a-γ(‘)ι‘* like gravel (it) keeps changing color

YO·P·IA- younger sister (cf. *pia-* female?): *yυ·'p·ιa-nɪ*, *yυ·'p·ια-nɪ*, *yυ·'p·i(y)α-nɪ* my younger sister

na-yo·p·ia-ŋwï- du. recip.: *na-yi'ᴜpi(y)a-ŋᴡï* two sisters

YUQ·U- fawn:

yuq·u-tsi- abs.: *ʏᴜ^{x}qu'-ts·* fawn; plur. *ʏᴜ^{x}qu'-tsι-ŋwa-ᴀ-campᴀ* only fawns (obj.) (412, 19)

YUγWI-^{s} to sit (plur.): *ta'ŋᴡᴀ yυ(·)χwι'‘* we (incl.) sit, *yuχwi'-yï-amï* they are seated, *yuχwι'-χa(a)i-c·ᴜ* (they) having sat (383, 2)

yuyuγwi- inc.: *yuyu'x·ᴡɪ*, *yυ(·)yυ(·)'x·ᴡɪ* several sit down (from a standing position)

with incor. n.: ptc. *pa(i)-yυ(·'^{u})χwι-tcï* waters-sitting, lakes, Three Lakes (place name)

-yuγwi- in comp. vb.: *tι‘qa'-yuχwι‘* several eat while sitting; *ampa'χa-yuχwi‘* several sit and talk; *tɔɔ(·)'aχa·(i)-yuχwι‘* several sit watching; *wa'iχa(i)-yuχwι-χu-αmï* while they were seated and talking in council (426, 24); *a'γa-p·ïn·ι-yuγwι-p·ïγa‘* (they) sat watching from a hidden position (474, 2); ptc. plur. *w*[illegible] *yuχwι-tcï-mï* stand-sitting (plur.), those engaged in stan[illegible] stationed ones

YU·T·A·- Ute: plur. *yu·'t·a·-mï* Ute Indians
  yu·t·a·-tsi- abs.: *yu·'t·a·-ts·* Ute Indian
  yu·t·a·- in comp. n.: *yu·'t·ą·-nį̈ŋwï-ŋwį̈'* Ute people (obj.) (474, 12)

YU·T·UI-^{s} to be warm: ptc. *yu·'t·ui-tcï* warm (water), obj. *yu·'t·ui-tcï'* (375, 4)

YURAVA- to be overcome (always in neg.: to be very powerful): ptc. plur. *nï' qatcU yura'vα-ŋwai'-t·ï-mï* I (am) not to be overcome in any way, I (am) very powerful; plur. *ma(·)m·u'c·U qa yura'φA^x-qa-ŋ'wai'-t·ï-mï* they are very powerful

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-’ (mod. encl.) perhaps (Gram., § 19, 2, n)
-’ (enc. pers. pron.) you (sing. subj.; Gram., § 40)

(05) 5 (Y3)